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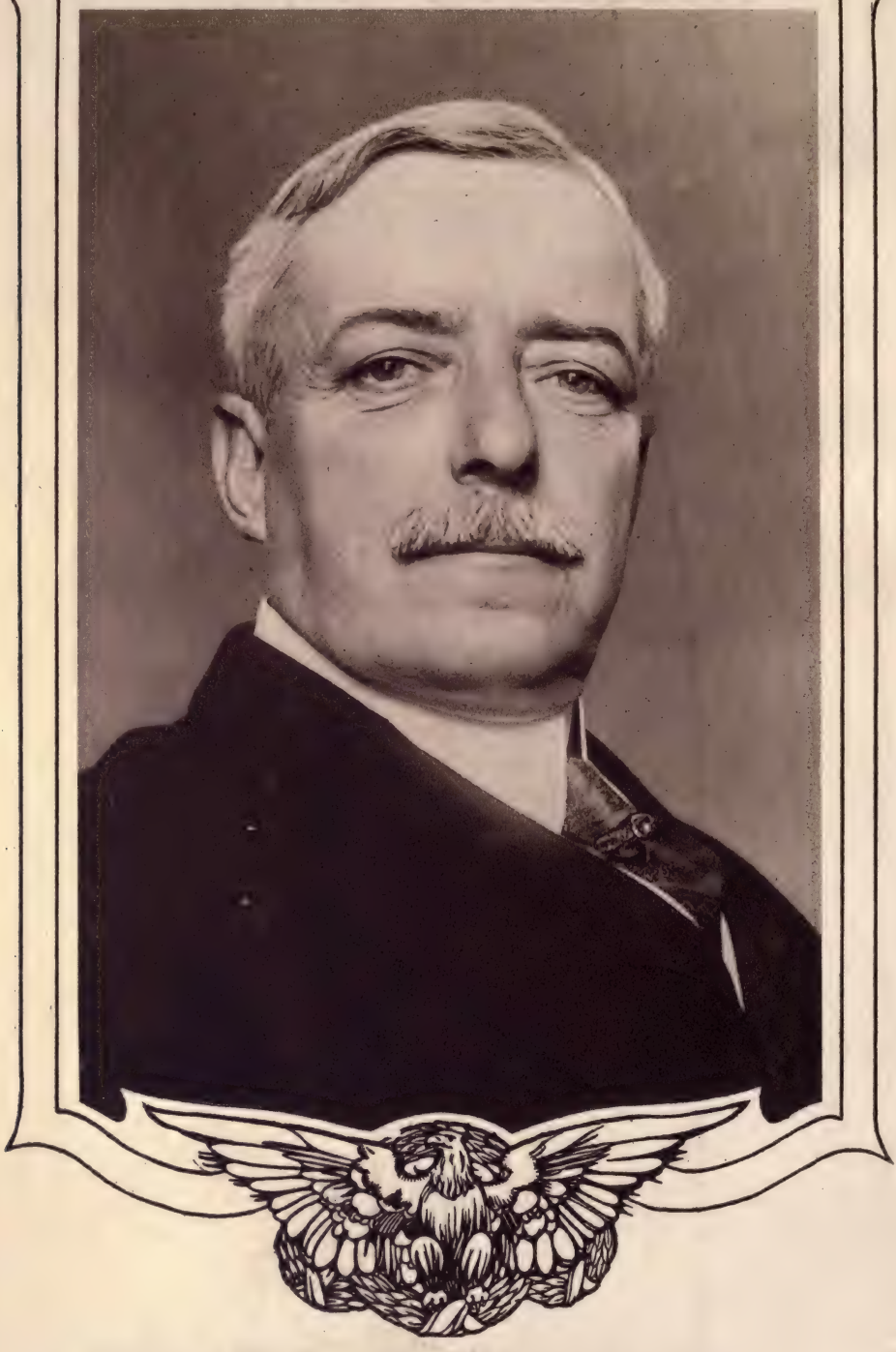
LIEUT. GEN. COUNT CADORNA
Chief of the Italian General Staff
(Photo from Paul Thompson)



THE HON. ROBERT J. LANSING

Who Was Called by the President to Take Charge of the State Department after Mr. Bryan's Resignation

(Photo from Paul Thompson)

THE EUROPEAN WAR

Period July, 1915—September, 1915

INTRODUCTION

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THE Summer months of 1915 witnessed a number of events and developments that were of paramount importance in the progress of the European war. Foremost among these were the rupture of the Triple Alliance and the entrance of Italy into the war on the side of the Entente; the disastrous failure of the Gallipoli expedition; the sinking of the Lusitania and the beginnings of German-American complications; the inauguration of Britain's policy, announced in the Order in Council of March, toward enemy and neutral overseas trade, and the unexpected and sweeping reversal of the military situation on the eastern front by the success of von Mackensen's drive, which not only conquered Poland for the Central Powers but forced the Russian line far back into Russia. In addition to these significant events in the international field there were developments of great consequence upon the history of the war in the domestic history of the belligerent powers, and very sanguinary though indecisive fighting along the battle line in France.

Military Operations in France

On the western front nothing of importance developed during the Summer of 1915. The new British Army was gradually brought into place in France and given a little more of the battle line, but no great offensive was undertaken by any of the armies. On the other hand, the bitter fighting between the British and Germans around Ypres and St. Eloi, begun in April, continued intermittently all through the Summer. Certain Canadian contingents in particular distinguished themselves in this part of the war. Lord Kitchener, in commending them before the Commons, declared they had endured "an ordeal to try the qualities of the finest army in the world." Largely because of the extensive use of asphyxiating gas the Germans at first had a decided advantage, but by the end of August the British not only continued to hold Ypres but strengthened their hold on the region.

The French on their part succeeded in capturing the village of Ablin St. Nazaire and, after violent fighting, they also got possession of the strongly fortified system of trenches in the region called the Labyrinth. In June they concentrated their offensive on the German line north of Arras and around Souchez in Alsace. Here, and in the assaults on the French positions in the Argonne by the army of the Crown Prince, artillery action on a stupendous scale developed, lasting whole days in preparation for the advance of the infantry, the French alone firing over 300,000 shells in two days. But beyond the capture of a modest number of prisoners by both sides nothing of consequence occurred.

Nor was anything decisive achieved by the intermittent air raids. In June a

squadron of twenty-three planes dropped bombs on Karlsruhe by way of reprisal for Zeppelin raids on England and France, and in the latter half of July a large air raid was made on Saarbrücken, several hundred shells being dropped on the town. On their side the Germans began a series of raids by Zeppelins on England. Four of these occurred in April and May, but without doing any serious damage. The last raider succeeded in finding London and dropped about ninety bombs in the London region. The only outcome of any importance in connection with the aerial warfare of the Summer of 1915 is the fact that the defense was developing a much greater efficiency and the Zeppelin menace was apparently waning. As a matter of fact, altogether too much attention has been given to this ineffective mode of warfare. At the end of August Mr. Balfour, the First Lord of the Admiralty, reported that during the twelve months preceding 71 civilian adults and 18 children had been killed, 189 civilian adults and 31 children injured.

The War on the Water

Of much more importance than the warfare in the air during this period were the developments of the war on the water, not that any great naval engagements were fought, but because of the ruthless submarine policy adopted by Germany. Having early in the war proclaimed a blockade of the British Isles, her submarines and torpedo boats kept up a fairly consistent fight on English commerce. Ships of every kind, from fishing trawlers to battleships, succumbed to the sinister underseas craft. Nor were enemy ships alone the victims; whether through error or malice neutral vessels too were sunk.

Among these was the American steamer Gulflight, on May 1, off the Scilly Islands. The torpedoing of a vessel flying the American flag, owned and manned by Americans, caused much indignation in this country. But hardly had the public had time to adjust itself to the effects of this attack on neutral shipping when the great tragedy of the year occurred on the seas. For several days early in May advertisements had appeared in certain American newspapers warning Americans against undertaking passage on the British steamer Lusitania, the largest vessel of the British merchant marine, with displacement of 40,000 tons. The advertisements appeared over the name of the German Embassy at Washington, and an investigation by the Government should have been ordered immediately. Nothing was done, and 1,255 passengers sailed on the Lusitania. Her crew numbered 651, which with the passengers brought the total of her human freight to 1,906 souls. For some days nothing was heard of the big ship, then, like a bolt out of the blue, on a fine May afternoon came the news that the Lusitania had been torpedoed by a German submarine off Queenstown. It would be difficult to describe the mingled feelings of surprise and anger. From the press and the platform came bitter denunciation of this unparalleled horror; many who until then had been more or less in sympathy with Germany now openly abandoned the cause of the Central Powers. In neutral and Entente countries the feeling seemed to be in accord.

No warning had been given by the submarine, and the blow fell so unexpectedly and with such force that only about 700 of the entire 1,906 persons on board were saved. The Germans sought to justify the act of its submarine commander by trying to throw the blame on England. The Lusitania, it was urged, was regularly engaged as a carrier of materials of war and should, therefore, not have been used as a passenger ship. On this fateful voyage it was claimed that she actually had 4,500 cases of ammunition on board, while the remainder of the cargo consisted almost exclusively of contraband; that the ship was equipped with masked guns and trained gunners from the British Navy, and that she was transporting Canadian troops.

Against these charges must be placed the findings of the investigation by the Board of Trade, Lord Mersey presiding. The court reported that the ship carried a cargo of the usual kind, with some 5,000 cases of cartridges, but that she did

not carry guns or gunners. Referring to the German charges, the report added: "They are nothing but baseless inventions and serve only to condemn the persons who make use of them."

Public opinion the world over cared little for these contentions; the horrors of the catastrophe lifted it, so to speak, out of the realm of technicalities and legal discussions. Men of all nations applauded the utterances of President Wilson's note of June 9, in which he declared that "the sinking of passenger ships involves principles of humanity which throw into the background any special circumstances of detail that may be thought to affect the case, principles which lift it, as the Imperial German Government will no doubt be quick to recognize and acknowledge, out of the class of ordinary subjects of diplomatic discussion or of international controversy. Whatever be the other facts regarding the Lusitania, the principal fact is that a great steamer, primarily and chiefly a conveyance for passengers, and carrying more than a thousand souls who had no part or lot in the conduct of the war, was torpedoed and sunk without so much as a challenge or a warning, and that men, women, and children were sent to their death in circumstances unparalleled in modern warfare."

Among those who inclined to leniency and a favorable attitude toward the German view of the case was the Secretary of State, Mr. Bryan. His strong pacifist sentiments now led to a break between himself and the President. Unwilling to indorse the strong terms of Mr. Wilson's note, he resigned. The President accepted the resignation and promptly appointed Robert Lansing in his place. This change was soon followed by the introduction of a more vigorous and consistent policy in the conduct of America's foreign affairs.

The German Government, too, whether for this or other reasons, adopted a much more conciliatory attitude, both in its diplomatic correspondence and the public utterances of its officials. As a result the strained relations were somewhat relieved. But the situation again threatened to become serious with the sinking of the White Star liner Arabic late in August, with the loss of two American lives. A crisis was avoided by the conciliatory tone of Bethmann Hollweg's note, declaring on Aug. 25 that the Imperial Government would give complete satisfaction to the United States if it was found that the submarine commander had exceeded his duties. A week later Count von Bernstorff published an official communication saying "liners will not be sunk by our submarines without warning and without safety of lives of noncombatants, provided that the liners do not try to escape or offer resistance." Unfortunately, these good assurances were belied almost immediately by the report of the sinking of the Allan Line steamship Hesperian.

England and the United States on Neutral Rights

In the meantime a sharp correspondence was being conducted between the Department of State and the British Foreign Office over what the United States considered the invasion of the sovereign rights of neutral States by the British Orders in Council of March. Early in the year the American Government had sent identical notes to the Governments of Great Britain and of Germany, making proposals for the abandonment of floating mines, of submarines, of the abuse of the neutral flag, and the placing of foodstuffs on the absolute contraband list. The German reply acceded to the proposals, insisting, however, that other raw materials than food be free, in accordance with the Declaration of London. England pointed to Germany's submarine warfare and the need of the retaliatory measures embodied in her Order of Council of March 11.

The reply of the United States Government was dignified and firm, insisting on the rights of neutrals. "The Order * * * would constitute, were its provisions to be actually carried into effect as they stand, a practical assertion of unlimited belligerent rights over neutral commerce within the whole European area, and an almost unquali-

fied denial of sovereign rights of the nations now at peace." The same note protests against the interception of trade between neutrals not at war. Against this England pointed to the great increase in the imports of European neutrals bordering on Germany since the war and the obvious fact that unless the trade were stopped the allied blockade of Germany would be a farce. In order to safeguard the food supply and the legitimate trade of the Netherlands, England established the Netherland Overseas Trust, through which all commerce with the Netherlands had in the future to be carried on. She also developed on the strength of her control of the supply of such raw products as rubber, specific trade agreements with American industries, that gave her a tremendous power in directing the commerce and destinations of certain classes of manufactured articles.

Against these infractions of neutral rights the United States protested in vain. The British note of July 24, defending England's method of blockade, reminded the Government of the United States how, during the American civil war, "goods destined for the enemy territory were intercepted before they reached the neutral port from which they were to be re-exported, and that therefore the doctrine of 'continuous voyage' was of American origin." On the other hand, a note of a week later frankly suggests that the United States have recourse to an international tribunal of arbitration. For the time being the seriousness of the situation, she declared, did not admit of any modification of her determined procedure. The list of contraband articles was increased, cotton being the most notable addition. That a more serious disagreement did not arise was due mainly to the readiness of England to adjust all practical difficulties, and to her careful regard for the legal procedure in cases of capture, thereby placing her own conduct of the warfare upon commerce in striking contrast with the ruthless methods of Germany during this period.

The Great German Drive on Russia

If the military operations on the western front exhibited nothing of special interest, the campaign on the eastern front developed features of far-reaching significance from the military as well as the political and diplomatic standpoint. During the first months of the war the Russians had surprised their enemies by the rapidity of their mobilization and the promptness of their offensive against East Prussia. They penetrated deep into German territory, assuming so menacing a position that the German General Staff was obliged to detach several army corps from von Kluck's western army. With these von Hindenburg was able to deliver a crushing defeat to the Russians in the Masurian Lake region. But beyond this the Russian line, running in an irregular manner from the Baltic in a southwestern direction around the Warsaw salient on to the Dunajec, held firm. Frontal attacks had brought the Germans near Warsaw, but at terrific cost, and further advance in that direction seemed impossible.

In the meantime the Russians had pushed on in Galicia; the great fortress of Przemysl was invested and after a siege of six months forced to capitulate. Following up this success they developed a wide movement against the Carpathians. The success of these operations was a surprise to the world. During the latter part of March and the first two weeks in April they took between 70,000 and 80,000 prisoners and made themselves masters of some of the most important passes. The Austrian troops were apparently unable to resist the weight of the Russian advance, and by the end of April the Russian advance by the Uszok, Lupkow, and Dukla Passes seriously threatened the Hungarian plain. But at this point their progress was arrested, turned, and driven back.

To properly appreciate the nature of the German strategy in the great drive which not only relieved the pressure on Hungary but won Warsaw, Ivangorod, Brest, Litowsk, Kovel, Grodno, and Vilna,

a score of minor fortresses, and a vast stretch of Lithuanian territory, and pushed the Russian line far into the interior, it is necessary to understand somewhat the geography of the region. It consists of a level plain with numerous rivers and extensive marshes, making military operations difficult and dangerous along frontal lines of attack. Added to this was the fact that Warsaw on the Vistula occupied, so to speak, the apex of a salient whose lines of communication must be protected from flank attack. The vast Russian Army in the Warsaw salient was fed and supplied by three lines of railroad stretching from Petrograd, Moscow, and Kiev, respectively. To cut any one of these lines of communication would seriously embarrass the army, to cut two of them would spell ruin. The line of the great drive chosen by the German General Staff was directly east from Cracow against the Russian position on the Dunajec. If this could be carried and the thrust pushed home to Przemysl and beyond the Russian armies operating in the Carpathians would have to fall back or surrender. At the same time, Warsaw's communications with Kiev would be threatened, possibly intercepted. This is what happened in the course of the Summer months of 1915.

By means of a remarkable system of railways the Germans had concentrated large bodies of troops and immense quantities of supplies and munitions under Field Marshal von Mackensen. On the 1st of May he inaugurated the drive to cut his way through the Russian lines from the Dunajec to the San. Following up the smashing and pounding of his artillery by rushing men in massed formation, he literally sawed his way through to the San and then to Przemysl by June 3, occupying the great fortress just ten weeks after the Russians had taken it from the Austrians. Twenty days later, Lemberg, too, was reoccupied, and Russia had lost in killed, wounded, and prisoners of war about 800,000 men, with immense stores of munitions and equipment.

But the main objective of the drive was still to be attained, namely, to dislodge the enemy from the Warsaw salient and force a general retirement from Poland, if not the capitulation of the entire army. After the fall of Lemberg, the Russians had fallen back on the line of the Bug to the east and waited the further advance of the Germans. Instead of attacking further in this direction, Mackensen struck in a northerly direction toward the railway of Ivangorod, Lublin, and Cholm, the southernmost of the communications of Warsaw with Central Russia—the Kiev-Odessa line. The entire German-Austrian Army, stretching from the Vistula to the Bug, a distance of 100 miles, now moved forward on the left flank of the army of Grand Duke Nicholas. At one or two points he made an effective resistance, notably at Krasnik, but whether from lack of ammunition or the fact that the pressure along the entire front was too strong, the resistance crumbled. The Germans continued to advance, and by the end of July they held a large section of the Warsaw-Kiev line between Ivangorod and Cholm.

Some time before this, however, the Russians, conscious of the danger threatening their armies, had begun to evacuate the Warsaw salient and effect a general retreat. The need of this was the more imperative because, simultaneously with Mackensen's drive on the south, a similar advance had been carried out on the north by von Hindenburg. This extended, roughly, from the Vistula to the Baltic and aimed at the Russian northern line of communications—the railroad to Petrograd. In view of this, Warsaw had to be given up, the Germans under Prince Leopold of Bavaria occupying it on Aug. 5. The Russian retreat now proceeded rapidly and in good order, the main armies being protected by strong detachments left at important strategic fortresses like Brest-Litovsk, Grodno, Novo Georgievsk, and Kovno, the last named screening the trunk railway to Vilna and Minsk. One by one these were obliged to surrender, but not till they had served their purpose of saving the main armies from capture by the flanking movement of the enemy. The main line of retreat by the Warsaw-Moscow railway was never threatened and the Vilna-Petro-

grad line was not cut till a week before the fall of Vilna on Sept. 18.

On the extreme north of their line, the Germans had occupied the seaport of Libau and Mittau and pushed their advance position to within a short distance of Riga. But against this important old Hanse port on the Gulf of Riga all their efforts proved unavailing. Efforts on the part of the German fleet to co-operate met with severe setbacks, Petrograd announcing the sinking by British submarines of a powerful German dreadnought of the Moltke type.

The German advance gradually spent itself during September, the last gain of importance being the capture of Pinsk on Sept. 15. The new line ran from a point little south of Riga by Dunaberg, Minsk, and Kovno, including as conquered territory an area of about 125,000 square miles, more than half the size of Germany itself.

But this was not the only result of the German advance. The effect of the Russian defeats on the attitude of at least one of the Balkan States was seen long before the end of the Summer, and in the course of the next year the fateful decision of Bulgaria is registered as a tribute to the triumph of the Central Powers on the eastern front.

The Allied Expedition to Gallipoli

In view of its objective, which was nothing less than the capture of Constantinople, the allied expedition to the Dardanelles in the Summer of 1915 was generally regarded as the most important undertaking of the year. It was believed that a powerful force landed on the Gallipoli Peninsula would be able to rush the forts, especially that of Kilid Bahr, at the Narrows, commanding the entrance to the Dardanelles. That accomplished, the fleet could enter the Sea of Marmora, and the doom of the Turk in Europe would be sealed. Unfortunately, the extreme difficulties of the terrain on the peninsula were not recognized. Added to this came fatal delays which gave the enemy time to make the whole region into a veritable fortress. The consequences were disastrous in the extreme, for despite bravery and gallantry on the part of the troops that have rarely been equaled, the costly and misdirected expedition ended after frightful losses without achieving anything. Nor was this all. By the withdrawal of the troops and the admission of failure, the prestige of the Allies suffered severely in the eyes of the Mohammedan world.

The expeditionary force, under the command of Sir Ian Hamilton and General d'Amade, had been brought together at various points on the Eastern Mediterranean, notably Egypt, during March and April. On the morning of the 25th the first landings were effected at five separate beaches against bitter opposition from the Turks. At one point this was so deadly that more than half the attacking force was destroyed in twenty-four hours, and had to be withdrawn under great difficulties. In the course of the day, however, the main body of British troops occupied the extreme tip of the peninsula. While this was going on, the Australian and New Zealand Corps (called Anzac because of their initials) effected a landing further north at a place called Gaba Tepe. On the 28th a general advance was ordered, but without any marked success.

It was discovered that the enemy had stretched a network of barbed wire entanglements across his front, and behind these he had intrenched himself. To carry these was the task confronting the troops, whose exposed position and lack of drinking water made the situation one of unusual difficulty. Nor was the French landing at Kum Kale, on the Asiatic side of the entrance to the Dardanelles, any more successful. After twenty-four hours the troops were re-embarked and transferred to the Gallipoli shore, where they took their section of the line over against the Turkish trenches. The fighting gradually assumed the character of trench warfare, but with much heavier loss of life. By the end of May the British casualties alone mounted to 38,636, a total larger than the entire British casualties in action during the Boer war. The losses on the Turkish side were considerably greater because of their repeated attempts to take the offensive and drive the enemy into the sea. At such times they invariably ex-

posed themselves to the heavy fire of the fleet, which seems to have been terribly effective.

Early in June Sir Ian Hamilton ordered a general advance. It was preceded by a heavy bombardment in which artillery, battleships, cruisers, and destroyers joined. Two Turkish lines were captured, involving a gain of a front of over three miles. But the lines were held with difficulty because the Turkish positions on both flanks had not been carried. Indeed, on the 5th of July they launched a powerful counterattack that was only stopped by the staggering blows dealt it by the guns of the fleet. Following this the two sides settled down to trench warfare again, till the landing of another allied army at Suvla Bay, a few miles to the north of the Australian and New Zealand troops. As soon as this new army was well in position a great offensive against the ridges of Sari Bair and Chunuk Bair was undertaken. The summit of these ridges commanded the Narrows. Success, therefore, meant command of the key to Constantinople. But the task was one of almost insuperable difficulties. The Australians and New Zealanders alone were successful in reaching their objective; the advance of the army on their left was checked after a gain of two and a half miles, and the Anzacs were forced to abandon the important strategic position they had taken at so much cost. Nor was the attack on the Turkish positions on the right flank of the allied line at the end of the peninsula any more successful. Yet this represents the height of the allied offensive. From this time on desultory fighting is all that occurred on the peninsula, it becoming more and more evident that the Dardanelles expedition was doomed to failure. The end came as unexpectedly as the attack, with the withdrawal of the expeditionary forces from the peninsula in December.

This costly miscarriage of the much-heralded effort to take the great city of Constantinople and thus, by one blow, open an outlet for Russian trade, intercept the line of communications of the Central Powers with Mesopotamia, and put an end to the rule of the Turk in Europe, brought with it serious consequences. As already suggested, the sun of England had for the time being suffered an eclipse in the Mohammedan world and would not shine as brightly for some time to come. In Europe the failure at Gallipoli, combined with the defeats of Russia, had a powerful influence in Rumania and Bulgaria. Bulgaria, in particular, had become the subject of earnest solicitations on the part of the rival powers because she held, so to speak, the key to the situation in the Balkans.

Naval Operations and the Gallipoli Expeditions

Few men recognize the difficulty of the transport of so large a body of troops as was the expedition to the Dardanelles. This was largely increased by the fact that enemy submarines and destroyers lay in wait for the expeditionary fleet. Under the circumstances, it is a matter for congratulation to the navy that so few losses occurred. For, in addition to the work of transport, the co-operation of the fleet in the whole Gallipoli campaign was very notable.

Early in the campaign on May 12 the Goliath, a vessel of predreadnought type, was torpedoed by Turkish destroyers with a loss of 500 of her crew, and two weeks later the Triumph was sunk by a submarine while supporting the Anzacs. In the meantime a British submarine, the E-14, got safely past the Turkish nets and mines into the Sea of Marmora, and after doing formidable execution ending by sinking a large Turkish transport. Early in August another submarine raid succeeded in sinking the battleship Hanedir Barbarossa and several other Turkish vessels. But to offset this was the loss of the AE-2, the capture of most of her crew, the torpedoing of H. M. S. Majestic of May 27, and the loss of a French submarine in July, and the sinking of the British transport the Royal Edward in the Aegean, with the loss of over 1,000 men.

Italy Enters the War on the Side of the Entente Powers

The most important event of the Summer months of 1915 was, without question, the action of Italy. A member of the Triple Alliance ever since 1881, she

had formally renewed the compact as late as 1912, yet early in May, 1915, she as formally renounced it, and three weeks later declared war on her old ally, Austria-Hungary.

This radical break with the calculations and traditions of European diplomacy, which had, so to speak, accustomed itself to counting upon Italy as a faithful member of the central group of powers, was a great surprise. Even those fairly intimate with the situation were inclined to believe that the most that could be expected of Italy by the Entente Powers was neutrality. Sympathizers of the Central Powers pointed to the obligations arising from many years of alliance, and the fidelity of Germany and Austria-Hungary to the compact in the time of Italy's need. These facts served somewhat to obscure the causes of Italy's decision and the circumstances underlying her participation in the war. An impression was created, which has persisted in many circles, that she acted in bad faith, and in total disregard of long-standing pledges. The crisis in the affairs of her allies, it is urged, was taken advantage of to force demands for an adjustment of frontiers and the completion of her unification by the absorption of the Trentino and other border regions where Italians formed the majority of the population. Italian nationalism could now be realized and the 800,000 Italians under Austria's rule be brought into the Italian Kingdom. Possibly even the control of the Adriatic might be definitely assured as the price of Italian neutrality.

How far these accusations are based on facts the survey of the history of the relations between Italy and Austria-Hungary will show. In the first place, it should be noted that Italy's membership in the Triple Alliance had become almost an anomaly in view of the conflicting interests of the two States. In place of the conditions that had drawn them together thirty-four years before, there had come in recent years the rivalry in the Adriatic, the difficulties of the Irredentist problem, and the conflict of interests in the Balkans, which had increased in intensity as the ambitions of the Central Powers in that region became more apparent. In view of this a continuation of the Triple Alliance partnership for many more years, even if the European war had not come, was extremely doubtful. Despite these facts, it is urged, Italy had agreed to its renewal in 1912, and was therefore bound by it in 1915.

The reply of the Italian Foreign Minister was that Austria-Hungary broke the pact herself. The seventh article of the treaty provided definitely for the maintenance of an equilibrium between the two powers in the Balkans and adjoining waters; that a disturbance of the equilibrium in favor of either power by the acquisition of territorial or other advantages, even though temporary, at once gave the other power the right of compensation, and that the nature of this compensation should be arranged by previous agreement between the two allies.

Italy had not been consulted before the ultimatum to Serbia was sent, nor had her advice been heeded when the ultimatum was followed up by the declaration of war. The opening of hostilities and the occupation of Belgrade raised a further issue. Baron Sonnino declared that Austria-Hungary had violated Article 7 of the treaty, and that Italy had a right to compensation for advantages obtained by her ally in the Balkans, even if these were not in the form of territorial acquisitions. Furthermore, she was vitally interested in the independence of Serbia. Austria-Hungary, in reply, pointed to the uncertainty attending the occupation of Belgrade and to the possibility of an evacuation. In view of this there was as yet no adequate basis upon which to negotiate for compensation.

The Italian Foreign Ministry reminded Count Berchtold of how Austria-Hungary had invoked Article 7 of the treaty during the Italo-Turkish war in Tripoli when Italy, in order to force her antagonists to an earlier peace, wished to undertake certain naval and military operations against Turkey in Europe. Count Berchtold said the cases were not parallel, since the operations against Serbia were of a temporary character. This Baron

Sonnino would not accept. Italy had been told she could not bombard Saloniki and other forts in European Turkey because it would be contrary to the treaty, yet Austria-Hungary actually occupied one of the chief cities of the Balkans and refused to give just consideration to the claims of her ally. Besides, the treaty provided that an adjustment with Italy should be arranged before and not after military action had been taken. The diplomatic negotiations had reached an impasse.

In the meantime, a strong current of public feeling hostile to the Central Powers had set in. The causes were numerous and cumulative. To the fear of Austrian domination in the Balkans were added the German aggression in Belgium and France, reports of ruthless methods of warfare, and the growing nationalism throughout the country. Political parties gradually realigned themselves into two groups, the Nationalists drawing to themselves all but the Conservatives, the Official Socialists, and Clericals. They urged the Government to seize the opportunity to solve the Irredentist problem and rectify the military frontiers in the north at the expense of Austria. They also demanded that the country align itself on the side of the moral issues for which the Entente Powers stood. Recruited mainly from the more extreme elements, like the Radical Socialist, Republicans, and Nationalists, they were in close touch with the masses, whose usual mercurial tendencies were at this time intensified by acute labor problems. Demonstrations, riots, and the breaking up of pacifist meetings became matters of every-day occurrence. The middle class, on the whole, stood aloof and seemed to favor neutrality, but they were inactive and unheard.

Such was the situation when the German Emperor, fearing the worst from the failure of his two allies to come to an agreement, sent his former Chancellor, Prince von Bülow, as a special envoy to arrange matters. Although very well qualified for his new post, von Bülow's task was a difficult one. Austria was unwilling to concede the territories demanded by Italy, while the Italians resented bitterly his intervention in the situation. The historian Ferrero, writing in Il Secolo, accused the envoy of forming an alliance with a group of politicians and journalists to overthrow the Ministry. "Such methods," he declared, "have been employed by European diplomacy at Constantinople, and at Fez before Morocco was placed under the protection of France. An Ambassador who presumed to conduct himself in any European capital as von Bülow has done in Rome should be recalled immediately at the request of the power to which he has been accredited. This formidable crisis ought to be made an object lesson for all the world to show whether Italy will submit to the same sort of treatment as Turkey from German diplomacy; whether she will tolerate the failure to distinguish between Rome and Byzantium."

Early in April Baron Sonnino formulated the final demands of Italy, the Italian minimum, which assumed somewhat the form of an ultimatum. They involved, (1) the cession of the Trentino, (2) the eastern frontier to include Gorizia and reach the sea at Nabiesina, (3) the establishment of Trieste and district as an independent State, (4) the cession of the Dalmatian islands of Lissa, Lesina, Curzola, Lagosta, Cazza, and Austrian interests in Albania, and the recognition of Italian sovereignty in Avlona. Austria refused to accede to these proposals. Sonnino announced that Italy would resume her freedom of action, and, in accordance with this, formally notified the Austro-Hungarian Government on May 4 of her renunciation of the treaty.

The situation from the neutralist standpoint looked desperate. The Kaiser sent a threatening telegram to von Bülow and a special appeal to the King to aid in bringing about a settlement with Austria. Austria now agreed to somewhat more moderate terms. Indeed, she so far accepted the Italian propositions as to leave a very narrow margin for dispute. But it was too late, the Salandra Ministry refused to modify its demands, declaring that it would rather resign. To this it actually came on the 13th of May. But even Giolitti,

who had so long dominated Italian politics, and who was the head of the neutralist party, realized that he could not command a majority, and the Salandra-Sonnino Ministry resumed office.

The opening of Parliament, which had been in recess, was a memorable occasion, Signor Salandra was greeted with great enthusiasm and by shouts of "Long live the war!" In introducing the bill conferring extraordinary powers on the Government in the event of war, he declared that "the Government has striven patiently through long months to devise some compromise which should restore to the Alliance the fundamental basis which it had lost when Austria-Hungary sent the ultimatum to Serbia in July, 1914, without previous reference to Italy, thereby breaking at one blow the bond which had united Italy to Austria-Hungary." A scene of indescribable enthusiasm ensued. The bill was passed by 262 to 2. Two days later, on the 23d of May, the Italian Government presented her declaration of war at Vienna.

Diplomatic relations were at the same time severed with Germany, but no declaration of war was made. This is what the German party was particularly anxious to avoid because of the heavy investments by Germans in Italy, amounting, according to some, to over $600,000,000, and because of the considerable section of the German merchant marine interned in Italian waters. Besides, it was urged why should two powers without a common frontier and without a direct casus belli go to war?

The declaration of war by Italy on Austria was not followed by any decisive or important military engagements. The Italian armies had had ample time to mobilize, and they soon occupied a well-chosen chain of positions along the frontiers of the Trentino, along the slopes of the Carnic Alps, and eastward across the political boundary along the western bank of the Isonzo. In June they succeeded in occupying Monfalcone, an Austrian supply centre twenty miles from Trieste. About the same time they began the bombardment of Marlborghetto, an important point on the Isonzo and the Carnic Alps. Both sides guarded the passes, the Italians being particularly solicitous about those to the east of the Trentino, from which the Austrians might threaten the line of communications of the Italian Army on the Isonzo front.

On the sea the bombardment of Cattaro by the Italian fleet called forth a counterattack by submarines and the sinking of the armed cruiser Giuseppe Garibaldi.

Domestic History

Among the developments in England of first-rate importance are to be noted the broadening of the Government by the establishment of the Coalition Cabinet announced by Premier Asquith in May. The new Ministry consisted of twelve Liberals, eight Unionists, one Laborite, and Lord Kitchener. Churchill was replaced at the Admiralty by former Premier Balfour; Bonar Law was made the Secretary for the Colonies, and Lloyd George filled the newly created post of Minister of Munitions. The broadening of the Ministry, making it so to speak one of "all Talents," was followed by further extensions of its power to deal with special situations by means of Orders in Council. The adoption of the Ministry's budget, involving the enormous expenditure of £1,132,000,000, is another item of importance, followed by the failure of the bill to impose special taxes on the liquor trade. The sinking of the Lusitania and the publication of the Bryce report on the Belgian atrocities led to the adoption of more rigorous measures against aliens in the United Kingdom and contributed not a little to the launching of the campaign for compulsory military service. To the objections against this it was urged that in time of war universal compulsory service was the only democratic system.

In France well-sustained attacks on the Viviani Ministry over inefficiency in handling the munitions problem and accusations of favoritism in the military command caused a good deal of difficulty. The Socialists, in particular, demanded

a secret session and a full discussion. In reply to the strictures that heavy cannon and other weapons were not furnished as rapidly as was possible it was urged that fully nine-tenths of the total iron output of France had in the previous decade been derived from the Department of Meurthe-et-Moselle, held by the Germans since the first weeks of the war. In a way the criticism served to call out an immense wave of enthusiasm, and the President, M. Poincaré, on the occasion of the transfer of the body of Rouget de Lisle, author of the "Marseillaise," to the Panthéon, expressed the attitude of the nation when he said: "Since we have been forced to draw the sword we have not the right to sheathe it until the day when we have avenged our dead, when the common victory of the Allies shall allow us to rebuild our ruins, to make France whole again, to protect her effectively against the periodical renewal of provocation."

In Italy the war produced no marked changes in the domestic history. A special committee on arms and munitions was created and a decree promulgated empowering the Government to take over any factory it needed for the manufacture of munitions. This inaugurated a tremendous transformation of Italian industries. Of interest also was the appointment of d'Annunzio as the official historian of the war.

Apart from the reflection of the great events of international importance, like the entrance of Italy into the war and the sinking of the Lusitania, the most noteworthy development in Germany was the change in the attitude of the Socialists toward the war because of the removal of the Russian peril by von Mackensen's drive. Now that the Russian was driven far back into his own territory, the war could no longer be regarded as a defensive war. The Socialist Party issued a manifesto calling on the Government to open negotiations for peace. The Vorwärts, which published the manifesto, was suspended for the time being on the ground that "the censorship on the discussion of the aims of the war still existed." In August the Socialists made another statement denouncing all annexations of territory. They did not, however, vote against the new war credit of $500,000,000 asked for by the Government in August, or protest against the third war loan.

In Austria-Hungary bitter resentment against Italy marked the Summer months. Much emphasis was laid on the provision of twelve months' notice before withdrawal, and of the fact that Austria, as the German Chancellor declared in his speech before the Reichstag on May 18, had virtually conceded all of Italy's demands. The aged Emperor denounced Italy's act as a "perfidy of which history knows not the like." Because of the pressure of the new war, the age limit for recruits was extended to include young men of 18 and men of 50. This made a serious drain on the labor supply, and women and girls in great numbers began to take the places of the men.

Russia was confronted during the Summer months with the results of the disastrous defeats. Riots and demonstrations of a serious character occurred in various centres, notably in Moscow. In the main these were anti-German in character, and soon abated save for the more stringent treatment of the Germans in the empire. On the whole, however, the successes of the German armies merely stirred the Russians to a more vigorous affirmation of patriotism and nationalism. The Duma had been reassembled on the 1st of August. It at once expressed the nation's determination not to end the struggle "till final success was attained." A special board of munitions was created, autonomy promised Poland, and a program for reform legislation inaugurated.

In the Balkan States the drift of sympathy in Rumania was plainly toward the Entente, while in Bulgaria it was equally favorable toward the Central Powers. Late in July an agreement with Turkey, by which Bulgaria was given the portion of Turkish territory through which the Dedeagatch railway passed served as an indication of the drift of diplomacy in that State. In Serbia, Italy's entering the war aroused jealous

fears because of the rumor that Northern Dalmatia was to be ceded to Italy. A new league called the "Adriatic League" was organized to prevent this.

The election in Greece in June resulted in a victory for the followers of Venizelos, but, owing to the bad health of the King, Parliament was not assembled till the 16th of August, and Gounaris continued in office. In the meantime the notice by the Entente Powers that they had offered Kavala and the back country to Bulgaria aroused much resentment. In Turkey nothing of moment occurred save the continuation of the terrible massacres of Armenians.

In Spain the complete failure of the Government loan—only about 10 per cent. was subscribed—was the only event of importance. In Portugal, on the other hand, the Summer months of 1915 marked the restoration of something like order and stability out of the confusion of the previous months. The friendship with England was further cemented by a treaty of commerce in July.

In the Netherlands the pressure of the war led to increased precautionary measures to maintain neutrality. A new military service bill was passed calling to the colors in successive groups all men between the ages of 20 and 30, and doing away with many exemptions. A new Ministry of Munitions was created, and a naval bill passed providing for two new cruisers and more submarines. To meet the danger of steadily declining imports because of the severe restrictions by England, the plan of M. Vanaalst to organize the Netherlands Oversea Trust was adopted. This was to be composed of a group of business men of high repute, to whom all goods coming into Holland were to be consigned, and who in turn furnished guarantees that none of the goods should pass on to Germany. To make its control effective it was given strong disciplinary power.

In Switzerland similar difficulties growing out of the restrictions by the belligerents upon imports and the problem of maintaining neutrality arose. In order to guarantee the latter more securely, the Government established a censorship of the press, declaring that private citizens should be just as fully bound by the obligations of national neutrality as was the Government. On the subject of importations, great difficulties were experienced. The Germans withheld the coal necessary unless guaranteed a proper return of commodities, while the Allies kept out foodstuffs. The problem was finally solved in the Autumn by the creation of the Society for Economic Surveillance on the pattern of the Netherlands Oversea Trust.

The Scandinavian countries in general still found themselves enjoying extraordinary profits from trade during the Summer of 1915. In Denmark the Government actually announced a surtax of 20 per cent. on the surplus profits of shipping. As an evidence of the continuation of the progress of Parliamentary Government, it is to be noted that the third Danish Constitution was proclaimed on June 5, the anniversary of the Constitution of 1849. Its most significant provision is embodied in the section giving the vote to all men and women who have reached the age of 25. The Danes and the Norwegians favored the Allies, differing in that from the Swedes, whose traditional fear of Russia naturally made them side with Germany. But on both sides the Governments pledged themselves to strict neutrality.

PERIOD X.

Resignation of Mr. Bryan—A League for Preparedness—Mackensen's Thrust in Galicia—Battle of the Labyrinth—The British Army in France—The Gallipoli Campaign—The Alpine Frontier—Balkan Neutrality—Lloyd George's Appeal to Labor—Odyssey of the German Sea Raiders—The Uncivilizable Nation—A Game for Love and Honor.

THE LUSITANIA CASE

(CONTINUED)

President Wilson's Reply to Germany

Account of the Resignation of William J. Bryan as American Secretary of State

True to the intimation in his note to President Wilson, Mr. Bryan has made public in full his reasons for resigning while American relations with Germany were strained. His statements are given herewith, together with comments in Europe and America on the causes and consequences of Mr. Bryan's act. The German reply to President Wilson's note of May 13 on the Lusitania case and the American rejoinder of June 9; the sending to Berlin of Dr. Anton Meyer-Gerhard, as arranged by Ambassador von Bernstorff in the White House on June 4, in order to explain more fully to the German Government the American policy and public feeling in this country; the Stahl perjury case, relating to the German charge that the Lusitania was armed; the question whether the American steamer Nebraskan was torpedoed on May 26 in the German submarine "war zone"; the controversy over exportations to the Allies of American munitions of war; the agitation for a stronger army and navy in the United States, and the meeting in Independence Hall, Philadelphia, on June 17, when 109 of the foremost men in the United States took steps toward forming a League of Peace among all the nations of the earth—these, as recorded below, form a new chapter in American history.

THE GERMAN MINISTER FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS TO THE AMERICAN AMBASSADOR AT BERLIN.

[TELEGRAM.]

No. 2,326.]

BERLIN, May 28, 1915.

The undersigned has the honor to make the following reply to the note of his Excellency Mr. James W. Gerard, Ambassador of the United States of America, dated the fifteenth instant, on the subject of the impairment of many American interests by the German submarine war.

The Imperial Government has subjected the statements of the

Government of the United States to a careful examination and has the lively wish on its part also to contribute in a convincing and friendly manner to clear up any misunderstandings which may have entered into the relations of the two Governments through the events mentioned by the American Government.

With regard firstly to the cases of the American steamers Cushing and Gulflight, the American Embassy has already been informed that it is far from the German Government to have any intention of ordering attacks by submarines or flyers on neutral vessels in the zone which have not been guilty of any hostile act; on the contrary the most explicit instructions have been repeatedly given the German armed forces to avoid attacking such vessels. If neutral vessels have come to grief through the German submarine war during the past few months by mistake, it is a question of isolated and exceptional cases which are traceable to the misuse of flags by the British Government in connection with carelessness or suspicious actions on the part of the captains of the vessels. In all cases where a neutral vessel through no fault of its own has come to grief through the German submarines or flyers according to the facts as ascertained by the German Government, this Government has expressed its regret at the unfortunate occurrence and promised indemnification where the facts justified it. The German Government will treat the cases of the American steamers Cushing and Gulflight according to the same principles. An investigation of these cases is in progress. Its results will be communicated to the Embassy shortly.* The investigation might, if thought desirable,

*Germany's apology and offer of reparation for the attack on the Gulflight, together with a request for information in the case of the Cushing, are conveyed in the following note, which was received by the State Department in Washington from Ambassador Gerard on June 3, and laid before the Cabinet, and published on June 4:

Referring to the note of May 28, the undersigned has the honor to inform his Excellency the American Ambassador of the United States of America, Mr. James W. Gerard, that the examination undertaken on the part of the German Government concerning the American steamers Gulflight and Cushing has led to the following conclusions:

In regard to the attack on the steamer Gulflight, the commander of a German submarine saw on the afternoon of May 1, in the vicinity of the Scilly Islands, a large merchant steamer coming in his direction which was accompanied by two smaller vessels. These latter took such position in relation to the steamer that they formed a regulation safeguard against submarines; moreover, one of them had a wireless apparatus, which is not usual with small vessels. From this it evidently was a case of English convoy vessels. Since such vessels are frequently armed, the submarine could not approach the steamer on the surface of the water without running the danger of destruction. It was, on the other hand, to be assumed that the steamer was of considerable value to the British Government, since it was so guarded. The commander could see no neutral markings on it of any kind—that is, distinctive marks painted on the freeboard recognizable at a distance, such as are now usual on neutral ships in the English zone of naval warfare. In consequence he arrived at the conclusion from all the circumstances that he had to deal with an English steamer, submerged, and attacked.

The torpedo came in the immediate neighborhood of one of the convoy ships, which at once rapidly approached the point of firing; that the submarine was forced to go to a great depth to avoid being rammed. The conclusion of the commander that an English convoy ship was concerned was in this way confirmed. That the attacked steamer carried the American flag was first observed at the moment of firing the shot. The fact that the steamship was pursuing a course which led neither to nor from America was a further reason why it did not occur to the commander of the submarine that he was dealing with an American steamship.

Upon scrutiny of the time and place of the occurrence described, the German Government has become convinced that the attacked steamship was actually the American steamship Gulflight. There can be no doubt, according to the attendant circumstances, that the attack is to be attributed to an unfortunate accident, and not to the fault of the commander. The German Government expresses its regrets

be supplemented by an International Commission of Inquiry, pursuant to Title Three of The Hague Convention of October 18, 1907, for the pacific settlement of international disputes.

In the case of the sinking of the English steamer Falaba, the commander of the German submarine had the intention of allowing passengers and crew ample opportunity to save themselves.

It was not until the captain disregarded the order to lay to and took to flight, sending up rocket signals for help, that the German commander ordered the crew and passengers by signals and megaphone to leave the ship within ten minutes. As a matter of fact he allowed them twenty-three minutes and did not fire the torpedo until suspicious steamers were hurrying to the aid of the Falaba.

With regard to the loss of life when the British passenger steamer Lusitania was sunk, the German Government has already expressed its deep regret to the neutral Governments concerned that nationals of those countries lost their lives on that occasion. The Imperial Government must state for the rest the impression that certain important facts most directly connected with the sinking of the Lusitania may have escaped the attention of the Government of the United States. It therefore considers it necessary in the interest of the clear and full understanding aimed at by either Government primarily to convince itself that the reports of the facts which are before the two Governments are complete and in agreement.

The Government of the United States proceeds on the assumption that the Lusitania is to be considered as an ordinary unarmed merchant vessel. The Imperial Government begs in this connection to point out that the Lusitania was one of the largest and fastest English commerce steamers, constructed with Government funds as auxiliary cruisers, and is expressly included in the navy list published by British Admiralty. It is moreover known to the Imperial Government from reliable information furnished by its officials and neutral passengers that for some time practically all the more valuable English merchant vessels have been provided with guns, ammunition and other weapons, and reinforced with a crew specially practiced in manning guns. Ac-

to the Government of the United States concerning this incident, and declares itself ready to furnish full recompense for the damage thereby sustained by American citizens. It is left to the discretion of the American Government to present a statement of this damage, or, if doubt may arise over individual points, to designate an expert who would have to determine, together with a German expert, the amount of damage.

It has not yet been possible by means of an inquiry to clear up fully the case of the American ship Cushing. Official reports available report only one merchant ship attacked by a German flying machine in the vicinity of Nordhind Lightship. The German aviator was forced to consider the vessel as hostile because it carried no flag, and, further, because of no recognizable neutral markings, The attack of four bombs was, of course, not aimed at any American ship.

However, that the ship attacked was the American steamer Cushing is possible, considering the time and place of the occurrences. Nevertheless, the German Government accordingly requests of the American Government that it communicate to the German Government the material which was submitted for judgment, in order that, with this as a basis, a further position can be taken in the matter.

The undersigned leaves it to the Ambassador to bring the foregoing to the immediate attention of his Government, and takes this opportunity to renew to him the assurance of his most distinguished consideration.

VON JAGOW,
Minister for Foreign Affairs.

cording to reports at hand here, the Lusitania when she left New York undoubtedly had guns on board which were mounted under decks and masked.

The Imperial Government furthermore has the honor to direct the particular attention of the American Government to the fact that the British Admiralty by a secret instruction of February of this year advised the British merchant marine not only to seek protection behind neutral flags and markings, but even when so disguised to attack German submarines by ramming them. High rewards have been offered by the British Government as a special incentive for the destruction of the submarines by merchant vessels, and such rewards have already been paid out. In view of these facts, which are satisfactorily known to it, the Imperial Government is unable to consider English merchant vessels any longer as " undefended territory " in the zone of maritime war designated by the Admiralty Staff of the Imperial German Navy, the German commanders are consequently no longer in a position to observe the rules of capture otherwise usual and with which they invariably complied before this. Lastly, the Imperial Government must specially point out that on her last trip the Lusitania, as on earlier occasions, had Canadian troops and munitions on board, including no less than 5,400 cases of ammunition destined for the destruction of brave German soldiers who are fulfilling with self-sacrifice and devotion their duty in the service of the Fatherland. The German Government believes that it acts in just self-defense when it seeks to protect the lives of its soldiers by destroying ammunition destined for the enemy with the means of war at its command. The English steamship company must have been aware of the dangers to which passengers on board the Lusitania were exposed under the circumstances. In taking them on board in spite of this the company quite deliberately tried to use the lives of American citizens as protection for the ammunition carried, and violated the clear provisions of American laws which expressly prohibit, and provide punishment for, the carrying of passengers on ships which have explosives on board. The company thereby wantonly caused the death of so many passengers. According to the express report of the submarine commander concerned, which is further confirmed by all other reports, there can be no doubt that the rapid sinking of the Lusitania was primarily due to the explosion of the cargo of ammunition caused by the torpedo. Otherwise, in all human probability, the passengers of the Lusitania would have been saved.

The Imperial Government holds the facts recited above to be of sufficient importance to recommend them to a careful examination by the American Government. The Imperial Government begs to reserve a final statement of its position with regard to the demands made in connection with the sinking of the Lusitania until a reply is received from the American Government, and believes that it should recall here

that it took note with satisfaction of the proposals of good offices submitted by the American Government in Berlin and London with a view to paving the way for a modus vivendi for the conduct of maritime war between Germany and Great Britain. The Imperial Government furnished at that time ample evidence of its good will by its willingness to consider these proposals. The realization of these proposals failed, as is known, on account of their rejection by the Government of Great Britain.

The undersigned requests his Excellency the Ambassador to bring the above to the knowledge of the American Government and avails himself of the opportunity to renew, &c.

VON JAGOW.

MR. BRYAN'S RESIGNATION

WASHINGTON, June 8, 1915.

My Dear Mr. President:

It is with sincere regret that I have reached the conclusion that I should return to you the commission of Secretary of State, with which you honored me at the beginning of your Administration.

Obedient to your sense of duty and actuated by the highest motives, you have prepared for transmission to the German Government a note in which I cannot join without violating what I deem to be an obligation to my country, and the issue involved is of such moment that to remain a member of the Cabinet would be as unfair to you as it would be to the cause which is nearest my heart; namely, the prevention of war.

I, therefore, respectfully tender my resignation, to take effect when the note is sent, unless you prefer an earlier hour.

Alike desirous of reaching a peaceful solution of the problems, arising out of the use of submarines against merchantmen, we find ourselves differing irreconcilably as to the methods which should be employed.

It falls to your lot to speak officially for the nation; I consider it to be none the less my duty to endeavor as a private citizen to promote the end which you have in view by means which you do not feel at liberty to use.*

In severing the intimate and pleasant relations which have existed between us during the past two years, permit me to acknowledge the

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In Washington dispatches of June 8, 1915, Mr. Bryan was reported to have said at his home, when told of the formal announcement of his resignation:

In view of the announcement of my resignation, I will say that letters being made public therewith state my reasons, but I will have a more complete statement that will be given out when the American reply to the German note is sent, which probably will be tomorrow.

My resignation takes effect as soon as the note has been forwarded.

profound satisfaction which it has given me to be associated with you in the important work which has come before the State Department, and to thank you for the courtesies extended.

With the heartiest good wishes for your personal welfare and for the success of your Administration, I am, my dear Mr. President, very truly yours,

W. J. BRYAN.

THE PRESIDENT TO SECRETARY BRYAN.

Washington, June 8, 1915.

My Dear Mr. Bryan:

I accept your resignation only because you insist upon its acceptance; and I accept it with much more than deep regret, with a feeling of personal sorrow.

Our two years of close association have been very delightful to me. Our judgments have accorded in practically every matter of official duty and of public policy until now; your support of the work and purposes of the Administration has been generous and loyal beyond praise; your devotion to the duties of your great office and your eagerness to take advantage of every great opportunity for service it offered have been an example to the rest of us; you have earned our affectionate admiration and friendship. Even now we are not separated in the object we seek, but only in the method by which we seek it.

It is for these reasons my feeling about your retirement from the Secretaryship of State goes so much deeper than regret. I sincerely deplore it.

Our objects are the same and we ought to pursue them together. I yield to your desire only because I must and wish to bid you Godspeed in the parting. We shall continue to work for the same causes even when we do not work in the same way.

With affectionate regard,

Sincerely yours,

WOODROW WILSON.

To Hon. William Jennings Bryan,
Secretary of State.

ROBERT LANSING, SECRETARY OF STATE AD INTERIM.

The White House, Washington, June 9, 1915.

The Hon. William Jennings Bryan having resigned the office of Secretary of State, I, Woodrow Wilson, President of the United States of America, do hereby, in conformity with the provisions of Sections 177 and 179 of the Revised Statutes, and of the act of Congress approved February 9, 1891, authorize and direct the Hon. Robert Lansing, Counselor for the Department of State, to perform the duties of the

office of Secretary of State for a period not to exceed thirty days, until a Secretary shall have been appointed and have qualified.

WOODROW WILSON.

PRESIDENT WILSON'S REPLY TO BERLIN

No. 1803.]

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
Washington, June 9, 1915.

American Ambassador, Berlin:

You are instructed to deliver textually the following note to the Minister of Foreign Affairs:

In compliance with your Excellency's request I did not fail to transmit to my Government immediately upon their receipt your note of May 28 in reply to my note of May 15, and your supplementary note of June 1, setting forth the conclusions so far as reached by the Imperial German Government concerning the attacks on the American steamers Cushing and Gulflight. I am now instructed by my Government to communicate the following in reply:

The Government of the United States notes with gratification the full recognition by the Imperial German Government, in discussing the cases of the Cushing and the Gulflight, of the principle of the freedom of all parts of the open sea to neutral ships and the frank willingness of the Imperial German Government to acknowledge and meet its liability where the fact of attack upon neutral ships " which have not been guilty of any hostile act " by German aircraft or vessels of war is satisfactorily established; and the Government of the United States will in due course lay before the Imperial German Government, as it requests, full information concerning the attack on the steamer Cushing.

With regard to the sinking of the steamer Falaba, by which an American citizen lost his life, the Government of the United States is surprised to find the Imperial German Government contending that an effort on the part of a merchantman to escape capture and secure assistance alters the obligation of the officer seeking to make the capture in respect of the safety of the lives of those on board the merchantman, although the vessel had ceased her attempt to escape when torpedoed. These are not new circumstances. They have been in the minds of statesmen and of international jurists throughout the development of naval warfare, and the Government of the United States does not understand that they have ever been held to alter the principles of humanity upon which it has insisted. Nothing but actual forcible

resistance or continued efforts to escape by flight when ordered to stop for the purpose of visit on the part of the merchantman has ever been held to forfeit the lives of her passengers or crew. The Government of the United States, however, does not understand that the Imperial German Government is seeking in this case to relieve itself of liability, but only intends to set forth the circumstances which led the commander of the submarine to allow himself to be hurried into the course which he took.

Your Excellency's note, in discussing the loss of American lives resulting from the sinking of the steamship Lusitania, adverts at some length to certain information which the Imperial German Government has received with regard to the character and outfit of that vessel, and your Excellency expresses the fear that this information may not have been brought to the attention of the Government of the United States. It is stated in the note that the Lusitania was undoubedly equipped with masked guns, supplied with trained gunners and special ammunition, transporting troops from Canada, carrying a cargo not permitted under the laws of the United States to a vessel also carrying passengers, and serving, in virtual effect, as an auxiliary to the naval forces of Great Britain. Fortunately these are matters concerning which the Government of the United States is in a position to give the Imperial German Government official information. Of the facts alleged in your Excellency's note, if true, the Government of the United States would have been bound to take official cognizance in performing its recognized duty as a neutral power and in enforcing its national laws. It was its duty to see to it that the Lusitania was not armed for offensive action, that she was not serving as a transport, that she did not carry a cargo prohibited by the statutes of the United States, and that, if in fact she was a naval vessel of Great Britain, she should not receive clearance as a merchantman; and it performed that duty and enforced its statutes with scrupulous vigilance through its regularly constituted officials. It is able, therefore, to assure the Imperial German Government that it has been misinformed. If the Imperial German Government should deem itself to be in possession of convincing evidence that the officials of the Government of the Unted States did not perform these duties with thoroughness the Government of the United States sincerely hopes that it will submit that evidence for consideration.

Whatever may be the contentions of the Imperial German Government regarding the carriage of contraband of war on board the Lusitania or regarding the explosion of that material by the torpedo, it need only be said that in the view of this Government these contentions are irrelevant to the question of the legality of the methods used by the German naval authorities in sinking the vessel.

But the sinking of passenger ships involves principles of humanity which throw into the background any special circumstances of detail

that may be thought to affect the cases, principles which lift it, as the Imperial German Government will no doubt be quick to recognize and acknowledge, out of the class of ordinary subjects of diplomatic discussion or of international controversy. Whatever be the other facts regarding the Lusitania, the principal fact is that a great steamer, primarily and chiefly a conveyance for passengers, and carrying more than a thousand souls who had no part or lot in the conduct of the war, was torpedoed and sunk without so much as a challenge or a warning, and that men, women, and children were sent to their death in circumstances unparalleled in modern warfare. The fact that more than one hundred American citizens were among those who perished made it the duty of the Government of the United States to speak of these things and once more, with solemn emphasis, to call the attention of the Imperial German Government to the grave responsibility which the Government of the United States conceives that it has incurred in this tragic occurrence, and to the indisputable principle upon which that responsibility rests. The Government of the United States is contending for something much greater than mere rights of property or privileges of commerce. It is contending for nothing less high and sacred than the rights of humanity, which every Government honors itself in respecting and which no Government is justified in resigning on behalf of those under its care and authority. Only her actual resistance to capture or refusal to stop when ordered to do so for the purpose of visit could have afforded the commander of the submarine any justification for so much as putting the lives of those on board the ship in jeopardy. This principle the Government of the United States understands the explicit instructions issued on August 3, 1914,* by the Imperial German Admiralty to its commanders at sea to have recognized and embodied, as do the naval codes of all other nations, and upon it every traveler and seaman had a right to depend. It is upon this principle of humanity as well as upon the law founded upon this principle that the United States must stand.

*The reference made by President Wilson in his first note of May 13 to the German Government regarding the sinking of the Lusitania to the "humane and enlightened attitude hitherto assumed by the Imperial German Government in matters of international right, and particularly with regard to the freedom of the seas," was based, it was learned in Washington on June 12, upon the instructions of Aug. 3, 1914, which the German Government sent to its naval commanders. These German rules are now in the possession of the State Department. While no mention is made in them of submarine warfare, the extent and method of the exercise of the right of search and the stoppage of ships is prescribed with great nicety, and provision is made for the safety of passengers and crew. After outlining the purpose of visiting and searching vessels, the regulations state:

> All measures are to be carried out in a form whose observance, even against the enemy, will comport with the dignity of the German Empire and with a regard for neutrals conformable to the usages of international law and the German interest.

The method of signaling ships to be halted is prescribed, and it is directed that "two successive blank charges are to be fired, and, if necessary, a shotted charge over the ship" if the signals are not obeyed. "If the ship does not then stop or makes resistance, the Captain will compel her to stop," the instructions continue. After specifying what ships may be captured and destroyed, the regulations continue:

> Before destruction all persons on board, if possible with their personal effects, are to be placed in safety and all the ship's papers and other articles of evidence, which in the opinion of the interested parties are of value for the judgment of the prize court, are to be taken over by the Captain.

The Government of the United States is happy to observe that your Excellency's note closes with the intimation that the Imperial German Government is willing, now as before, to accept the good offices of the United States in an attempt to come to an understanding with the Government of Great Britain by which the character and conditions of the war upon the sea may be changed. The Government of the United States would consider it a privilege thus to serve its friends and the world. It stands ready at any time to convey to either Government any intimation or suggestion the other may be willing to have it convey and cordially invites the Imperial German Government to make use of its services in this way at its convenience. The whole world is concerned in anything that may bring about even a partial accommodation of interests or in any way mitigate the terrors of the present distressing conflict.

In the meantime, whatever arrangement may happily be made between the parties to the war, and whatever may in the opinion of the Imperial German Government have been the provocation or the circumstantial justification for the past acts of its commanders at sea, the Government of the United States confidently looks to see the justice and humanity of the Government of Germany vindicated in all cases where Americans have been wronged or their rights as neutrals invaded.

The Government of the United States therefore very earnestly and very solemnly renews the representations of its note transmitted to the Imperial German Government on the 15th of May, and relies in these representations upon the principles of humanity, the universally recogized understandings of international law, and the ancient friendship of the German Nation.

The Government of the United States cannot admit that the proclamation of a war zone from which neutral ships have been warned to keep away may be made to operate as in any degree an abbreviation of the rights either of American shipmasters or of American citizens bound on lawful errands as passengers on merchant ships of belligerent nationality. It does not understand the Imperial German Government to question those rights. It understands it, also, to accept as established beyond question the principle that the lives of non combatants cannot lawfully or rightfully be put in jeopardy by the capture or destruction of an unresisting merchantman, and to recognize the obligation to take sufficient precaution to ascertain whether a suspected merchantman is in fact of belligerent nationality or is in fact carrying contraband of war under a neutral flag. The Government of the United States therefore deems it reasonable to expect that the Imperial German Government will adopt the measures necessary to put these principles into practice in respect of the safeguarding of American lives and American ships, and asks for assurances that this will be done.

ROBERT LANSING,
Secretary of State ad Interim.

THE LUSITANIA'S "GUNS"

In a Washington dispatch of June 2, 1915, *to* THE NEW YORK TIMES, the fol*lowing report appeared:*

In his conversation with President Wilson today the German Ambassador said that he had obtained evidence through means of affidavits that the Lusitania was an armed vessel, as asserted by the German Government. The affidavits to which Count von Bernstorff referred have been placed in possession of the State Department, which has turned them over to the Department of Justice for an investigation as to the statements sworn to and the character of the individuals making them.

One of the affidavits is made by Gustav Stahl of 20 Leroy Street, New York City. He says:

> On the day prior to the sailing of the Lusitania, I was asked by my friend, A. Lietch, who was employed as first cabin steward, to help him to bring his trunk aboard. In the course of the evening we went on board, without being hindered by the quartermaster on guard. After having remained some time in the "gloria," (steward's quarters,) we went to the stern main deck. About fifteen to eighteen feet from the entrance to the "gloria," on port and starboard, respectively, I saw two guns of twelve to fifteen centimeters. They were covered with leather, but the barrel was distinctly to be seen. To satisfy my curiosity I unfastened the buckles to ascertain the calibre of the guns. I could also ascertain that the guns were mounted on deck on wooden blocks. The guns were placed about three feet from the respective ship sides and the wall could be removed at that particular place.
>
> On the foredeck there were also two guns of the same calibre and covered in the same manner. They were placed at about fifteen to twenty feet from the entrance of the crew's quarters, and four feet from the ship side, where the wall could also be removed.

Josephine Weir, who describes herself as a New York boarding house keeper, provided another affidavit. She swore that Lietch, who is named in Stahl's statement, told her he was to sail on the Lusitania as a steward, and when she spoke of the danger from German submarines, he said:

"Oh, I am not afraid. We have four big brightly polished copper guns."

A man named Grieve has an affidavit that he heard Lietch make this statement to Mrs. Weir.

In an affidavit furnished by one Bruckner it is stated that he saw a cannon on the Lusitania. He was standing on the dock in New York at the time, he avers.

The affidavits were supplied to the State Department by the German Embassy in order to support the allegation, contained in the German response to President Wilson's note of May 13, that the Lusitania was an armed vessel.

By The Associated Press.

WASHINGTON, June 2.—The four affidavits as presented to the State Department by the German Embassy alleging that guns were carried by the Lusitania are believed to constitute the evidence to which the German Government referred in its last note. Should it develop that the Foreign Office had been misinformed, German diplomatists said, an acknowledgment of the mistake would not be withheld.

These affidavits were not made public by either the embassy or the State Department, but the character of the individuals who made them and their testimony is being made the subject of a quiet investigation. Those officials who had seen the statements, however, were confident that they could not be accepted as disproving the testimony given by Inspectors whose duty it was to search for guns.

THE ARREST OF STAHL.

The following report appeared in THE NEW YORK TIMES *June* 11, 1915:

Gustav Stahl, the former German soldier who made an affidavit that he saw four guns mounted on the Lusitania on the night before it sailed from this port on its last voyage and who disappeared immediately after the affidavit was made public, was produced by Secret Service men before the Federal Grand Jury yes-

terday afternoon at a proceeding to determine whether Paul Koenig, alias Stemler, who is the head of the detective bureau of the Hamburg-American Line, and others unnamed, had entered into a conspiracy to defraud the United States Government. The fraud is not stated specifically, and the charge is a technical one that may cover a variety of acts.

Stahl, who speaks little English, affirmed through an interpreter to the Grand Jury that he had seen the guns on the Lusitania. He was questioned for two hours and a half and told his story with great detail.

As he was leaving the Grand Jury room he was arrested by United States Marshal Thomas B. McCarthy on a complaint made on information and belief by Assistant District Attorney Raymond H. Sarfaty that Stahl had committed perjury in his testimony before the Federal Grand Jury. Stahl was held in bail of $10,000 by United States Commissioner Houghton and locked up in the Tombs.

Stahl was the only witness heard by the Grand Jury in the proceedings against Koenig. It was learned that Stahl had been in conference with Koenig before he made the affidavit, and that his affidavit had passed through Koenig's hands before it went to Ambassador Bernstorff, who submitted it to Secretary of State Bryan.

The proceedings against Koenig were initiated to establish the charge that Koenig used improper influence to induce Stahl to make the affidavit.

While Stahl was waiting in the Marshal's chamber in the Federal Building, after his arrest, for the arrival of Edward Sanford, a lawyer, of 27 William Street, who had been assigned to act as his counsel, he was asked, through an interpreter:

"Would you be willing to spend twenty years in jail for your Fatherland?"

"Make it a hundred!" he replied, in German, and then broke into a hearty laugh.

Stahl is about 27 years old and slightly under middle size. He has a round, somewhat rosy countenance, dark hair getting very thin in front, and parted in the middle, dark-brown eyes and a small, closely-cropped dark mustache. He was calm and smiling, ready with his answers, and very insistent and emphatic in repeating that he had seen the guns on the Lusitania.

He was neatly dressed in a dark mixed suit, with a new straw hat, a green tie on which was a stickpin with a dog's head in porcelain, brightly polished tan shoes, and lavender socks with scarlet-embroidered flowers.

Following is the complaint on which he was held:

Raymond H. Sarfaty, being duly sworn, deposes and says that he is an Assistant United States Attorney for the Southern District of New York.

That on the 10th day of June, 1915, there was then and there pending before the Grand Jury of the United States in and for the Southern District of New York, a certain proceeding against one Paul Koenig, alias Stemler, and others, upon a charge of having conspired to defraud the United States, in violation of Section 37, U. S. C. C.; that on the said 10th day of June, 1915, the foreman of said Grand Jury, Frederick M. Delano, an officer duly empowered and qualified to administer oaths in the proceedings before said Grand Jury, duly administered an oath to the said Gustav Stahl, that he would testify to the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, with respect to the aforesaid matter then being presented before the said Grand Jury; that the said Gustav Stahl, at the time and place aforesaid, and within the district aforesaid, and within the jurisdiction of this court, after said oath was administered, knowingly and fraudulently committed perjury, in that he testified in part, in substance, and effect as follows:

That on the 30th day of April, 1915, the said Gustav Stahl went aboard the steamship Lusitania at the City of New York, in the Southern District of New York, with one Neal J. Leach; that while on said steamship he saw four guns on one of the decks of said steamship, two forward and two aft; that the said guns were mounted on wooden blocks; that the said guns were covered with leather.

That affiant is informed and believes, and therefore avers, that, whereas, in truth and in fact, the said Gustav Stahl did not, on the 30th day of April, 1915, go aboard the steamship Lusitania at the City of New York, in the Southern District of New York, with one Neal J. Leach, nor did he, the said Gustav Stahl, go aboard the steamship Lusitania on said last mentioned date; and the said Gustav Stahl did not see four guns on the deck of the said steamship, two forward

and two aft, nor did he, the said Gustav Stahl, see four guns on the deck of said steamship mounted on wooden blocks; nor did he, the said Gustav Stahl, see four guns on the deck of said steamship covered with leather.

That the said matters testified to before the said Grand Jury by the said Gustav Stahl, as aforesaid, were material matters in the investigation aforesaid; against the peace of the United States and their dignity, and contrary to the form of the statute of the United States in such case made and provided.

That to disclose the source of affiant's information at this time might defeat the ends of justice.

Wherefore, affiant prays that said Gustav Stahl may be arrested and imprisoned, or bailed, as the case may be.

This complaint was read to Stahl when he was taken before Commissioner Houghton, being interpreted for him, sentence by sentence. When the name of Neal J. Leach was read as the alleged steward who had taken him aboard the Lusitania, Stahl exclaimed: "Not Neal." In his affidavit he had described the steward as "A. Leach." A steward named Neal J. Leach went down when the Lusitania was torpedoed.

When that part of the complaint was read which said that Stahl had not seen guns on the Lusitania, he exclaimed in German:

"Yes, I did see them."

After the complaint had been read, Commissioner Houghton asked about bail. Assistant District Attorney Roger B. Wood, who conducted the proceedings before the Grand Jury, said:

"Ten thousand dollars, not a cent less."

Commissioner Houghton fixed bail at that figure. He then asked Stahl if he had anything to say, and the prisoner replied:

"Before I say anything I would like to see several gentlemen."

Commissioner Houghton then asked if he had a lawyer. Stahl replied that he had not, and that he had no means to employ one.

"Shall I assign one for you?" asked the Commissioner.

"No," replied Stahl; "I should like to have Mr. Sandford, who acted for me yesterday and the day before."

He referred to Edward Sandford of 27 William Street, who was counsel for Carl Buenz, a Director of the Hamburg-American Line, and for other officials of that line, who were indicted by the Federal Grand Jury on March 1 on the charge of conspiring against the United States by making out false clearance papers and false manifests for the collection of customs in connection with the steamships Fram, Somerstadt, Lorenzo, and Berwind, which were loaded with coal and provisions intended for the German cruiser Karlsruhe and the auxiliary cruiser Kaiser Wilhelm der Grosse.

Commissioner Houghton assigned Mr. Sandford as counsel for Stahl. The Commissioner then asked Stahl if he had any friends in the room, to which Stahl with a smile, replied in the negative.

"I would like to have the date of June 24 set for the hearing," said Assistant District Attorney Wood. "The Grand Jury which is now holding this investigation will probably continue its hearings until then."

Commissioner Houghton fixed the date accordingly.

After the hearing adjourned Stahl was asked where he had been since his disappearance. He replied in German:

"I told the Grand Jury all I have to say."

He was asked where he would live if he got bail.

"I don't want anybody to know," he said. "I have had so many visitors in the past few days that I don't want any more, if I can help it."

He was asked if he was a German reservist, and he replied that that was his business. Other questions got the same response. He denied that he knew Paul Koenig, the Hamburg-American detective, but he admitted he knew Stemler, which is a name sometimes used by the detective. When he was informed that he was to spend the night in the Tombs he said:

"Will Stemler be with me?"

He seemed disappointed when he was told that he would have to go there alone. Stahl was asked if Josephine Weir, who had signed a corroborative affidavit, knew of his whereabouts during his hiding. He refused to answer this question,

but of Josephine Weir he said in English:

"Oh, that's a nice girl."

Stahl sat smoking a cigar and laughing in the best of temper until a flashlight powder was exploded unexpectedly. He put both hands to his face and hid in a corner made by a wall and a filing cabinet, but when he realized that his picture had been taken he ran to a man whom he thought to be a Federal employe, and protested in German. A little later Mr. Sandford arrived with another interpreter and went into consultation with his client.

Stahl went to Albany on June 4, the day after his affidavit was made public. While a search was being conducted in this city and surrounding cities by Federal agents and newspapers, Stahl was in hiding in Albany, his expenses there being paid for him by a confidential adviser sent with him.

Instead of relaxing after a few days, the search for Stahl grew more rigorous. When it was seen that there was little chance of keeping Stahl in permanent seclusion and that the extraordinary character of the disappearance of the German Ambassador's chief witness against the Lusitania was arousing intense nationwide interest, Paul Koenig, the Secret Service man of the Hamburg-American Line, decided that it would be better if he were found at once.

On Monday of this week Koenig and Mr. Sandford called on Inspector Lamb of the Customs Service and told him that Stahl was at Albany and would be available if the Federal officials wanted him. Superintendent William M. Offley, of the special agents of the Department of Justice, had at that time some strong clues as to Stahl's whereabouts.

On Tuesday Stahl and his personal conductor arrived in this city from Albany and were met by Superintendent Offley and Special Agents Adams and Pigniullo. Stahl was taken to the office of Superintendent Offley in the presence of Mr. Sandford, who was asked to take part in the proceedings in the interests of fair play, although he was not then Stahl's lawyer.

At this examination and at a second one held on Wednesday, Stahl repeated his charge that he had seen guns on the Lusitania. He showed great familiarity with the details of the construction of the Lusitania.

At the end of the examination it was urged by representatives of the Hamburg-American Line that Stahl should stay under the watch of the Federal agents in order that, if he told a different story later, there could be no charge that outsiders had tampered with him. Stahl remained with the Government detectives on Tuesday, Wednesday and yesterday, although he was not under arrest. When he appeared yesterday before the Grand Jury it was under a subpoena.

Assistant District Attorney Wood said yesterday that the charge of perjury had been lodged against Stahl on the strength of the statement by the Collector of the Port, Dudley Field Malone, that there were no guns aboard the Lusitania.

"We can bring fifty witnesses," he said, "to prove that the Lusitania had no guns on board and that Stahl is guilty of perjury."

Mr. Wood was asked if there was any evidence that Stahl had ever been in the employ of the German Consul-General at this port or of Captain Boy-Ed, Naval Attaché of the German Embassy, who is said to be the head of the German Secret Service here. Mr. Wood refused to discuss either question. When he was asked if the investigation promised to involve any man of importance, he said:

"I don't know. We are holding the Grand Jury investigation to find out all that we can about the case."

After consulting with Stahl, Mr. Sandford said that he would not represent the prisoner but would seek to get a good lawyer for him at once. When asked if he represented Koenig, he refused to say. He was asked if he knew anything about the charge against Koenig. He said:

"No. The charge of attempting to defraud the Government is a charge on

which the Government can get anybody at any time for anything."

CAPT. TURNER'S DENIAL.

A London cable dispatch of June 15 *to* THE NEW YORK TIMES *said:*

At the opening of the Court of Inquiry today into the torpedoing of the steamship Lusitania on May 7, two outstanding points were vividly impressed. One was that the Cunarder was unarmed. The other was that the ship was proceeding at reduced speed, eighteen knots an hour, only nineteen of her twenty-five boilers being used, the result of her effort to save in coal and labor.

Sir Edward Carson, the Attorney General, in outlining the evidence in the hands of the Crown, adverted impressively to President Wilson's note to Germany on the sinking of the Lusitania in which the President informed the German Government that it was wrong in assuming that the Lusitania was equipped with masked guns and manned by trained gunners. "We have ample evidence to disprove the German lie that the Lusitania was armed," said the Attorney General. "Aside from the word of witnesses we have that of President Wilson in his recent note to Germany, based upon investigation made by officials under him. The sinking of the Lusitania was murder."

Sir Edward lifted a newspaper clipping of the President's note from the table and slowly read the passage disposing of the German allegation that the Lusitania was an armed auxiliary.

Captain W. T. Turner, who seemed slightly grayer than before the Lusitania was torpedoed, in that way alone showing the strain under which he has been since his ship was sunk under him, gave evidence that there was not one gun on the Lusitania's deck, and declared that the German assertion that the steamer was armed was a "sheer lie."

STAHL INDICTED FOR PERJURY.

In THE NEW YORK TIMES *of June* 19 *appeared the following report of the Grand Jury's indictment of Stahl on a charge of perjury and the announcement that the Federal investigation will be continued:*

Gustav Stahl, the alleged German reservist, who made an affidavit that he had seen guns on board the Lusitania on the day before she sailed on her last voyage, was indicted on a charge of perjury by the Federal Grand Jury yesterday. The perjury charge is based on his testimony before the Grand Jury, during which examination he repeated that he had seen the guns on the Lusitania as set forth in his affidavit filed by the German Embassy in Washington and now in the hands of the State Department.

The name of Paul Koenig, who, it is said, was known to Stahl as Stemler, and who is the chief of the secret service of the Hamburg-American Line, is mentioned by name in the indictment. The indictment sets forth that on June 10 there was pending before the Grand Jury an investigation concerning Koenig and others and that Stahl was among the witnesses called in the course of that investigation. It then goes on to say that Stahl testified in substance and to the effect that on April 30 he went aboard the Lusitania, then with one Leach, and that while on the vessel he saw four guns on one of the decks of the steamship, two forward and two aft, and all mounted on wooden blocks and covered with leather. The indictment further charges that at the time of so swearing Stahl did not believe it to be true that he had been on board the Lusitania and had seen the four guns.

The indictment, in conclusion, charges that there were no guns upon the decks of the Lusitania on April 30. "Therefore," the Grand Jury charges, "that Stahl, after taking an oath before a competent officer to truly depose and testify, did willfully, knowingly and feloniously and contrary to his said oath, depose and state material matters which were not true and which he did not then believe to be true, and thereby did commit willful and corrupt perjury against the peace of the United States and their dignity and contrary to the form of the statute of the United States in such cases made and provided."

Stahl will be arraigned before Judge Russell in the criminal branch of the United States District Court on Monday.

He is now in the Tombs in default of $10,000 bail. Should he be convicted of perjury he may be sentenced to prison for five years or fined $10,000, or both.

The indictment of Stahl does not mean that the Government's investigation of the Lusitania affidavits, and the way in which they were procured, is at an end. On the other hand it is proceeding vigorously. Three witnesses, all Government officials, were before the Grand Jury yesterday in connection with the case. Heinz Hardenberg, who was found in Cincinnati a week ago today and brought here to be examined by the Grand Jury, has not yet appeared before that body, although the Government agents insist they can produce him when his testimony is desired.

THE NEBRASKAN CASE.

An Associated Press dispatch dated at London on May 26, 1915, *reported:*

The American steamer Nebraskan, Captain Green, from Liverpool May 24 for Delaware Breakwater, was torpedoed yesterday evening by a submarine at a point forty miles west-southwest of Fastnet, off the south coast of Ireland. [Captain Green's report, given below, says the Nebraskan was "struck by either mine or torpedo."]

The sea was calm at the time. The crew at once took to the boats and stood by the steamer. It was soon ascertained that the Nebraskan was not seriously damaged, but she had been struck forward, and her foreholds were full of water.

The crew returned on board and got the vessel under way. No lives were lost among the crew. The Nebraskan did not carry any passengers.

This information was received at the British Admiralty in London, and it was at once communicated to the American Embassy.

Immediately she was struck the Nebraskan began calling for help by wireless. Brow Head received the wireless communication at 9 P. M. yesterday from Crookhaven.

A message to Lloyd's from Kinsale, Ireland, says that the Nebraskan passed that point at 11 o'clock this morning. She was down at the bows, but was proceeding under her own steam, and flying the signal: "I am not under control."

The vessel passed Queenstown in the afternoon on the way to Liverpool. She was proceeding at eight knots.

A message to The Star from Liverpool says that the name and nationality of the Nebraskan were painted in large letters on her sides. She was in water ballast.

A message to Lloyd's says that an armed trawler went to the assistance of the Nebraskan and stood by her all night.

The report that the Nebraskan had been torpedoed caused surprise to American officials here. Apparently the affair occurred before 9 o'clock last night.

Last evening was clear, and the period between 8 and 9 o'clock is the twilight hour in the British islands at this season.

The German submarine campaign is continuing actively. Dispatches from Norway state that the people of that country have been aroused by the sinking last week of the Norwegian steamer Minerva and the attempt to torpedo the Iris, which went to her assistance.

The steamer Cromer, loaded with passengers, had a narrow escape from being torpedoed while bound for Rotterdam yesterday. A submarine fired a torpedo without warning. It missed the ship by only fifteen yards. According to the Captain's story, told to Rotterdam correspondents, the periscope was seen 500 yards distant, and then the wash of the torpedo, which was moving so rapidly that nothing could be done to avoid it. The attack occurred at a point four miles north of North Hinder Lightship.

The first news of the Nebraskan having been disabled off the southwest coast of Ireland was received on May 26, *at the office of the American-Hawaiian Line in a message from the Captain, which read:*

Struck by either mine or torpedo, forty-eight miles west of Fastnet. Am steaming under convoy to Liverpool. Water in lower hold. No one injured.

GREENE.

Three dispatches concerning the Nebraskan incident were received at the State Department at Washington on

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MARQUESS OF LANSDOWNE
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WALTER RUNCIMAN
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President of the Board of Agriculture

MARQUESS OF CREWE
Lord President of the Council

SIR JOHN SIMON
Secretary of State for Home Affairs

ARTHUR HENDERSON
President of the Board of Education

EARL CURZON
Lord Privy Seal

Map indicating sites of attacks on American ships or American lives in the German submarine war zone. The damage to the Nebraskan was sustained on May 25, last.

May 26—one from Walter H. Page, the American Ambassador in London, and two from Robert P. Skinner, the United States Consul General in London. The dispatch from the Ambassador said:

Urgent. Report at midnight last night to British Admiralty from Lands End states that American steamer Nebraskan torpedoed forty-five miles south by west of Southcliffe, crew taking to boats. British trawler standing by now reports Nebraskan still afloat and making for Liverpool with four holds full of water. No lives reported lost.

The first dispatch from Consul General Skinner was as follows:

Admiralty reports American steamer Nebraskan, Liverpool for Delaware Breakwater, torpedoed forty miles south by west of Fastnet. Crew in boats. Standing by. Weather fine.

The following cablegram came from the Consul General:

Nebraskan proceeding to Liverpool under own steam about 8½ knots, crew having returned on board. Apparently no lives lost. Extent of damage unknown.

In an Associated Press dispatch from Crookhaven, Ireland, on May 26, this report appeared:

It was learned today that a submarine

was seen last night off the southern coast of Ireland. She was sighted soon after 9 P. M., near Barley Cove, which is about ten miles from Fastnet. The mishap to the steamer Nebraskan is reported to have occurred shortly before 9 o'clock, about forty miles from Fastnet.

A steamer was seen outside Crookhaven, which lies just north of Barley Cove, at about 9 o'clock last night. As she approached in the direction of Fastnet Lighthouse two loud reports of a gun were heard. A boat in Crookhaven Harbor went in the direction of the steamer which put about and was lost to sight.

Several residents of Crookhaven turned out and went along the shore, keeping a sharp lookout. They sighted a submarine off Cove, near the mouth of a little creek. One of the men on shore fired two shots with a rifle at the man in the conning tower of the submarine. The submarine dived immediately, but soon rose again further out. Three more shots were fired at her and she again disappeared.

The detailed report on the Nebraskan incident by Lieutenant Towers of the American Embassy in London, as submitted by Ambassador Gerard to the State Department, is thus described in a Washington dispatch to THE NEW YORK TIMES *of June* 16, 1915:

Evidence indicating that the American steamer Nebraskan was torpedoed by a German submarine on May 25, was obtained by the State Department today when it received a long mail report from Ambassador Page at London containing the results of the investigation conducted by the American Consul General at Livrepool upon the arrival of the Nebraskan at that port.

Ambassador Page's mail report contained the detailed report made by Lieutenant John H. Towers, Naval Attaché of the American Embassy at London, who made a technical and expert examination of the Nebraskan in drydock at Liverpool. Lieutenant Towers's report contained a number of photographs of the shattered fore section of the hull of the Nebraskan, but the most interesting feature of the report consisted of exhibits in the form of what Secretary Lansing described as "fragments of metal."

While officials would not make known the character of these fragments or the details of the report until they had opportunity to carefully examine the data, it was learned tonight that the report indicated that the Nebraskan was torpedoed, and that the fragments sent with the report consisted of portions of the shell of a torpedo, which were found in the hull of the Nebraskan.

The report also contained the depositions of three of the officers of the Nebraskan, taken by the Consul at Liverpool, including the statement of the Captain and the Chief Engineer. The latter stated that at 8:24 o'clock on the night of May 25, after the flag of the Nebraskan had been hauled down, he observed a white streak in the water perpendicular to the ship on the starboard side and a severe shock was almost instantly felt, followed by a violent explosion abreast of No. 1 hold.

The report of Lieutenant Towers showed that the hatch covers of No. 1 hold were blown off, also the cargo booms above it, and that the bottom plating and pieces of the side of the ship were blown up through two decks of the ship.

THE "FRAGMENTS OF METAL"

The following appeared as a special dispatch from Washington to THE NEW YORK TIMES, *dated June* 17:

Despite the extreme secrecy of officials, indications were abundant in Washington tonight that the case of the American steamer Nebraskan, believed to have been torpedoed by a German submarine, was assuming great importance in the eyes of the United States Government. One evidence of this is found in the unusual pains that are being taken to determine by indisputable evidence whether the Nebraskan, which was damaged by an external explosion off Fastnet Rock, on May 25, was the victim of a torpedo or a mine.

Despite the reports forwarded by Ambassador Page, the Administration is unwilling to base its conclusions in the Ne-

braskan case on the verbal evidence it already possesses. It has determined upon an independent expert, technical, and scientific examination of the "fragments of metal" that have been sent by Ambassador Page, in conjunction with the photographs that have been received. This investigation is being conducted by experts of the Navy Department, and will probably take about ten days. Robert Lansing, the Secretary of State ad interim, refused tonight to discuss the "fragments of metal" received from Ambassador Page in connection with the Nebraskan case further than to say that the reports received yesterday, with the photographs and accompanying exhibits, had been referred to the Navy Department. Josephus Daniels, Secretary of the Navy, said tonight that the report had been referred to experts of the Navy Department for a confidential report to be submitted to the State Department.

Neither at the State Department nor from any official or officer of the Navy Department was it possible to obtain any further clue as to the character of the reports.

It was learned that the reports accompanying the set of photographs and "fragments of metal" were not the original reports on the Nebraskan case, made by Lieutenants Towers and McBride, which were received by the State Department last week, but were in the nature of a second set of supplementary reports, based on actual examination of the battered bow of the Nebraskan and the technical examination of the interior of her forward compartment. This examination was made by Lieutenants Towers and McBride, while the Nebraskan was in a drydock at Liverpool. Photographs of the interior and exterior of the steamer's hull were taken by the naval experts.

The "fragments" in question will be analyzed metallurgically for the purpose of ascertaining precisely what metal they contain. Generally speaking, torpedoes are made of a higher grade of metal, within and without, than that used in the construction of mines. The exterior metal of torpedoes consists of nickel steel and copper, and the interior mechanism includes the same kinds of metal and brass. The exterior shell of a mine is generally made of less expensive material, such as galvanized iron, but the interior mechanism and clockwork are of finer metal.

In the examination being conducted by the Navy Department the metallurgical nature of the fragments will be ascertained after their size, shape, contour and character have been very carefully studied by a large number of naval experts who will endeavor to ascertain not only the character of the naval engine of destruction these fragments once fitted, but also the particular portion of torpedo or mine the fragments constituted. These studies and tests are to be conducted partly in the Navy Department, partly at the Washington Navy Yard, partly at the naval proving grounds at Indian Head, Md., and partly at the experimental station at the Naval Academy at Annapolis.

All the naval experts in Washington qualified to have a hand in the tests will be utilized. There are some naval experts outside of Washington, within a few days' reach of the city, who will be summoned here to participate in the examination It is understood the examination will continue about ten days before any report can be formulated for submission to the State Department.

While this unusual care is being exercised in the tests of the fragments, it is understood that there is nothing in the conclusions thus far drawn in the reports to indicate that the fragments were once part of a mine, and that the reports as they stand indicate that the Nebraskan was hit by a torpedo. This is the conclusion the Administration is expected to draw from the evidence unless the technical examination of the fragments nullifies this evidence.

Dr. Meyer-Gerhard's Mission

In a cable dispatch from Berlin, via London, dated June 2, 1915, *the following complaint of lack of official news from Washington and of means for obtainig it was made known by the German Government:*

The German Foreign Office is unable to communicate with Count von Bernstorff, the Ambassador at Washington, except by wireless in plain language, and even this mode of communication is uncertain during periods when the static conditions of the atmosphere are unfavorable.

Reports which reach the newspapers are regarded with suspicion, not only because they come exclusively through British channels, but on account of their contradictory character.

One set of reports intimates that the German counter-proposals have been found to harmonize with Mr. Bryan's plan of providing for a period of investigation in cases of international conflict, while other advices reproduce various American editorials, declaring that the German note is utterly unacceptable, and demanding that steps of varying degrees of aggressiveness be taken.

While waiting, the time is being utilized by some of the more aggressive German newspapers and writers of the type of Reventlow to launch abusive articles against the United States and President Wilson's policy, but the press and public generally seem desirous of avoiding anything which might increase the tension between the two Governments while the German note is under consideration. In this they are acting in complete accord with the Foreign Office, which apparently is sincerely anxious to preserve friendly relations with the United States and deprecates any publication which would tend to inflamé the feelings either in Germany or America.

There seems to be no doubt that the Foreign Office would rejoice at a solution consistent with German interests, and it is considered here that one of the unfortunate features of the situation is the inability of the Foreign Office to cope with the chronic firebrands of the press.

This complaint was followed by the news, published by The Chicago Herald on June 4, *that a special arrangement had been effected by Ambassador Bernstorff in his conference with President Wilson on June* 2, *as follows:*

With the approval of the President of the United States, Count von Bernstorff, the German Ambassador in Washington, has sent a special agent to Berlin to discuss the American view of the Lusitania tragedy with the German Government.

The agent is Dr. Anton Meyer-Gerhard. He sailed today for Denmark. It is not believed that his voyage will be interfered with. Mr. Gerhard's connection with the great question between the United States and Germany has been guarded with the utmost secrecy. It leaked out only when inquiries were made regarding his departure in such a hurry. Mr. Gerhard himself could not be seen.

The suggestion that Mr. Gerhard go to Berlin was made by Count von Bernstorff to the President at the White House conference on Wednesday. The Ambassador described to the President the difficulties he experienced in transmitting information to his Government. He cannot use the cables, which are in the possession of the Allies. So far as wireless is concerned, conditions make it almost impossible to send anything but the briefest dispatches. As a result, Germany is not well informed in regard to the reasons controlling the policy of the Administration or the state of public sentiment. If his Government were adequately informed the Ambassador is

confident that it would look at the demands of the United States in a different fashion.

The President apparently appreciated the view presented by the Ambassador. In any event, he authorized him to send an agent to Berlin, and it is presumed that thereupon he was apprised of the identity of the man selected. Count von Bernstorff vouched for Mr. Gerhard as thoroughly informed on the entire diplomatic situation as well as upon the condition of public sentiment. In addition, he is carrying full explanatory reports from the Ambassador himself.

[Dr. Meyer-Gerhard arrived in Berlin via Copenhagen on June 16 and reported at the German Colonial Office. While en route The Providence Journal and The New York Tribune published stories, varying in detail, to the effect that the United States Government had been hoaxed into obtaining safe conduct into Germany for a Dr. Alfred Meyer, reported to be a German buyer of munitions of war in this country, either under the name of Dr. Anton Meyer-Gerhard, falsely given, or under Meyer-Gerhard's protection. On receiving assurances to the contrary from Count von Bernstorff, Secretary Lansing announced on June 18 that the charge was false.]

Germany's Press Opinion

Editorial comment of the German newspapers on President Wilson's note of June 9 was reported by THE TIMES *staff correspondent in Berlin on June 12 as being "surprisingly restrained and optimistic." Captain L. Persius, the naval critic of the Berliner Tageblatt, which is close to Dr. von Bethmann-Hollweg, writing under the caption, "On the Way to an Understanding," said:*

An agreement is possible and the Washington Government shows an honest desire to arrive at an agreement. This is characteristic of the American note. There is no evidence of rattling the sabre, as those who viewed American statesmen and American conditions rightly anticipated. The hopes of our enemies who have already rejoiced at the thought that the Stars and Stripes soon would be floating beside the union jack and the tricolor are proved false, and one can anticipate that the answer of our Government will put aside that last stumbling block to doing away with all differences. The note indicates that America by no means takes the position that the German Admiralty must issue an order to end the submarine warfare before any negotiations can be entered upon. Giving up submarine warfare is only hinted at by implication. Germany's humanity is appealed to entirely in general terms and merely the expectation is expressed that the lives of American citizens and their property will be spared in the future.

A willingness is expressed to help make England give up the plan to starve out Germany. The giving up of the attempt to starve Germany out on the part of England is the most important point for us. The main interest will centre in future upon it. Will England declare herself ready to return to the basis of the London Declaration? Will she no longer place any difficulties in the way of neutral commerce, and in particular will she remove the declaration of the North Sea as a war zone? We will wait and see if the English statesmen have learned that Germany can't be starved. We can await Great Britain's decision with quietness.

The evening edition of the Vossische Zeitung said:

President Wilson's note creates no new situation between Germany and America, but its honorable and carefully weighed

tone will help to clear up the existing situation. There can be no difference of opinion about Mr. Wilson's final aim—that the lives of peaceful neutrals must be kept out of danger. What we can do and what America must do to achieve this will require negotiations between us and America, which must be conducted with every effort toward being just and by maintaining our standpoint in the friendliest spirit.

The Lokalanzeiger commented:

The colored reports spread by our enemies are not borne out by the text, which contains no trace of an ultimatum. The tone is friendly and free from all brusqueness. The contents are only a rewriting of the earlier standpoint, and it will be a matter for further negotiations to state again the arguments advanced by Germany and to justify them. It would be premature to comment on individual points, particularly those of a technical nature. One can rejoice, however, that the Wilson note is so couched as not to preclude a possibility for further negotiations promising success.

He gives the German Government an opportunity to send further proofs in the Lusitania case and declares his willingness to negotiate between Germany and England relative to mutual concessions having a bearing on submarine warfare. This offer, to be sure, would have been decidedly more valuable if he had expressed a willingness to take the initiative. But be that as it may, in the further negotiations America will see that on the German side exists an honorable desire to deal with friendly suggestions in a friendly spirit. In any event, the situation resulting from the American note is such that it is apparent that in the statement trumpeted abroad that America had also entered the ranks of our enemies the wish was father to the thought.

The widely read Mittag Zeitung said of the note:

The alarming messages which the Reuter Bureau appended to the Bryan resignation must be all taken back today. There is neither an ultimatum nor any threatening language toward Germany in the note. To be sure, the difference between America's and Germany's conception of the submarine warfare remain. The Americans for the present simply will not see that the best protection against endangering the lives of American citizens is for Americans not to go aboard English ships.

Over the question of whether the Lusitania carried ammunition or not, which for us is not in question, the present inquiry will throw some light. In any case, the English hope and prophecy that the new note would mean a rupture in the German-American negotiations have not been fulfilled. For everything else we can wait with calmness.

The morning edition of the Vossiche Zeitung, commenting on the summary, merely said:

The contents and tone of this note make it inexplainable that the break between Wilson and Bryan was on its account. After Bryan's declarations we had expected a note which might conjure up danger of a German-American war. Mr. Bryan, who heads all the American peace associations and likes to hear himself popularly referred to as the Prince of Peace, apparently wants to appear as the savior from this danger for reasons of internal politics, so as to win peace friends among the German-Americans, Irish, and Jews with a view to the Democratic Presidential nomination. Mr. Wilson, on the other hand, hopes as negotiator between England and Germany to play the rôle of arbiter mundi and through a great success in foreign politics assure his position at home. The new Secretary, Mr. Lansing, has been long considered a coming man. He has by no means been considered an out-and-out friend of England.

The Morgen Post, in a particularly sane two-column editorial, expresses Germany's genuine satisfaction over America's hearty offer of good offices, and says:

There is no tinge of threat or high-handed tone toward Germany in the note. On the contrary, its tone is quiet though earnest throughout, and in several places

it strikes a note of whole-hearted friendship and seeks to leave a way open for further friendly negotiations. No doubt the German Government will accept America's proffered good offices with pleasure. It will be interesting to see what attitude the English will now take. If they will revise the contraband list set up by themselves and desist from making difficulties for neutral commerce with Germany, and, above all, let foodstuffs and textile raw materials through unhindered to Germany, then so far as we are concerned the submarine warfare can cease.

Let the English continue to violate international law whereby they forced us to resort to the use of the submarine as a weapon against their commerce, and we will never allow ourselves to be persuaded to give up this weapon, the only one we have to protect us against violation at the hands of England and with which we can punish England for her unlawful conduct. Should America's good offices prove to be in vain it will be not ours but England's fault, and the Americans will then readily understand that the reproach of an inhuman mode of warfare must be laid at the doors of England and not Germany.

It will soon be seen whether President Wilson employs the same measure of energy against the English as against us. We sincerely hope so because of the friendly, hearty tone of his note. "The American Government cannot admit that the proclamation of a war zone may be made to abbreviate the rights of American citizens?" Really not? We recall that at the beginning of the war England declared the whole North Sea as a war zone and the Americans did not get excited at that time. We had a right to protest bitterly at America's attitude then, but we will forget about it at the present moment. America has proffered her good offices, and we will not doubt that her intentions are honorable and meant in good faith.

Paul Michaelis, in the Tageblatt, said:

It is certain that the note does not simplify the serious situation, and it is equally certain that it does not completely bar the way to a peaceful and friendly understanding. The American Government holds fast to the principle that submarine warfare on merchantmen is inconsistent with the principles of justice and humanity, but the German Government has never left the slightest doubt that it only decided on the submarine warfare because the English method of scorning all previous rules of naval warfare forced Germany to a counter-war on commerce with the submarine.

But there seems to be no reason why the German and American Governments should not get together in a joint discussion looking toward some other form of naval warfare. This presupposes that England, which took the first step in the commerce war, also takes the first step to end it. At the same time the question must be investigated of how ammunition shipments to our enemies can be reconciled with the eternal principles of humanity featured by the American note.

While there may be some practical difficulties, there can be no doubt of Germany's willingness to help to bring about a modification of the naval war along more humane lines. The answer to the American note must, of course, take most carefully into account all the diplomatic, political, and military exigencies, and it will be several weeks before it is ready to be handed to the American Ambassador, especially as we must wait to hear Dr. Meyer-Gerhard.

But it must be said now that the German people, now, as formerly, lay great value on a continuation of unclouded relations with the United States, whose war for freedom it once greeted with rejoicing, and within whose borders millions of Germans have found a new home.

Count Reventlow, Germany's "enfant terrible," who has been a consistent thorn in the flesh of the German Foreign Office because of his anti-American utterances, struck a surprisingly restrained and moderate tone in the Tageszeitung:

The question is not how it may be possible to do away with all differences of opinion under all circumstances, but

whether it is at all possible to do away with them without rendering the submarine war impotent. This standpoint contains nothing unfriendly, nothing brusque against the United States. The practical question remains whether we can preserve our German standpoint and still come to an understanding with America. If Mr. Wilson holds to his non-recognition of the war zone, with all its corollaries, then we cannot see how we can possibly come to a real understanding.

On the other hand, the question arises whether President Wilson would continue to cling to that standpoint if certain modifications and mutual guarantees could be brought about which under certain circumstances would render American passenger traffic safe.

A newspaper war between advocates of a friendly settlement and the "no compromise" representatives soon began to rage. Naval writers in particular urged that Germany could not afford to yield an iota regarding the principles and practice of submarine warfare, but the very violence of their attacks upon the advocates of an understanding idicates that the latter are not without influence.

The Cologne Gazette points out editorially that the German press in general has shown satisfaction that President Wilson's communication offers opportunity for an understanding, and expresses the belief that diplomacy on both sides of the Atlantic will work with zeal and good-will to this end. It adds:

It is quite certain the German Government, at least, will do this, and will be generally supported therein by the people. It would be pure imbecility to seek to drag in without necessity a ninth or tenth enemy for ourselves, even though its participation in the war should be limited to supplying the Quadruple Alliance with money and munitions. We say without necessity; for recognition of the fact that Germany is acting in self-defense in using the torpedoes of its submarines against hostile merchantmen so long as England maintains its business blockade against us should, we believe, be a condition which the United States should recognize as preliminary to negotiations.

In a leading article entitled "Bad Advice" the Cologne Gazette takes the Lokalanzeiger to task for attempting to palliate the British "starving-out policy" and exportations from America of war supplies. Conceding that the cutting off of supplies is an accepted method of warfare, it states that international law provides expressly that this weapon may be used only in the form of an effective blockade. It holds that no effective blockade of the German coasts has been declared, however, and that Germany therefore is deprived of the possibility of taking action against blockading ships.

Regarding the exportation of munitions from the United States, the Gazette adopts the argument of Philip Zorn, German member of The Hague Tribunals, that, although the convention adopted at The Hague justifies sales by private firms, a neutral State is bound to prohibit sales of this nature when the commerce in arms assumes such magnitude that continuation of war is directly dependent thereon. He says:

"That the German representatives [at The Hague] voted in favor of permission to deliver arms is incontestable," the article continues, "but there is a great difference between stamping every sale of arms by a private firm in a neutral State as a violation of international law—this was what the German representatives objected to—and arguing that to supply enormous quantities to one group of belligerents alone, and to devote practically the entire available industry of a country thereto, is consonant with the spirit of true neutrality."

Captain von Kuehlwetter, the naval expert of the Tag, points out that the American note passes over in silence the German representations regarding the British Admiralty's instructions to merchantmen to seek cover under neutral flags and to attack submarines under this cover. He declares this is the kernel of the whole argument and the justification for the German policy. He adds:

If a submarine attacks such a ship there is an outcry about barbarians who violate international law and endanger innocent neutral passengers, but if a ship attacks a submarine then it is a brave act of a daring shipper, to whom is given a commission, a gold watch, and a diploma.

Press Opinion of the Allies

BRITISH COMMENT.

A. G. Gardiner, editor of The London Daily News, writing in that paper on June 12, says the rupture between President Wilson and Mr. Bryan is one of the great landmarks of the war. He goes on:

Whatever other significance the event may have, it is conclusive evidence of the failure of German diplomacy in America. The Kaiser has made many miscalculations about nations and about men, but no greater miscalculation than that which he has made in regard to President Wilson and the United States.

He is not alone in that. There has been a good deal of ignorance on the same subject in this country. In the early stages of the war there was a mischievous clamor against the United States in a section of the press, which has never quite got rid of the idea that America is only a rather rebellious member of our own household, to be patronized when it does what we want and lectured like a disobedient child when it does not.

President Wilson has assumed in these ill-informed quarters to be a timid academic person, so different from that magnificent tub thumper, Roosevelt, who would have been at war with Mexico in a trice, and would, it was believed, have plunged into the European struggle with or without an excuse.

If there was misunderstanding here on this subject, we cannot be surprised that the Kaiser blundered so badly. He, too, believed in the schoolmaster view of Woodrow Wilson. A man who had refused such a golden opportunity of annexing Mexico must be a timid, invertebrate person, who had only to be bullied in order to do what he was told. Moreover, was there not a great German population to serve as a whip for the Presidential blank and see that he did not send the polite, the gracious, the supple Prince von Bülow to Washington?

That courtly gentleman was dispatched to Italy to charm the Italian Nation into quiescence. For the Americans he needed another style of diplomacy, and he sent thither the stout and rather stupid Dernburg to let President Wilson and the Americans know that Germany was a very rough customer and would stand no nonsense from anybody.

It was a fatal blunder, the blunder of a people who had been so blinded by materialism that they do not seem to have so much as the consciousness that there is such a thing as moral strength on earth. No one who had followed with intelligent understanding the career of President Wilson could have doubted that he had to deal with a man of iron, a man with a moral passion as fervid as that of his colleague Bryan, but with that passion informed by wide knowledge and controlled by a masterful will, a quiet, still man, who does not live with his ear to the ground and his eye on the weathercock, who refuses to buy popularity by infinite handshaking and robustous speech, but comes out to action from a sanctuary of his own thoughts, where principle and not expediency is his counselor.

It is because no man in a conspicuous position of the democratic world today is so entirely governed by principle and by moral sanctions that President Wilson is not merely the first citizen of the United States, but the first citizen of the world.

The Daily Chronicle says:

President Wilson's note gives Germany

every opportunity of saving her face if she desires to do so. Not only is it phrased in the most friendly terms, but it invites a submission of further evidence regarding the Lusitania's alleged guns and even the resumption of negotiations with Great Britain through American intermediacy. Here are the vistas of a negotiation which might keep the diplomatists of Berlin and Washington happily employed till the war is over; only the President insists once more that the submarine outrages must stop while the negotiations are in progress. It is this last point, firmly submitted at the end of the note, which gives significance to the whole. Obviously, without it the note would be nothing but an abdication on the part of the United States, and it is because it is not that Mr. Bryan disapproves it.

We do not question the sincerity of Mr. Bryan's attachment to the cause of arbitration; but it is strange that he does not see what a disservice he does to arbitration by accepting and preaching a travesty of it. When there is littigation between individuals over an alleged wrong, the first condition is that the wrong shall stop for the interim—a result effected through an interim injunction between nations. There is no judge to grant such an injunction. It has to be obtained by mutual consent unless it is obtained by arbitration. It simply means a license to the wrongdoer to continue his wrongdoing for as long as he can make the arbitration last, which, where the time is important, will be all that he wants. To accept such a doctrine, as Mr. Bryan apparently does, is simply to put a premium on the wrongdoing and a very heavy discount on arbitration.

The Morning Post comments as follows:

Mr. Bryan resigned, according to his own explanation, because he thought President Wilson's note to Germany would endanger the cause of peace. It might, therefore, have been supposed that the American note was to be a departure from the previous American policy; but now that President Wilson's note is published we are puzzled to find the reason for Mr. Bryan's action. The note contains nothing new; it merely affirms in a friendly manner the position taken up by the United States—a position founded upon the generally accepted principles of international law. It testates the claim which America has always made, that a belligerent has no right to sink a presumably innocent merchantman and endanger the lives of its crew and passengers, but must first determine the character of its cargo and establish its contraband nature and must secure the safety of the people on board. This is obviously a stand in the cause of humanity. We might call it the irreducible minimum of the rights of neutrals; for it is clear that, if a Government allows its subjects to be slain in cold blood and its ships to be destroyed, it abandons the primary function of a Government.

The Daily Mail says:

The first impression made upon most readers of the new American note to Germany will be, we suspect, that it is extremely polite and quite harmless. They will ask in wonder what Mr. Bryan could have found in it sufficiently menacing to call for his resignation. To many people it will seem that Mr. Bryan altogether misjudged the effect of the American reply. They will find it difficult to believe that any diplomatic dispatch could in the circumstances be more courteous or more restrained. It observes all the forms of international politeness, with, if anything, almost exaggerated punctiliousness.

Yet it is possible that Mr. Bryan is an nearly right as he ever is. The vital passages in the note are those in which the United States Government "very earnestly and very solemnly renews the representations of its note" of May 15, and again asks for assurances that American lives and American ships shall not be endangered on the high seas. In other words, the United States still presses for an official disavowal of the acts of German submarine commanders, still demands reparation for the American lives lost in the Lusitania, and

still calls for a promise that no similar outrage will be perpetrated in future.

The Daily Telegraph says:

The note presented to Germany on behalf of the United States Government is a firm and courteous document—the courtesy at least as obvious as the firmness—stating the position of the President very much on the lines expected, and leaving us to wonder even more than we did before why Bryan thought it necessary to resign his Secretaryship. The spirit of the second note is exactly that of the first.

Following is The London Times comment:

The gist of President Wilson's note lies in the last half dozen words and proceeds. It remains to be seen what answer will be made to this categorical demand. The general opinion in the United States appears to be that it will not be a refusal. Germany, it is thought, will begin by making concessions enough to prevent the abrupt conclusion of conversations, and will finally extend them sufficiently to preserve friendly relations with the Republic.

It would be rash to express a decided view, but we shall not be surprised should this forecast prove to be correct. The feeling in Germany is very bitter against the Government and people of the United States; but it seems unlikely that the Government in Berlin will allow the ill-temper of the public to influence its conduct. The semi-official Lokalanzeiger is already deprecating an unfriendly attitude toward the United States. There is nothing in the note to suggest that a policy such as the American newspapers seem to expect from Germany would be doomed to failure. The American people, we are told, are determined to attain their ends, but they welcome every prospect of attaining them by peaceful means.

The note, it is observed, not only does not shut out further conversations, but gives a distinct opening for them by its treatment of von Jagow's renewed intimation that Germany would gladly accept American good offices in negotiations with this country as to the character and conditions of maritime war. The Wilhelmstrasse can discover in this and some other passages material for procrastination if it so desires.

PRAISE FROM CANADA.

The Daily Standard of Kingston, Ont., commenting on June 11, says:

President Wilson's second message to Germany will rank with his first one as a document that at once convinces and convicts—convinces of the sincerity of the President that he is "contending for nothing less high and sacred than the rights of humanity," and convicts the nation to whom it is addressed of being responsible for the fact that the men, women, and children on the Lusitania were sent to their death under circumstances "unparalleled in modern warfare."

The note is not only dignified and statesmanlike, but it breathes a spirit of tolerance and Christianity that is as noteworthy as it is admirable. There is in it not even a suggestion of a threat, no word of bluster, no breath of jingoism. It is sound, sensible, firm, resolute, self-contained, magnanimous even. It does not incite to war, but, instead, appeals to the highest principles of justice and right.

But though the words are conciliatory and the spirit admirable, there is not the least abatement of the insistence upon the principles which the President formulated in his earlier message and laid down for the guidance of Germany and for the protection of the American people. The way is now open to Germany either for peace or for war. The decision is left with her.

FRENCH COMMENT.

The Temps of June 12 says:

Germany must choose between having the services of America in proposing to the Allies a moderation of their blockade, conducted with the strictest humanity, and the cessation of torpedoing neutral ships, the continuation of which exposes Germany to a diplomatic rupture with the United States, if not to

war. Assuredly this prospect caused Bryan's resignation.

La Liberté says of the note:

It is in every way worthy of a great country conscious of its dignity, its rights, and its duties. It has not the tone of an ultimatum, since it is couched in courteous terms, but it is energetic, and it requires Germany finally to cease recourse to false expedients.

The Journal des Débats, in discussing the note, says:

The United States, representing in this case the civilized world, places the sacred rights of humanity above considerations of the military order, to which Germany subordinates everything. They are resolved, so far as concerns American subjects, to have those rights respected.

The essence of the note is, first, measures required by humanity must be taken, and afterward, if desired, will come discussions of a new regulation of naval warfare. If Germany insists on putting herself outside the pale of humanity she will suffer the consequences.

ITALIAN COMMENT.

The Corriere della Sera of June 12 *compares the attitude of Secretary Bryan to that of former Premier Giolitti, leader of the party which sought to prevent war with Austria. It says Mr. Bryan's action probably will have the same effect in America that Signor Giolitti's intervention had in Italy, and that it will strengthen public opinion in favor of President Wilson.*

It will give him greater power in this important moment, defeating men who are ready to lower the prestige and honor of the country.

The Tribuna says:

The United States, the greatest neutral nation, has with this document assumed a special rôle, that is, the defense not of a particular group or interest, but the interest of civil humanity; to guard those principles of common right which above any particular right constitute the sacred patrimony of humanity. She raises her voice, whose firmness is not diminished by the courtesy of the language.

We do not know if Germany will be able to understand the significance, but if she does not she will commit a grave error—the gravest perhaps in the immense series made by her in this war. Mr. Wilson seems to persevere in the hope that Germany will listen to the American admonition. Germany must not forget that the longer the hope the more violent will be the reaction.

The Idea Nazionale says:

The note is not only not a declaration of war or the prelude to a declaration of war, but a species midway of humanitarian sentimentalism and lawyerlike arguments which can have, at least for the present, but one consequence, that of encouraging Germany in intransigentism—that is, the maintenance of her point of view regarding naval warfare.

American Comment on Mr. Bryan's Resignation

THE NEW YORK TIMES *of June* 14, 1915, *presented the following condensed quotations condemning unsparingly Mr. Bryan's retirement from the Secretaryship of State, gathered from newspapers throughout the United States, and classified according to their professions of political faith:*

DEMOCRATIC NEWSPAPERS.

From The New York World.

Unspeakable treachery, not only to the President, but to the nation.

From The Buffalo Enquirer.

If Mr. Bryan goes on, he will share the detestation of the most despised character in American history.

From The Buffalo Courier.

The new note to Germany puts Emperor William and former Secretary Bryan in the same hole.

From The Utica Observer.

He turns tail in the face of a crisis and seeks refuge by counseling dishonor.

From The Louisville Courier-Journal, (Henry Watterson.)

Treason to the country, treachery to his party and its official head.

From The Portland (Me.) Eastern Argus.

Bryan's announced campaign has something of the character of submarine warfare.

From The Helena (Mon.) Independent.

As much mistaken in this instance as in years gone by.

From The Lexington (Ky.) Herald.

His propaganda is designed and intended "to defeat the measures of the Government of the United States" in violation of Section 5, [of the law of treason.]

From The Mobile Register.

If Germany is misled into actions still further violative of our rights, the resultant hostility will be very largely attributable to Mr. Bryan.

From The Columbia (S. C.) State.

The President's clear head may now be trusted the more that his methods of thinking are relieved of opposition in the Cabinet.

From The Montgomery Advertiser.

He will go back to his first love, agitation.

From The Richmond Times-Dispatch.

Wilson, not Bryan, strikes the note to which the hearts of the American people respond.

From The Savannah News.

The people are following the President and not Mr. Bryan.

From The Austin (Texas) Statesman.

Mr. Bryan's diplomacy has not been of the type that has inspired the confidence of the American people.

From The Charleston News and Courier.

The bald and ugly fact will remain—he deserted his chief and his Government in the midst of an international crisis.

From The Memphis Commercial-Appeal.

Mr. Bryan's views, turned into a national policy, would mean national suicide.

From The Brooklyn Eagle.

An obstacle has seen fit to remove itself; it has substituted harmony for discordance.

From The Boston Post.

Mr. Bryan has shabbily infringed that good American doctrine that politics should end at the water's edge.

From The Baltimore Sun.

The Germans torpedo one "Nebraskan." Oh, for a "Busy Bertha" that could effectually dispose of the other one!

From The Charlotte Observer.

The country simply was afraid of him.

From The Cleveland Plain Dealer.

He is a preacher of disloyalty.

From The Chattanooga Times.

The reason given for his resignation * * * approximates disloyalty, if nothing else; a monstrous statement.

From The New Orleans Times-Picayune.

His voluntary resignation will give satisfaction.

REPUBLICAN NEWSPAPERS.

From The New York Tribune.

A man with such a cheaply commercial conception of the post held by so long a line of American statesmen was by nature disqualified for it.

From The New York Globe.

Instead of promoting a peaceful settlement, Mr. Bryan practically throws his influence in the other balance.

From The Syracuse Post-Standard.

Billy Sunday in the wrong niche.

From The Rochester Post-Express.

Amazement and contempt for him grow.

From The Pittsburgh Gazette Times.

He has not filled the place with dignity, ability, or satisfaction, nor yet with fidelity; a cheap imitation.

From The Pittsburgh Chronicle Telegraph.

The peace-piffle and grape-juice statesman.

From The Philadelphia Inquirer.

A peace-at-any-price man.

From The Wilkes-Barre Record.

An amazing, an astounding blunder.

From The Cincinnati Commercial Tribune.

The seriousness of the situation is all that prevents Mr. Bryan's foreign policy from being laughable.

From The Baltimore American.

The country wants no more vapid theorizing; it wants no more Bryanism.

From The Hartford Courant.

Those newspapers that said Mr. Bryan was in bad taste made a slight mistake. He is a bad taste.

From The Augusta (Me.) Kennebec Journal.

Impossible for a man of Mr. Bryan's ability and love of the limelight to remain longer wholly obscure in this national crisis.

From The Portsmouth (N. H.) Chronicle.

Childish policies and small politics, even if the Nobel Peace Prize is at stake, must not be considered by an American statesman.

From The Portland (Me.) Press.

There was nothing to do but get out and shut up.

From The Paterson Press.

He has dealt his country a stunning blow.

From The Lincoln (Neb.) State Journal.

It is characteristic of Mr. Bryan to shut his eyes to arguments and facts when he reaches the ecstacy of sentimental conviction.

From The Omaha Bee.

His action may have a weakening effect on our position.

From The Nebraska City (Neb.) Press.

Knowing his disposition to watch out for the main chance * * * that Mr. Bryan will be a candidate for the Senate from Nebraska is almost a foregone conclusion.

From The Topeka Capital.

Represents only the personal idiosyncrasies of William J. Bryan.

From The Milwaukee Sentinel.

Calculated to create prejudice and misgiving against the American note and to mislead foreign opinion.

From The St. Louis Globe-Democrat.

Mr. Bryan could have found no better way of causing the President embarrassment at this crisis.

From The Minneapolis Tribune.

President Wilson has had his own way in State Department affairs, to the minimization of Secretary Bryan, almost at times to the point of humiliation.

From The Seattle Post-Intelligencer.

A pacifist temporarily bereft of reason and lost to sense of patriotic duty; a misplaced figurehead.

From The Portland Oregonian.

The archpriest of the peace-at-any-price party * * * a poor staff to lean upon.

From The Albany Knickerbocker-Press.

Mr. Bryan must Chautauquahoot, as the rooster must crow.

From The Scranton Republican.

Prompt acceptance of his resignation was the proper thing.

From The Los Angeles Times.

The inefficiency and ineptness of the Secretary of State have been a reproach to the country.

From The Wilmington (Del.) News.

Far better if Mr. Bryan had retired long ago.

From The St. Paul Pioneer Press.

His retirement was merely a matter of time.

PROGRESSIVE NEWSPAPERS.

From The New York Press.

A sorry misfit in our Government—mortifyingly, dangerously so.

From The Boston Journal.

He appoints himself, though now a private citizen, the director of the nation.

From The Washington Times.

The only person who has been talking war and giving out the impression that he thought this note meant war.

INDEPENDENT NEWSPAPERS.

From The New York Evening Post.

How far he will carry his treachery by actual machinations against Mr. Wilson remains to be seen.

From The New York Sun.

Sulked and ran away when honor and patriotism should have kept him at his post.

From The New York Herald.

His convictions are all wrong; his retirement should be heartily welcomed by the country.

From The Philadelphia Public Ledger.

How much longer, as Cicero asked Catiline, does he intend to abuse our patience?

From The Pittsburgh Dispatch.

Bryan's obsession by the peace-at-any-price propaganda bordered on the fanatical.

From The Baltimore News.

A surrender to opportunism such as calls for a nation's contempt.

From The Chicago Herald.

As a private citizen he will be less a menace to the peace of the nation than he has been as Secretary of State.

From The Denver Post.

His services can be most satisfactorily dispensed with.

From The Kansas City Star.

Has not impressed the country as a practical man in dealing with large affairs.

From The Toledo Times.

He should support the President.

From The Terre Haute Star.

Now free to pursue the prohibition propaganda.

From The Newark (N. J.) Star.

The statement [Bryan's] is simply an effort to corral for himself a large voting element in the population.

From The Newark Evening News.

His narrow vision has overcome him.

From The Boston Traveler.

If war does come Mr. Bryan will be the one American held most responsible for the trouble.

From The Boston Globe.

Mr. Wilson has been relieved of one of his many problems.

From The Boston Herald.

Is certainly not inspired by a sense of loyalty to the party or the country.

From The Lowell Courier-Citizen.

Lagged superfluous on a stage in which he played no part beyond that of an amanuensis, and hardly even that.

From The Manchester (N. H.) Union.

Should mark the end of Bryanism in American politics.

From The Providence Journal.

He has bowed himself into oblivion.

GERMAN-AMERICAN PRESS.

Under the caption, "He Kept His Vow," the evening edition of the New-Yorker Staats-Zeitung, which for months had been referring to Secretary Bryan as "Secretary Bryan Stumping," as opposed to "Secretary Lansing Acting," said on June 9:

As unreservedly as we believe that he [Mr. Bryan] is sacrificing high office to a principle—something that seems to be incomprehensible not alone to American politicians; readily as we pay him tribute that a man in public life has again had the courage to act, despite the machinations of editorial offices, pulpits, and the counting rooms of money agents; clearly as we see again his latest act, the old Bryan, who can sacrifice nothing to utilitarianism, everything to an idea, no matter how fantastic it may be, nevertheless it must not be left unmen-

tioned that his exit out of the Wilson Cabinet was under all circumstances only a question of time. Bryan may want to be a candidate in 1916, a rival of Wilson; there may be a political motive at the bottom of the dramatically staged resignation; the fact remains that two hard heads, Wilson and Bryan, could not permanently agree. One had to yield; one had to go. Just as Bismarck had to go when Wilhelm II. felt himself safe in the saddle, so Bryan had to yield as soon as Woodrow Wilson himself took the reins, all the reins, into his hand.

Whether the departure of Bryan will exercise great influence on the course of events, so far as relations with Germany are concerned, is an open question. At all events, the peace party in Congress and in the country as a whole has found a leader who is a fighter, who today still has a large following in Congress and out of it. And in Congress, through the masses, the question must finally be decided. Meanwhile, is it to be assumed without further ado that President Wilson himself stands diametrically opposed to the peace views of Bryan? We do not believe that. We are even today still of the opinion that Wilson desires war with Germany as little as does Bryan, the friend of peace, who has just let his deeds follow his words.

From the St. Paul Daily Volks Zeitung.

Bryan's stand for fair play forces his resignation. Bryan's resignation at this critical moment is the greatest service the Commoner has ever rendered his country, because it has aroused the people to see the danger of the foreign policy now pursued by the President.

From the Minneapolis Freie Presse Herold.

It is evident that Mr. Bryan, believing that Wilson and Roosevelt will be the next Presidential nominees, now sees the opportunity to secure the German vote for himself, but Mr. Bryan's hypocrisy will fool no one, particularly the Germans.

From Alex E. Oberlander, Editor the Syracuse Union.

Mr. Bryan will be a greater power for peace out of the Cabinet than in it. As a member of the Cabinet diplomacy muzzled him, but now as a private citizen he can and will be outspoken, and his voice for peace will carry far more weight than the manufacturers of war munitions, Wall Street, would-be Generals, Colonels, and Captains, and the jingo press.

From Paul F. Mueller, Editor Abendpost of Chicago.

The people will choose Mr. Bryan's side if the President persists on a way which may lead to war and must lead to dishonor.

From Horace L. Brand, Publisher Illinois Staats-Zeitung.

Mr. Bryan will have the support of all sane Americans on any reasonable proposition which will keep this country out of war. Mr. Bryan, with all his faults, evidently has his principles.

From the Waechter und Anzeiger of Cleveland, Ohio.

He would not be a man had he signed the death warrant for what he regarded as the crowning deed and success of his life's work. And, because this was asked of him, many a person will say the Scotch in the President's veins did not deny itself in the manner which compelled Mr. Bryan's resignation, although keeping up the appearance that it came of Bryan's own free will because of a disagreement over principles.

From the Colorado Herald of Denver.

Bryan's resignation comes as the biggest surprise of the year to all those of pro-German proclivities who were heretofore laboring under the impression that Bryan represented the spirit in the Cabinet that savored of anything but a square deal for Germany.

From the Illinois Staats-Zeitung of Chicago.

Mr. William Jennings Bryan, by his resignation and by his reasons of his resignation, caused us fear that President Wilson's second note to Germany would be full of thunder and lightning, and would lead at best to a severance of the diplomatic relations between the two

CAPTAIN WILLIAM T. TURNER, R. N. R.
Commander of the R. M. S. Lusitania
(Photo from Underwood & Underwood)

H. M. GEORGE V.

King of Great Britain and Ireland and of the British Dominions Beyond the Seas, Emperor of India

(Photo from W. & D. Downey)

countries, the friendship of which grew almost to be a tradition.

Our surprise is just as great as it is pleasant. The note of the President is in its tone sound and friendly, and excludes the possibility of hostilities. Germany, though she had many reasons to complain about a hostile disposition on the part of the people, the press, and the Government of the United States, will readily admit that our Government is in duty bound to protect American lives and American property, even though she should have been justified in torpedoing the Lusitania. President Wilson seems to be willing to admit such justification and invites Germany to submit her evidence. This means an invitation to further negotiations, to which President Wilson was apparently opposed in his first note.

From Charles Neumeyer, Editor the Louisville Anzeiger.

It is inexplicable why Bryan could reconcile the signing of the first note, which was of a much more assertive tone, with his sentiments and principles, and then refuse his assent to this one, characterized by dignified friendliness. Mr. Bryan must either have become extremely touchy and particular over night, or somebody must have been fooling somebody else. At any rate, the American note is a guarantee of continued peace as to the issues now pending.

Mr. Bryan's Defense

In a statement headed "The Real Issue" and addressed "To the the American People," issued on June 10, 1915; in a second statement, appealing "To the German-Americans," on June 11; in a third, issued June 12, on the "First and Second German Notes," and in a series of utterances put forth on three successive days, beginning June 16, Mr. Bryan justified his resignation and offered what he styled a practical working solution of the problem of bringing peace to Europe. These statements were preceded by a formal utterance about his resignation, published on June 10. Their texts are presented below.

THE REASON FOR RESIGNING.

Washington, June 9, 1915.

My reason for resigning is clearly stated in my letter of resignation, namely, that I may employ, as a private citizen, the means which the President does not feel at liberty to employ. I honor him for doing what he believes to be right, and I am sure that he desires, as I do, to find a peaceful solution of the problem which has been created by the action of the submarines.

Two of the points on which we differ, each conscientious in his conviction, are:

First, as to the suggestion of investigation by an international commission, and,

Second, as to warning Americans against traveling on belligerent vessels or with cargoes of ammunition.

I believe that this nation should frankly state to Germany that we are willing to apply in this case the principle which we are bound by treaty to apply to disputes between the United States and thirty countries with which we have made treaties, providing for investigation of all disputes of every character and nature.

These treaties, negotiated under this Administration, make war practically impossible between this country and these thirty Governments, representing nearly three-fourths of all the people of the world.

Among the nations with which we have these treaties are Great Britain, France, and Russia. No matter what disputes may arise between us and these treaty nations, we agree that there shall be no declaration and no commencement of hostilities until the matters in dispute have been investigated by an international commission, and a year's time is allowed for investigation and report. This plan was offered to all the nations

without any exceptions whatever, and Germany was one of the nations that accepted the principle, being the twelfth, I think, to accept.

No treaty was actually entered into with Germany, but I cannot see that that should stand in the way when both nations indorsed the principle. I do not know whether Germany would accept the offer, but our country should, in my judgment, make the offer. Such an offer, if accepted, would at once relieve the tension and silence all the jingoes who are demanding war.

Germany has always been a friendly nation, and a great many of our people are of German ancestry. Why should we not deal with Germany according to this plan to which the nation has pledged its support?

The second point of difference is as to the course which should be pursued in regard to Americans traveling on belligerent ships or with cargoes of ammunition.

Why should an American citizen be permitted to involve his country in war by traveling upon a belligerent ship, when he knows that the ship will pass through a danger zone? The question is not whether an American citizen has a right, under international law, to travel on a belligerent ship; the question is whether he ought not, out of consideration for his country, if not for his own safety, avoid danger when avoidance is possible.

It is a very one-sided citizenship that compels a Government to go to war over a citizen's rights and yet relieve the citizen of all obligations to consider his nation's welfare. I do not know just how far the President can legally go in actually preventing Americans from traveling on belligerent ships, but I believe the Government should go as far as it can, and that in case of doubt it should give the benefit of the doubt to the Government.

But even if the Government could not legally prevent citizens from traveling on belligerent ships, it could, and in my judgment should, earnestly advise American citizens not to risk themselves or the peace of their country, and I have no doubt that these warnings would be heeded.

President Taft advised Americans to leave Mexico when insurrection broke out there, and President Wilson has repeated the advice. This advice, in my judgment, was eminently wise, and I think the same course should be followed in regard to warning Americans to keep off vessels subject to attack.

I think, too, that American passenger ships should be prohibited from carrying ammunition. The lives of passengers ought not to be endangered by cargoes of ammunition, whether that danger comes from possible explosions within or from possible attacks from without. Passengers and ammunition should not travel together. The attempt to prevent American citizens from incurring these risks is entirely consistent with the effort which our Government is making to prevent attacks from submarines.

The use of one remedy does not exclude the use of the other. The most familiar illustration is to be found in the action taken by municipal authorities during a riot. It is the duty of the Mayor to suppress the mob and to prevent violence, but he does not hesitate to warn citizens to keep off the streets during the riots. He does not question their right to use the streets, but for their own protection and in the interest of order he warns them not to incur the risks involved in going upon the streets when men are shooting at each other.

The President does not feel justified in taking the action above stated. That is, he does not feel justified, first, in suggesting the submission of the controversy to investigation, or, second, in warning the people not to incur the extra hazards in traveling on belligerent ships or on ships carrying ammunition. And he may be right in the position he has taken, but, as a private citizen, I am free to urge both of these propositions and to call public attention to these remedies, in the hope of securing such an expression of public sentiment as will support the Pres-

ident in employing these remedies if in the future he finds it consistent with his sense of duty to favor them.

W. J. BRYAN.

"THE REAL ISSUE."

Washington, June 10, 1915.

To the American people:

You now have before you the text of the note to Germany—the note which it would have been my official duty to sign had I remained Secretary of State. I ask you to sit in judgment upon my decision to resign rather than to share responsibility for it.

I am sure you will credit me with honorable motives, but that is not enough. Good intentions could not atone for a mistake at such a time, on such a subject, and under such circumstances. If your verdict is against me, I ask no mercy; I desire none if I have acted unwisely.

A man in public life must act according to his conscience, but, however conscientiously he acts, he must be prepared to accept without complaint any condemnation which his own errors may bring upon him; he must be willing to bear any deserved punishment, from ostracism to execution. But hear me before you pass sentence.

The President and I agree in purpose; we desire a peaceful solution of the dispute which has arisen between the United States and Germany. We not only desire it, but, with equal fervor, we pray for it; but we differ irreconcilably as to the means of securing it.

If it were merely a personal difference, it would be a matter of little moment, for all the presumptions are on his side—the presumptions that go with power and authority. He is your President, I am a private citizen without office or title—but one of the one hundred million of inhabitants.

But the real issue is not between persons, it is between systems, and I rely for vindication wholly upon the strength of the position taken.

Among the influences which Governments employ in dealing with each other there are two which are pre-eminent and antagonistic—force and persuasion. Force speaks with firmness and acts through the ultimatum; persuasion employs argument, courts investigation, and depends upon negotiation. Force represents the old system—the system that must pass away; persuasion represents the new system—the system that has been growing, all too slowly, it is true, but growing for 1,900 years. In the old system war is the chief cornerstone—war, which at its best is little better than war at its worst; the new system contemplates a universal brotherhood established through the uplifting power of example.

If I correctly interpret the note to Germany, it conforms to the standards of the old system rather than to the rules of the new, and I cheerfully admit that it is abundantly supported by precedents—precedents written in characters of blood upon almost every page of human history. Austria furnishes the most recent precedent; it was Austria's firmness that dictated the ultimatum against Serbia, which set the world at war.

Every ruler now participating in this unparalleled conflict has proclaimed his desire for peace and denied responsibility for the war, and it is only charitable that we should credit all of them with good faith. They desired peace, but they sought it according to the rules of the old system. They believed that firmness would give the best assurance of the maintenance of peace, and, faithfully following precedent, they went so near the fire that they were, one after another, sucked into the contest.

Never before have the frightful follies of this fatal system been so clearly revealed as now. The most civilized and enlightened—aye, the most Christian—of the nations of Europe are grappling with each other as if in a death struggle. They are sacrificing the best and bravest of their sons on the battlefield; they are converting their gardens into cemeteries and their homes into houses of mourning; they are taxing the wealth of today and laying a burden of debt on the toil of the future; they have filled the air with thunderbolts more deadly than those of

Jove, and they have multiplied the perils of the deep.

Adding fresh fuel to the flame of hate, they have daily devised new horrors, until one side is endeavoring to drown noncombatant men, women, and children at sea, while the other side seeks to starve noncombatant men, women, and children on land. And they are so absorbed in alternate retaliations and in competive cruelties that they seem, for the time being, blind to the rights of neutrals and deaf to the appeals of humanity. A tree is known by its fruit. The war in Europe is the ripened fruit of the old system.

This is what firmness, supported by force, has done in the Old World; shall we invite it to cross the Atlantic? Already the jingoes of our own country have caught the rabies from the dogs of war; shall the opponents of organized slaughter be silent while the disease spreads?

As an humble follower of the Prince of Peace, as a devoted believer in the prophecy that "they that take the sword shall perish with the sword," I beg to be counted among those who earnestly urge the adoption of a course in this matter which will leave no doubt of our Government's willingness to continue negotiations with Germany until an amicable understanding is reached, or at least until, the stress of war over, we can appeal from Philip drunk with carnage to Philip sobered by the memories of a historic friendship and by a recollection of the innumerable ties of kinship that bind the Fatherland to the United States.

Some nation must lead the world out of the black night of war into the light of that day when "swords shall be beaten into plowshares." Why not make that honor ours? Some day—why not now?—the nations will learn that enduring peace cannot be built upon fear—that good-will does not grow upon the stalks of violence. Some day the nations will place their trust in love, the weapon for which there is no shield; in love, that suffereth long and is kind; in love, that is not easily provoked, that beareth all things, believeth all things, hopeth all things, endureth all things; in love, which, though despised as weakness by the worshippers of Mars, abideth when all else fails. W. J. BRYAN.

THE GERMAN-AMERICANS.

Washington, June 11, 1915.

To the German-Americans:

Permit me to address a word to you, as one American citizen speaking to fellow-citizens in whose patriotism he has entire confidence. It is natural that in a contest between your Fatherland and other European nations your sympathies should be with the country of your birth. It is no cause for censure that this is true. It would be a reflection upon you if it were not true. Do not the sons of Great Britain sympathize with their mother country? Do not the sons of France sympathize with theirs? Is not the same true of Russia and of Italy? Why should it not be true of those who are born in Germany or Austria? The trouble is that the extremists on both sides have mistaken a natural attachment felt for birthplace for disloyalty to this country.

The President has been unjustly criticised by the partisans of both sides—the very best evidence of his neutrality. If he had so conducted the Government as to wholly please either side it would excite not only astonishment, but misgivings, for partisans cannot give an unbiased judgment; they will of necessity look at the question from their own point of view, giving praise or blame, according as the act, regardless of its real character, helps or hurts the side with which they have aligned themselves.

The fact that the Administration has received more criticism from German-Americans than from those in sympathy with the Allies is due to the fact that, while both sides are at liberty under international law to purchase ammunition in the United States, the Allies, because of their control of the seas, have the advantage of being able to export it.

It is unfortunate that partisan supporters of Germany should have overlooked the legal requirements of the situation and have thus misunderstood the

position of the Administration. The Administration's position has not only been perfectly neutral, but it could not have been otherwise without a palpable and intentional violation of the rules governing neutrality.

This Government is not at liberty to materially change the rules of international law during the war, because every change suggested is discussed, not upon its merits as an abstract proposition, but according to the effect it will have upon the contest. Those who wanted to lay an embargo upon the shipments of arms defended their position on the ground that it would hasten peace, but it is strange that they could have overlooked the fact that the only way in which such action on our part could hasten peace would have been by helping one side to overcome the other.

While the attacks made upon the President by the extremists of both sides were very unjust, it was equally unjust to suspect the patriotism of those who took sides. I feel well enough acquainted with the European-born Americans to believe that in a war between this country and any European power the naturalized citizens from that country would be as quick to enlist as native-born citizens.

As I am now speaking to German-Americans, I am glad to repeat in public what I have often said in private, and would have said in public before but for the fact that it would not have been proper for one in my official position to do so—namely, that in case of war between the United States and Germany—if so improbable a supposition can be considered—German-Americans would be as prompt to enlist and as faithful to the flag as any other portion of our people. What I have said in regard to German-Americans is an introduction to an appeal which I feel it my duty to make to them.

First, if any of them have ever in a moment of passion or excitement suspected the President of lack of friendship toward the German Government and the German people, let that thought be forgotten, never again to be recalled. I have, since my resignation, received numerous telegrams from German-Americans and German-American societies commending my action. I think the senders of these telegrams understand my position; but that no one may mistake it let me restate it. The President is not only desirous of peace, but he hopes for it, and he has adopted the methods which he thinks most likely to contribute toward peace.

My difference from him is as to method, not as to purpose, and my utterances since resigning have been intended to crystallize public sentiment in support of his efforts to maintain peace, or, to use a similar phrase, " Peace with Honor." But remember that when I use the phrase " Peace with Honor " I do not use it in the same sense that those do who regard every opponent of war as favoring " peace at any price." Peace at any price is an epithet, not a true statement of any one's position or of the policy of any group. The words are employed by jingoes as an expression of contempt, and are applied indiscriminately to all who have faith in the nation's ability to find a peaceful way out of every difficulty, so long as both nations want peace.

The alarmists of the country have had control of the metropolitan press, and they have loudly proclaimed that the prolongation of negotiations or the suggestion of international investigation would be a sign of weakness—and everything is weakness that does not contain a hint of war. The jingo sees in the rainbow of promise only one color—red.

Second—Knowing that the President desires peace, it is our duty to help him secure it. And how? By exerting your influence to convince the German Government of this fact and to persuade that Government to take no steps that would lead in the direction of war. My fear has been that the German Government might, despairing of a friendly settlement, break off diplomatic relations, and thus create a condition out of which war might come without the intention of either country.

I do not ask you to minimize the earnestness of the President's statement—that would be unfair, both to him and to Germany. The sinking of the Lusitania

cannot be defended upon the facts as we understand them. The killing of innocent women and children cannot be justified, whether the killnig is by drowning or starving.

No nation can successfully plead the inhumanity of her enemies as an excuse for inhumanity on her own part. While it is true that cruelty is apt to beget cruelty, it cannot be said that "like cures like." Even in war, we are not absolved from the obligation to remedy evils by the influence of a good example. "Let your light so shine" is a precept that knows no times nor seasons as it knows neither latitude nor longitude.

Third—Do not attempt to connect the negotiations which are going on between the United States and Germany with those between the United States and Great Britain. The cases are different, but, even if they were the same, it would be necessary to treat with each nation separately. My personal preference has been to repeat our insistence that the Allies shall not interfere with our commerce with neutral countries, but the difference on this point was a matter of judgment and not a matter of principle. In the note to Great Britain, dated March 30, this Government said:

> In view of these assurances formally given to this Government, it is confidently expected that the extensive powers conferred by the Order in Council on the executive officers of the Crown will be restricted by "orders issued by the Government" directing the exercise of their discretionary powers in such a manner as to modify in practical application those provisions of the Order in Council which, if strictly enforced, would violate neutral rights and interrupt legitimate trade. Relying on the faithful performance of these voluntary assurances by his Majesty's Government the United States takes it for granted that the approach of American merchantmen to neutral ports situated upon the long line of coast affected by the Order in Council will not be interfered with, when it is known that they do not carry goods which are contraband of war or goods destined to or proceeding from ports within the belligerent territory affected.

There is no doubt that our Government will insist upon this position—that is an important thing, the exact date of the note is not material. My reason for desiring to have the matter presented to Great Britain at once was not that Germany had any right to ask it, but because I was anxious to make it as easy as possible for Germany to accept the demands of the United States and cease to employ submarines against merchantmen.

There is no reason why any German-Americans should doubt the President's intentions in this matter. I am sure that every one upon reflection recognizes that our duty to prevent loss of life is more urgent than our duty to prevent interference with trade—loss of trade can be compensated for with money, but no settlement that the United States and Germany may reach can call back to life those who went down with the Lusitania—and war would be the most expensive of all settlements because it would enoromusly add to the number of the dead.

Fourth—I hope that Germany will acquiesce in the demands that have been made, and I hope that she will acquiesce in them without conditions. She can trust the United States to deal justly with her in the consideration of any changes that she may propose in the international rules that govern the taking of prizes. The more generously she acts in this matter the greater will be the glory which she will derive from it. She has raised a question which is now receiving serious consideration, namely, whether the introduction of the submarine necessitates any change in the rules governing the capture of prizes. The position seemingly taken by Germany, namely, that she is entitled to drown noncombatants because they ride with contraband, is an untenable position. The most that she could insist upon is that, in view of the introduction of this new weapon of warfare, new rules should be adopted, separating passengers from objectionable cargo.

If the use of the submarine justifies such a change in the law of blockade as will permit the cordon to be withdrawn far enough from the shore to avoid the danger of submarine attack, may it not be found possible to secure an interna-

tional agreement by which passengers will be excluded from ships carrying contraband, or, at least, from those carrying ammunition?

It would require but a slight change in the shipping laws to make this separation, and belligerent nations might be restrained from unnecessarily increasing the contraband list if they were compelled to carry contraband on transports as they now carry troops.

Personally, I would like to see the use of submarines abandoned entirely, just as I would like to see an abandonment of the use of aeroplanes and Zeppelins for the carrying of explosives, but I am not sanguine enough to believe that any effective instrument of warfare will be abandoned as long as war continues.

The very arguments which the advocates of peace advance against the submarine, the aeroplane, and the Zeppelin are advanced for them by those who conduct war. The more fatal a weapon is the more it is in demand, and it is not an unusual thing to see a new instrument of destruction denounced as inhuman by those against whom it is employed, only to be employed later by those who only a little while before denounced it.

The above suggestions are respectfully submitted to those of German birth or descent, and they are submitted in the same spirit to naturalized citizens from other countries. To the naturalized citizen this is the land of adoption, but in one sense it may be nearer to him than it is to us who are native born, for those who come here are citizens by voluntary choice, while we are here by accident of birth. They may be said to have paid a higher compliment to the United States than we who first saw the light under the Stars and Stripes. But, more than that, it is the land of their children and their children's children, no matter for what reason they crossed the ocean. They not only share with us the shaping of our nation's destiny, but their descendants have a part with ours in all the blessings which the present generation can, by wise and patriotic action, bequeath to the generations that are to follow.

W. J. BRYAN.

SEES CHANGE IN TONE OF PRESS.

On the same day with this outgiving Mr. Bryan issued a statement expressing his gratification over what he termed a change in the tone of the press regarding the note. The statement follows:

I am glad to note the change in the tone of the press in regard to the note to Germany. From the time the papers began to publish forecasts down to yesterday the jingo editors have been predicting that the matter would be dealt with with "great firmness"; that Germany would be told that there must be no more delay in the acceptance of this country's demands, &c.

Instead of waiting until the note was issued they put their own construction upon it in advance, and colored it to suit their own purposes. It is a relief to find the papers now emphasizing the friendly tone of the note, and pointing out that it does not necessarily mean war.

Something has been gained if the warrior journalists at last realize that the country does not want war, but that, on the contrary, it will support the President in his efforts to find a peaceful solution of the difficult problem raised by the use of the submarine against merchantmen.

In giving out his statement Mr. Bryan supplemented it with the following anecdote:

A Congressman replying to a jingo speech recently said:

"While I am personally against war, I am in favor of the country having what it wants. If the country wants war, let it have war, but let it first find out if the country does want war. If it becomes necessary to ascertain the sentiment of the country, I suggest that a ballot be taken; let those who want war vote for war and those opposed to war vote against it, and let the vote be taken with the understanding that those who vote for war will enlist for war and that those who vote against war will not be called upon until after those who want war have exhausted their efforts."

"I still believe," added Mr. Bryan, "in the right of the people to rule, and think

the Congressman's suggestion might insure deliberate action on the part of the voters."

Mr. Bryan was reminded of the suggestion of some of his friends that in case of war he would be one of the first to enlist. He replied:

I do not want to talk about war, but on one occasion I enlisted to defend my country on the first day war was declared.

GERMAN-AMERICAN OPINION.

Commenting on Mr. Bryan's appeal, the evening edition of the New Yorker Herold on June 12 said:

The arguments which Mr. Bryan dishes up will not be agreed to by most citizens of German descent, but the open discussion of the various points can only be useful.

So far as influencing the German Government is concerned, we are convinced that in Berlin they will not forget for an instant how terrible a warlike conflict between the two countries would be, particularly for the Germans in America. In view of the many bonds of blood that link the German population of our country with the old Fatherland, a war with the United States would be regarded practically as fratricidal, as a calamity which, if in any way possible, must be avoided. Mr. Bryan may rest assured of this.

The influence of the German-Americans is required less in Germany than here, at this point and place, in the United States. Here the jingo press is raging and seeking to fire minds to war, not in Germany.

From the Detroiter Abendpost.

Mr. Bryan's proclamation will disappoint only those who hailed him when he published his reasons for leaving the Cabinet; but we find in his last document the confirmation of what we have always thought of the man and the politician Bryan, namely, that he considers all means right if they suit his political intentions.

From Charles Neumeyer, Editor Louisville Anzeiger.

Mr. Bryan's appeal directed chiefly to American citizens of German birth exhibits an astonishing lack of tact as well as lack of judgment. The former Secretary of State seems to be going on the presumption, like many other native Americans not actuated by a feeling of prejudice or race hatred, that German-Americans have left their hearts behind them in the old country and are, therefore, unable to feel as true American citizens should feel toward their country and everything involving its destiny.

Mr. Bryan's appeal, especially the one directed to German-Americans, will not, can not, and should not meet with the slightest response.

From the Colorado Herold of Denver.

Bryan's appeal to the Germans, while it may be classed as patriotic, was unnecessary, and Dr. Dernburg, Germany's special envoy, practically voiced the same sentiments in his farewell address in New York Friday night. Bryan's well-known prohibition tendencies, however, preclude the idea that he was bidding for German-American votes.

From the Waechter und Anzeiger of Cleveland, Ohio.

Mr. Bryan might well have abstained from issuing his statement to the German-Americans. To make any impression he should have explained why he now thinks it the duty of neutrality to furnish contraband to England, when in 1914 he stated in his Commoner that the President had blazed a new way when he, without conference with other nations, committed this nation to the policy that furnishing the "contraband of money" was inconsistent with the spirit of neutrality. What are the influences that have now changed his views? Mr. Bryan is neither frank nor consistent, hence not impressive.

A "SOFTENED" NOTE.

[The First and Second German Notes.]

Washington, June 12, 1915.

My attention has been called to a number of newspaper editorials and articles which, in varying language, asks the question, "Why did Mr. Bryan sign the first note to Germany, and then refuse to sign the second?" The argument

presented in the question is based on the supposition that the two notes were substantially the same and that the second note simply reiterates the demands contained in the first. They then declare it inconsistent to sign one and refuse to sign the other. The difference between the two cases would seem obvious enough to make an answer unnecessary, but, lest silence on the subject be taken as an admission of inconsistency, the following explanation is given:

The notes must be considered in connection with the conditions under which they were sent. The first note presented the case of this Government upon such evidence as we then had. It was like the plaintiff's statement in a case, his claim being based on the facts as he presents them. I did not agree entirely with the language of the first note, but the difference was not so material as to justify a refusal to sign it. Then, too, I was at that time hoping that certain thingse would be done which would make it easier for Germany to acquiesce in our demands.

The three things which I had in mind which, in my judgment, would have helped the situation were: First, an announcement of a willingness upon our part to employ the principle of investigation, embodied in our thirty peace treaties; second, action which would prevent American citizens from traveling on belligerent ships or on American ships carrying contraband, especially if that contraband consisted of ammunition; and, third, further insistence upon our protest against interference of our trade with neutrals. I thought that these three things were within the range of possibilities, and that two, or at least one was probable.

Some weeks have elapsed since the first note was sent, and we have not only failed to do any of these things hoped for, but Germany has in the meantime answered and in her answer has not only presented a number of alleged facts which, in her judgment, justified the deviation which she has made from the ordinary rules applicable to prize cases, but she has suggested arbitration. A rejection of the arguments which she presented and of the allegations made, together with a reiteration of the original demands, creates a very different situation from that which existed when the first demand was made.

As I have before stated, my fear has been that, owing to the feeling existing in Germany, the Government might, upon receipt of such a note under such circumstances, break off diplomatic relations and thus create a situation out of which war might come without the intention of either side. I am sure that the President does not want war and I am confident that our people do not want war; I have no reason to believe that either the German Government or the German people desire war.

But war, a calamity at any time, is especially to be avoided now because our nation is relied upon by both neutrals and belligerents as the one nation which can exert most influence toward bringing this war to an end. If we were, by accident, to be drawn into the conflict, we would not only surrender the opportunity to act as a mediator, but we might become responsible for drawing other nations into this contest. When we see how one nation after another has been dragged into this war we cannot have confidence in the ability of any one to calculate with certainty upon the results that might follow if we became embroiled in the war.

No one would be happier than I if the President's plan results in a peaceful settlement, but no one was in position to say what effect our note would have upon Germany, or what results would follow if she, in anger, broke off diplomatic relations, and I was not only unwilling to assume the responsibility for the risks incurred—risks which no one could with any degree of accuracy measure—but I felt that, having done all I could in the Cabinet, it was my duty to undertake, outside the Cabinet, the work upon which I have entered.

I have no doubt that the country will unanimously support the President during the war, if so great a misfortune

should overtake us, but I believe that the chances of war will be lessened in proportion as the country expresses itself in favor of peace—not "peace at any price"—but peace in preference to a war waged for the redress of such grievances as we have against Germany—at least against war until we have given to Germany the opportunity which we are pledged to give to Great Britain, France, and Russia—to have every difference of every character submitted to an international commission of investigation.

I would contend as earnestly for the application of the treaty principle to the Allies as I contend for it in the case of Germany. If the principle is sound, it ought to be applied to every country with which we have a difference, and if it ought to be applied at all I think it is better to suggest it in the beginning than to accept it later after a seeming reluctance to apply it.

I understand that Secretary Lansing has already given out a statement, correcting an inaccuracy which appeared in this morning's paper. I appreciate his kindness.

It is true that I saw the final draft of the note just before my resignation took effect, but it contained an important change. I had no knowledge of this change at the time my resignation was tendered and accepted. This change, while very much softening the note, was not, however, sufficient, in my judgment, to justify me in asking permission to withdraw my resignation.

As Germany had suggested arbitration, I felt that we could not do less than reply to this offer by expressing a willingness to apply the principle of the peace treaties to the case. These treaties, while providing for investigation of all questions, leave the nations free to act independently after the international commission has concluded the investigation.

W. J. BRYAN.

STATEMENTS ON THE WAR IN EUROPE.

Mr. Bryan on June 16 gave out the first of three statements about the present war, and in it he predicts that a conference will be held at the close of the conflict to revise the rules of international law. The present rules, in Mr. Bryan's opinion, "seem to have been made for the nations at war rather than for the nations at peace."

The statement contains a hint to President Wilson in the concluding paragraph which says that "in all history no other peacemaker has ever been in position to claim so rich a blessing as that which will be pronounced on our President when the time for mediation comes—as come it must." Its text follows:

Washington, June 16, 1915.

I shall tomorrow discuss the origin of the war and the reasons which led the nations of Europe to march, as if blindfolded, into the bloody conflict which now rests like a pall over the fairest parts of the Old World; today let us consider the war as it is and the injury it is doing to the neutral nations.

The war is without a precedent in the populations represented, in the number of combatants in the field, in daily expenditures, in the effectiveness of the implements employed, in the lists of dead and wounded, in the widespread suffering caused and in the intensity of the hatreds aroused.

No class or condition is exempt from the burdens which this war imposes. The rich bear excessive taxation and the poor are sorely oppressed; the resources of today are devoured and the products of tomorrow are mortgaged. No age is immune. The first draft was upon the strong and vigorous, but the Governments are already calling for those above and below the ordinary enlistment zone.

The war's afflictions are visited upon women as well as upon men—upon wives who await in vain a husband's return, and upon mothers who must surrender up the sons whose support is the natural reliance of declining years. Even children are its victims—children innocent of wrong and incapable of doing harm. By war's dread decree babes come into the world fatherless at their birth, while the bodies of their sires are burned like worthless stubble in the fields over which the Grim Reaper has passed.

The most extreme illustrations collected from history to prove the loathsomeness of war are overshadowed by new indictments written daily; the most distressing pictures drawn by the imagination are surpassed by the realities of this indescribable contest. Surely we behold "the pestilence that walketh in darkness and the destruction that wasteth at noonday."

Neutral nations cannot look on with indifference—the ties that bind them together are too strong, the relationship too intimate. This is especially true of the United States. We have a composite population, every nation of Europe having contributed liberally to our citizenship. These our countrymen, themselves born abroad or immediately descended from foreign-born ancestors, cannot but take a likely interest in the conduct as well as in the results of the war, and a still larger circle shares the concern of those directly connected. Not a soldier falls on either side but the sorrow expressed in his home finds an echo at some fireside in the United States.

But, aside from sentimental considerations, neutral nations suffer serious disturbances because of the war. Duelists, when dueling was in fashion, were careful to select a place where they could settle their personal differences without harm to unoffending bystanders, but warring nations cannot, no matter how earnestly they try, avoid injury to neutrals. As the nauseous odors of a slaughterhouse, carried on the breeze, pollute the air in every direction, so the evil influences emanating from these wide-extended battlefields taint the atmosphere of the whole political world. War is an international nuisance. Nearly every neutral nation finds new domestic problems thrust upon it and old problems made more difficult.

No American citizen can note without deep concern the manner in which war questions have intruded themselves into our politics—overshadowing economic issues and stimulating agitation in favor of enlarged appropriations for military and naval purposes. Business is deranged and expensive readjustments made necessary, while commerce with foreign nations is seriously interrupted. Fluctuations in price abroad are reflected in the markets of the United States. A fall of one cent in the price of cotton means tens of millions of dollars to our producers and merchants. Added to this, freight rates and insurance premiums have been increased to cover the greater risks incident to war.

Scarcity of ships is one of the greatest commercial embarrassments caused by the war. We have depended largely upon foreign ships to carry our commerce, and we could not but suffer when the merchantmen of one side were driven from the sea and a part of the merchant fleet of the other side was withdrawn for Government use.

The neutral nations are put to a great expense to preserve neutrality and are constantly in danger of being embroiled in the war without intention or fault on their part.

The rules of international law seem to have been made for the nations at war rather than for the nations at peace. It is almost impossible to alter these rules during the war, because any material change, affecting as it would the interests of belligerents, would be a seeming violation of neutrality. As soon as peace returns there will be a demand for an international conference on the subject. The presumption should then be given to peace, for peace, not war, is the normal condition. If nations are determined to fight they should, as far as possible, bear their burden themselves and not be permitted to transfer it to the nations which avoid war by resorting to reason instead of force.

Under the stress and strain of the titanic struggle in which they are engaged, each side has felt itself justified in encroaching upon the rights of neutrals. The ocean highways, the common property of all, have been to some extent appropriated for war purposes, and delicate diplomatic questions are forced upon the neutral nations. Just at this time, when these questions are most acute, the belligerent Governments are least able to deal with them with the

calmness and poise which their great importance demands.

No wonder every neutral nation is increasingly anxious for the war to end; but of all the neutral nations ours has the most reason for the return of peace —most reason to set its face resolutely against participation in this war. This nation, the head of the neutral group and the sincere friend of all the belligerents, is in duty bound to set an example in patience and self-restraint.

In all history no such opportunity has ever come to any other nation as that which is destined to come to the United States. In all history no other peacemaker has ever been in a position to claim so rich a blessing as that which will be pronounced upon our President when the time for mediation comes—as come it must. W. J. BRYAN.

"PREPAREDNESS" AND WAR.

That military preparedness provokes war is the conclusion drawn by Mr. Bryan in the second utterance in his series of three concerning the European conflict and war in general. It reads:

Washington, June 17, 1915.

The conflict now raging in Europe has been described as "The Causeless War," but since no one would be bold enough to lay the blame for such an unholy situation upon an overruling Providence, it must find its origin in acts for which man, and man alone, is responsible.

It is not a race war; on the contrary, the races are quite inexplicably mixed. Latin joins with Saxon; the Frank is the ally of the Slav; while in the opposing ranks Teuton and Turk fight side by side.

Neither is it a religious war. On the Bosporus the Cross and the Crescent make common cause; Protestant Kaiser and Catholic Emperor have linked their fortunes together and hurl their veteran legions against an army in which are indiscriminately mingled communicants of the Greek Church, of the Church of Rome, and of the Church of England.

Nor yet is it a rivalry between families. The leading actors in this unprecedented tragedy are related by blood, but kinship seems to be a negligible factor—it explains neither friendships nor enmities.

No. Race, religion, and family, each with many wars to answer for, can plead not guilty in the present inquiry. So far as can be judged, there appears upon the surface no cause that by any known standard can be regarded as adequate for such a cataclysm as we are now witnessing.

The notes that passed from chancellery to chancellery were couched in most friendly language. These notes could not have been intended to deceive. Sovereigns visited each other and were received with every evidence of cordiality and good-will. This hospitality could not have been insincere.

Each ruler declared that he did not wish war; would they all say this if an adequate cause for war had actually existed? They have all denied responsibility for the war—would they have done so if they had regarded the war as either necessary or desirable?

But there is even better proof, aye, indisputable proof, that no sufficient cause existed, viz., the conclusion to be drawn from inaction.

Would not these rulers have busied themselves trying to save their subjects by the eradication of the cause had they known of the existence of such a cause? Would they have spent their time in social festivities and in exchanging compliments had they known that they were on the brink of war? It is inconceivable! It would be a gross libel on them, one and all, to charge such a wanton disregard of their sacred duty.

What, then, was the cause? If I have correctly analyzed the situation, the war is the natural result of a false philosophy. Theories of life are invisible, but they control for good or for evil. They enter our very being, and may be as deadly to the moral man as germs of disease, taken into the body, are deadly to the physical man. The fundamental precept of this false philosophy is that "might makes right." It is not proclaimed now as loudly as it once was, but it is often acted upon in particular cases

by those who would be unwilling to indorse it as a general principle.

The individual makes this maxim his excuse for violating three commandments that stand in his way; this maxim also leads nations to violate these same three commandments for the same purpose, but on a larger scale.

Strange that men should fail to apply to nations the moral principles which are now so generally applied to the individual units of a nation!

The tendency is to condemn the violation of these commandments, not in proportion to the injury done, but rather in inverse proportion. No one will dispute the validity of the injunction against covetousness as long as the object coveted is of little value or not greatly desired, but the last and all-inclusive specifications, viz., "or anything that is thy neighbor's," is sometimes interpreted by nations to except a neighbor's vineyard or a neighbor's territory. Covetousness turns to might as the principle to be invoked, and the greater the unlawful desire the firmer the faith in the false principle.

Conquest is the word used to describe the means employed for securing the thing desired, if the force is employed by a nation, and conquest violates the commandments Thou Shalt Not Steal and Thou Shalt Not Kill.

By what sophistry can rulers convince themselves that, while petit larceny is criminal, grand larceny is patriotic; that, while it is reprehensible for one man to kill another for his money, it is glorious for one nation to put to the sword the inhabitants of another nation in order to extend boundaries?

It is a mockery of moral distinctions to hang one man for taking the life of another, either for money or in revenge, and then make a hero of another man who wades "through slaughter to a throne, and shut the doors of mercy on mankind."

As in the case of the individual, the violation of the commandments Thou Shall Not Covet, Thou Shalt Not Steal, and Thou Shalt Not Kill, are usually traceable to the violation of the first great commandment—Thou Shalt Have No Other Gods Before Me—that is, to the putting of self before service of the Creator.

The violation of these commandments by nations is not always, but usually, due to selfishness—the putting of supposed material advantages before obedience to the Divine Law.

War is occasionally altruistic in purpose and the soldier always exhibits unselfishness of high order, but, as a rule, conflicts are waged for selfish ends.

The individual finds that Jehovah's justice cannot be evaded; for wrongdoing works its own punishment on the wrongdoer in the form of perverted character when he escapes the penalties of human law. The nation is as powerless to repeal or to ignore with impunity the laws of God—"Though hand join in hand they shall not be unpunished."

If I have made it clear that the doctrine that might makes right is the most common cause of war, we may pass to the consideration of a maxim quite sure to be applied in war, namely, that "like cures like"—the theory upon which retaliation rests.

The two are so closely allied that it is almost inevitable that those who indorse the former will resort to the latter—one representing the spirit of will, the other its most familiar manifestation. Rivalry for rivalry in wrongdoing—a neck-and-neck race to the bottomless pit. And yet there are many believers in the gospel of force, who have brought themselves to think that cruelty can be cured by greater cruelty—that the only way to win an antagonist away from inhuman acts is to surpass him in inhumanities. Absurdity of absurdities!

But might must find a pretext for arming itself; and what is the pretext? There was a time when men openly advocated war as a thing to be desired; commended it to each generation as a sort of tonic to tone up the moral system and prevent degeneracy, but we have passed that day.

Now all join in the chorus for peace. And how, according to the jingoes, shall peace be insured? "By preparedness," say these sons of Mars. Prepare, all

prepare; equip yourselves with the most modern implements of destruction; arm, drill, get ready, and then stand with fingers on a barrel of a musket and preserve peace—you preserve it until some one, by accident or design, gives the signal—then all fall upon each other with cries for blood. Preparedness is the kindling; opportunity is the match.

We dare not trust the peace of the world to those who spend their time in getting ready for wars that should never come. Half the energy employed in preparing for war would effectually prevent war if used in propagating the principles which make for peace.

Instead of preventing war, preparedness provokes war, because it is impossible to coerce the people into bearing the burdens incident to continuous and increasing preparation without cultivating hatred as if it were a national virtue. There must be some one to fear; some other preparing nation that must be represented as plotting for war.

Hate sets up sham standards of honor and converts every wound into a festering sore; hate misunderstands; hate misinterprets; hate maligns its supposed adversary, while every contractor, battleship builder, and manufacturer of munitions of war applauds.

How can preparedness prevent war, if all prepared? Each step taken by one nation toward more complete preparedness excites the other nations to additional purchases and new levies, until all have exhausted their productive industries and menaced their moral progress.

The doctrine that preparedness will prevent war will not stand the test of logic, and the conflagration in Europe shows that it fails when tested by experience.

If any nation is without excuse for entering into a mad rivalry with the belligerent nations in preparation for war it is the United States. We are protected on either side by thousands of miles of ocean, and this protection is worth more to us than any number of battleships. We have an additional protection in the fact—known to every one—that we have the men with whom to form an army of defense if we are ever attacked, and it is known also that we have the money, too—more money than we would have if the surplus earnings of the people had been invested in armament. We not only do not need additional preparation, but we are fortunate in not having it, as now it seems impossible for a nation to have what is called preparedness on slight notification.

The leading participants in the present war are the nations that were best prepared, and I fear it would have been difficult for us to keep out of this war if we had been as well prepared as they.

Happily for our nation, we have in the White House at this time a President who believes in setting the Old World an example instead of following the bad example which it has set in this matter. What an unspeakable misfortune it would have been if in such an hour as this the nation had been under the leadership of a President inflamed by the false philosophy which has plunged Europe into the abyss of war.

W. J. BRYAN.

HOW TO END THE WAR.

The concluding argument of ex-Secretary Bryan for permanent peace among the great powers was published on June 18, 1915. *The statement follows:*

Washington, June 18, 1915.

Having considered the war as it is and the injury which it does neutrals, and then the origin of the war and the causes which led up to it, we are now ready to make inquiry as to the way out—that is, the means by which hostilities can be brought to an end and permanent peace restored. To state in a sentence the propositions which I shall proceed to elaborate: Mediation is the means, provided by international agreement, through which the belligerent nations can be brought into conference; time for the investigation of all disputes is the means by which future wars can be averted, and the cultivation of international friendship is the

means by which the desire for war can be rooted out.

What are the nations fighting about? No one seems to know, or if any one does know, he has not taken the public into his confidence. We have been told, in a general way, that the Allies are fighting against "militarism" and in defense of "popular government," and that Germany is fighting in defense of "German culture" and for the nation's right to "a place in the sun." But these generalities are so differently interpreted as not to convey a definite idea. When the President offered mediation at the very beginning of the struggle the answers which he received from the various rulers were so much alike that one telegram might have served for all. The substance of each answer was, "I did not want war and I am not to blame for the war that now exists." But that was ten months ago; the question now is not whether those in authority in the belligerent nations did or did not want war then; we may accept their answers as given in good faith, but the important question is still unanswered. "I did not want war" may have been deemed sufficient at the time the answers were given, but the real question is, "Do you want war now? If not, why not say so?"

The months have dragged their bloody length along—each more terrible than the month before—and yet the crimson line of battle sways to and fro, each movement marked by dreadful loss of life. While warriors die and widows weep, the sovereign rulers of the warring powers withhold the word that would stop the war. No Chief of State has yet said, "I do not want war." No one in authority has yet publicly declared his willingness to state the terms upon which his nation is ready to negotiate peace. Are not these dying men and these sorrowing women entitled to know definitely for what their nation is fighting? Is it territory? Then how much territory, and where is it located? Is it the avenging of a wrong done? Then how much more blood must be spilled to make atonement for the blood already shed? Some day accumulated suffering will reach its limit; some day the pent-up anguish which this war is causing will find a voice. Then, if not before, the rulers in the war zone will pause to listen to the stern question, "Why do we die?"—the question which shakes thrones and marks the furthermost limits of arbitrary power.

And is not the outside world entitled to know the price of peace? Must the neutrals bear the penalties which war necessarily visits upon them, and yet remain in ignorance as to the issues at stake? Their trade is interrupted, their citizens are drowned, they are the victims of stray bullets—have they no right to know what it is that, being done, will draw down the curtain of this dark tragedy? Has any nation a purpose for continuing this war which it does not dare to state to the world, or even to its own people?

Surely neither side thinks it can annihilate the other. Great nations cannot be exterminated—population cannot be wiped out by the sword. The combatants, even though the war may have made them heartless, will shrink from the task of carrying this slaughter beyond the point necessary to win a victory. And it must be remembered that war plans often miscarry. Predictions made at the beginning of the war have not been fulfilled. The British did not destroy the German fleet in a month, and Germany did not take Paris in two months, and the Russian Army did not eat Christmas dinner in Berlin. But even if extermination were possible, it would be a crime against civilization which no nation or group of nations could afford to commit. If it is vandalism to destroy the finest specimens of man's workmanship, is it not sacrilege to engage in the wholesale destruction of human beings—the supreme example of God's handiwork? We may find cases of seeming total depravity among individuals, but not in a nation or in a race. The future has use for the peoples now at war; they have a necessary part in that destiny which mankind must work out together regardless of these ebullitions of anger. The Lord might have

made all flowers of one kind, of one color and alike in fragrance—but He did not. And because He did not, the world is more beautiful. Variety, not uniformity, is the law among men as well as among the flowers. The nations which are actively participating in this war are what they are because of struggles that have lasted for centuries. They differ in language, in institutions, in race characteristics, and in national history, but together they constitute a great living bouquet that is of surpassing beauty.

We may put aside, therefore, as wholly impracticable, if not inconceivable, the thought that this war can continue until one side has annihilated the other. What, then, can be the purpose? The complete domination of Europe by one nation or group of nations? The absurdity of such a plan is only second to the absurdity of the thought that either side can annihilate the other. The world is not looking for a master; the day of the despot is gone. The future will be gloomy indeed if the smaller nations must pass under the yoke of any power or combination of powers. The question is not who shall dictate on land, or who shall dominate upon the sea. These questions are not practical ones. The real question is, not how a few can lay burdens upon the rest, but how all can work together as comrades and brothers.

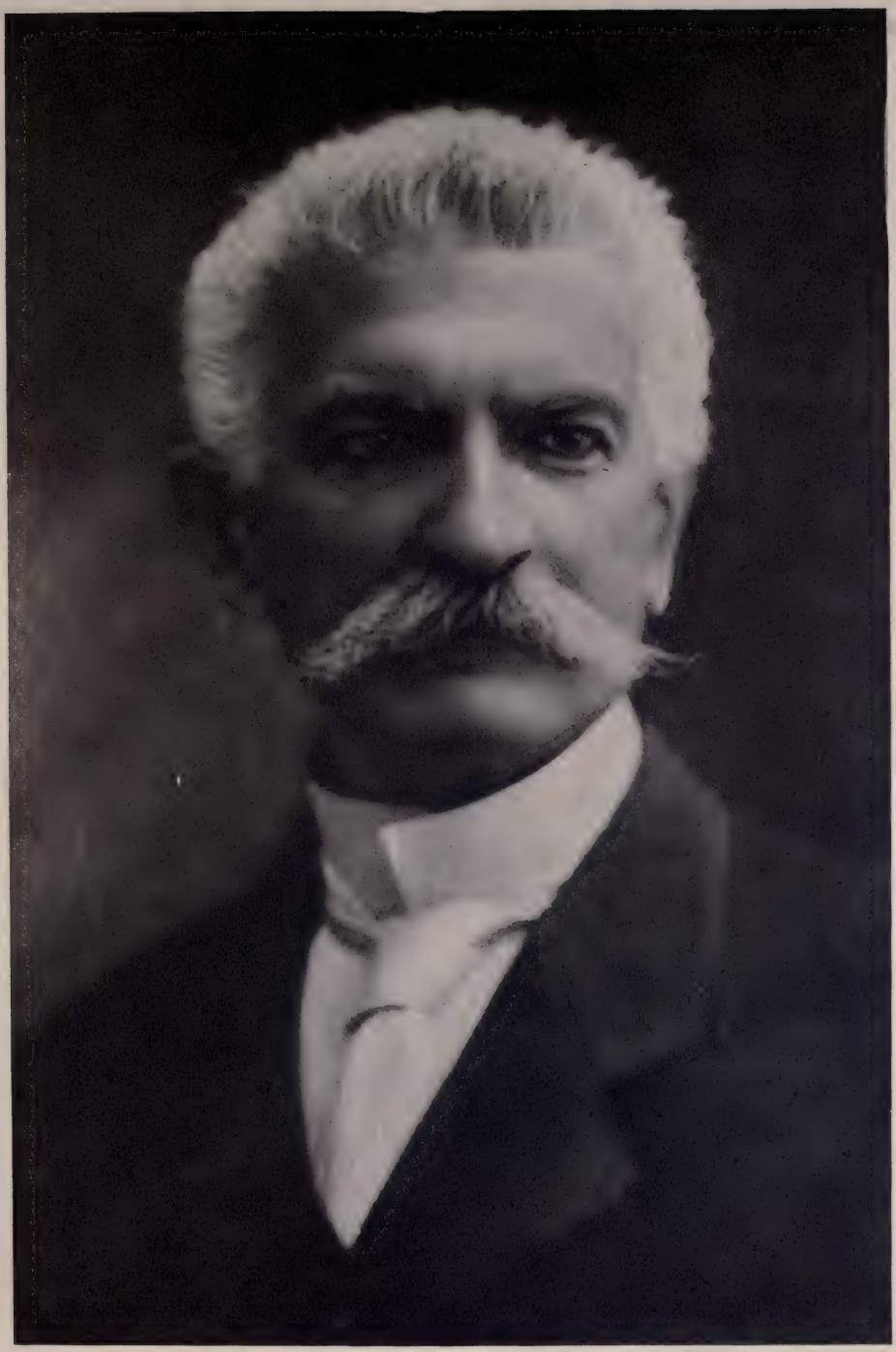
Even if it were possible for one side to force the other side to its knees in supplication, even if it were possible for one side to write the terms of the treaty in blood and compel the other side to sign it, face downward and prostrate on the ground, it could not afford to do so; and unless the belligerents have read history to no purpose, they will not desire to do so. Time and again some nation, boastful of its strength, has thought itself invincible, but the ruins of these mistaken and misguided nations line the pathway along which the masses have marched to higher ground. Despotism has in it the seeds of death; the spirit that leads a nation to aspire to a supremacy based on force is the spirit that destroys its hope of immortality. Only those who are unacquainted with the larger influences can place their sole reliance on the weapons used in physical warfare. They see only the things that are transient and ephemeral; they do not comprehend the higher truth that "the things that are seen are temporal; the things that are unseen are eternal."

Christian nations need to read again Christ's prayer upon the Cross, "Father, forgive them, for they know not what they do." All the participants in this war have sinned enough to make them anxious to exhibit that forgiving spirit which is the measure of the forgiveness which can be claimed.

When can peace be restored? Any time—now, if the participants are really weary of this war and ready for it to end. If any nation is not ready, let its ruler state in clear, distinct, and definite terms the conditions upon which it is willing to agree to peace; then if an agreement is not reached the blame for the continuance of the war will be upon those who make unreasonable demands.

What can be done by the advocates of peace? First, they can crystallize the sentiment in favor of peace into a coersive force, for public opinion at last controls the world. There is a work which the neutrals can do; they can offer mediation, jointly or severally. It is not an act of hostility, but an act of friendship. The Hague Convention, to which all the Governments are parties, expressly declares that the offer of mediation shall not be considered an unfriendly act. The duty of offering mediation may seem to rest primarily upon the United States, the largest of the neutral nations, and the one most intimately bound by ties of blood to all the belligerents. The United States did make an offer immediately after the war began. But why not again and again and again, until our offer or some other offer is accepted? Why not stand at the door and knock, as we would at the door of a friend if we felt that the friend was in need and that we could render a service?

But our action or failure to act need not deter any other neutral country from acting. This is not a time to stand on



BARON SYDNEY SONNINO
Italian Minister of Foreign Affairs
(Photo from Paul Thompson)

FIELD MARSHAL VON MACKENSEN
Who Commanded the Victorious Teutonic Forces Against the Russians in the Southeast

ceremony; if any other country, for any reason, no matter what that reason may be, is in a better position than we to tender its good offices, it should not delay for a moment. It is for the belligerents to decide which offer, if any, they will accept. I am sure they will not complain if, following the promptings of our hearts, we beseech them to let us help them back to the paths of peace.

Will they object on the ground that they will not consent to any peace until they have assurances that it will be a permanent peace? That suggestion has been made—I think both sides have expressed a desire that the peace, when secured, shall be permanent—but who can give a pledge as to the future? If fear that the peace may not be permanent is given as the reason for refusal it is not a sufficient reason. While no one can stand surety for what may come, it is not difficult to adopt measures which will give far greater assurance of permanent peace than the world has ever known before.

Second—The treaty in which they join should provide for investigation by a permanent international commission of every dispute that may arise, no matter what its character or nature. The United States has already made thirty treaties embodying this principle, and these thirty treaties link our country to nearly three-quarters of all the inhabitants of the world. We have such a treaty in force between the United States and four of the countries now at war—Great Britain, France, Russia, and Italy. The principle of this treaty has been accepted by three other belligerents—Germany, Austria, and Belgium—although treaties with these nations have not yet been negotiated. These seven warring nations have indorsed the principle embodied in these treaties, namely, that there shall be no declaration of war or commencement of hostilities until the subject in dispute has been investigated by an international commission. Why cannot they apply the principle as between themselves? What cause of war is of such magnitude that nations can afford to commence shooting at each other before the cause is investigated? A treaty such as those which now protect the peace of the United States would give a year's time for investigation and report, and who doubts that a year's time would be sufficient to reach an amicable settlement of almost every difficulty?

Does any one suppose that the present war would have been begun if a year's time had been taken to investigate the dispute between Austria and Serbia? It will be remembered that Serbia had only twenty-four hours in which to reply, and it will also be remembered that during this brief time the rulers of the Old World endeavored to find a means of preventing war. If they had only had some machinery which they could have employed to avert war, how gladly would they have availed themselves of it! The machinery provided by treaty can be resorted to with honor—yes, with honor—no matter how high a sense of honor the nation has. The trouble has been that, while the nations were abundantly provided with machinery for conducting war, they possessed no machinery for the promotion of peace. A year's time allows passion to subside and reason to resume its sway. It allows man to act when he is calm instead of having to act when he is angry. When a man is angry he swaggers around and talks about what he can do, and he often overestimates his strength; when he is calm he considers what he ought to do. When he is angry he hears the rumbling of earthquakes and the sweep of the hurricane; when he is calm he listens to the still small voice of conscience.

Third—While the period of investigation provided for in our treaties will go far toward preventing war, still even a year's deliberation does not give complete protection. In order to secure the investigation of all questions without exception it was necessary to reserve to the contracting parties liberty of action at the conclusion of the investigation. War is thus reduced from a probability to a mere possibility, and this is an immeasurable advance; but the assurance of permanent peace cannot be given un-

til the desire for war is eradicated from the human heart. Compulsory periods of investigation supply the machinery by which nations can maintain peace with honor if they so desire; but the final work of the advocates of peace is educational—it is the cultivation of the spirit of brotherhood condensed into the commandment "Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself." Is it impossible to imagine a civilization in which greatness will be measured by service and in which the rivalry will be a rivalry in doing good? No one doubts that the lot of each member of society would be infinitely better under such conditions; why not strive to bring about such conditions? Is it visionary to hope and labor for this end? "Where there is no vision the people perish." It is a "death grapple in the darkness 'twixt old systems and the Word." The old system has broken down; it can let loose the furies, but it cannot bind them; it is impotent to save. The question is not whether the Word will triumph—that is certain—but when? And after what sufferings?

Thomas Carlyle, his voice rising clear and strong above the babble of Mammon, asked, in the closing chapters of his French Revolution:

"Hast thou considered how Thought is stronger than Artillery Parks, and (were it fifty years after death and martyrdom, or were it two thousand years) writes and unwrites Acts of Parliament, removes mountains, models the World like soft clay? Also how the beginning of all Thought worth the name is Love."

The truth which he uttered is still truth, and no matter who uttered it, the thought is the thought of Him who spake as never man spake; who was described in prophecy as the Prince of Peace; whose coming was greeted with the song of "Peace on earth; good-will to men," and whose teachings, when applied, will usher in the enduring peace of a universal brotherhood. W. J. BRYAN.

Bryan, Idealist and Average Man

By Charles Willis Thompson

The subjoined estimate of William J. Bryan's character and public career, which appeared in THE NEW YORK TIMES of June 9, 1915, is by the hand of one of its staff writers who has specialized in American national politics.

THE plain man of the prairie became Secretary of State when William J. Bryan did; the prairie then entered diplomacy, international controversy. The secret of all that has puzzled the land in his behavior lies in that fact. His hold on the West lies in the fact that he is in himself the average man of that country, with that man's ideals, aspirations, defects, and drawbacks. There seems nothing strange or funny in a Secretary of State who goes to New York and signs temperance pledges, or holds Billy Sunday's platform in Philadelphia, when you get a few miles away from the cities; and if it seems a little queer to New York to find the Secretary of State undertaking to demolish the Darwinian theory, there are plenty of regions where the Darwinian theory is regarded as a device of the devil to upset the Mosaic cosmogony. Chesterton says that Dickens never wrote down to the mob, because he was himself the mob; and Bryan never talked down to the men of the prairie for the same reason.

He is not a man of culture, nor of reading. He has been around the world, but when he came back the books and articles he wrote were such as might have been published as guide books or in encyclopedias; he could have written them without leaving home. Travel had

no broadening or polishing effect upon his mind.

The vast influence he still has is due to the fact that the common man, with all his mistakes and gaucheries, speaks in him, and that when the common man hears his own thoughts spoken in Bryan's voice he knows that the accent is sincere. Bryan may have taken up this or that particular issue because it sounded like a vote-maker, but none of them represented tne least divergence from his course as a whole, which has always been honestly bent in a certain plain direction. He never hesitated to be in a minority and never dodged a fight. He is an innocent theorist, who frequently goes wrong because of the simplicity of his mental processes; but he acts upon his theories, right or wrong, with an intrepidity and a whole-hearted courage in which the ordinary man sees the qualities he himself would like to have, and dreams he has. His mind is not broad, but it is strong; he is always sure he is right, and always ready to fight for his beliefs, and he keeps his hold upon his followers because he is not below them, and not much above them, and because they know he is honest and sincere.

In 1906, the Democratic Party, picking itself out of the wreckage of Parker's defeat, was yearning to reunite. "Big business," assaulted and bruised and banged about by President Roosevelt, was ready to come into line. Roosevelt or his candidate could be defeated in 1908 only by Democratic harmony. Bryan was abroad, traveling, and somehow his distant figure looked less appalling than the near-by figure in the White House. The East did not ask him to recant his radicalism, but only not to talk about it. He arrived in New York, and business went to hear him make a harmony speech. If he made it, business would support him for President. He made the speech; he declared for Government ownership of railroads. Business, roaring with pain, fell back into the Republican arms, and Bryan was defeated for President. No, Bryan is not an opportunist—not in things that really matter.

William Bayard Hale once accurately described him as "essentially a preacher, a high-class exhorter, a glorified circuit rider." There are vast spaces of our country still populated by men and women of the old-fashioned kind; Chesterton describes them as "full of stale culture and ancestral simplicity." They are the descendants of the Puritans—intellectually, at any rate—they look askance on cards, dancing, and the stage; they are the kind of folks who peopled the Mississippi Valley in Lincoln's day and Massachusetts in John Hancock's. Bryan does not talk down to that type for votes; he is that type. Colonel George Harvey, with sarcastic intent, alleged that Bryan became a white-ribboner after hearing a little girl recite "The Lips That Touch Liquor Shall Never Touch Mine." There are regions which would accept that parable as Gospel truth, and much to Bryan's credit.

Salem, Ill., is a little town which fairly shrieks at you its pre-eminence as a picture of that type. As you pass through its orderly little streets, with its little frame houses, all of the same kind and all neat and unassuming, with its dirt roads and its typical Town Hall, set correctly back behind a correct little patch of grass in a neat square, you feel instinctively that the Darwinian theory must be avoided in your Salem conversation. You know at once that the same families have lived there for generations. So they have; one of them was Bryan's, and he was born there on March 19, 1860.

Of course, he was the valedictorian of his class—Illinois College, 1881. Of course, he became a lawyer; and, of course, in the Middle West, that involved politics. He lived now in Lincoln, Neb., in a Republican district, but he was a Democrat. There was a landslide in 1890. The whole country went Democratic, and many a forlorn hope leader in some hidebound Republican district was swept into Congress, Bryan among them. He made a great speech on the tariff, which won him instantly a national reputation; but Lincoln had recovered its Republican poise, and he did not go back to Con-

gress. He added to his reputation in his own State, however, as editor of its chief Democratic organ, The Omaha World-Herald, and went to Chicago as the head of its delegation to the National Convention of 1896.

At a moment when David B. Hill's masterly presentation of the gold-standard case and Tillman's failure in his effort at rejoinder had thrown a wet blanket over the silverites, Bryan came forward with his " Cross of Gold " speech. The cheering delegations carried him around the hall on their shoulders. None of the candidates before the convention was dominating or really of Presidential size; the convention was deadlocked for many ballots, and at last it turned to Bryan and nominated him.

His defeat by McKinley really marked the beginning of his career as a national leader. Despite the accident which had made him the Democracy's nominal leader, he demonstrated that he was the ablest of the radicals into whose hands it had fallen, and his nominal chieftainship became a real one. It was evident from the beginning that he would be renominated in 1900. When the Spanish war broke out he offered his services and became Colonel of the Third Nebraska Regiment. The Republican Administration was taking no chances on his getting any military glory, and it marooned him in Florida till after the war. He returned good for evil by going to Washington, uniform and all, and dragooning reluctant Democratic Senators into voting for the treaty with Spain whereby we acquired the Philippines. This was one of his incidental opportunisms; he believed it would give the Democrats a winning issue, that of imperialism. The cast of Bryan's mind is such that he always gets his winning issues on wrong end foremost; it gave the Republicans a winning issue, that of imperialism.

Bryan went down to defeat again in 1900, on this new issue, and as usual epitaphs were written over his political grave. It is a favorite parlor game; but Bryan never stays dead, because there is something enduring in him. What is it? That same spokesmanship for the average man of many regions, the man of the little parlor with the melodeon or parlor organ, the plush-bound photograph album and the " History of the San Francisco Earthquake " bought by subscription from a book agent, and the grandfather's clock in the corner of the hall.

But in 1904 the Democratic leaders, tired of defeat, turned desperately to the opposite wing of the party. The radical leaders, really opportunists, forswore or hid their convictions for the sake of victory, tried to teach their unskillful tongues the language of conservatism, and joined in with the conservatives in the nomination of Parker. But Bryan did not yield; he forswore nothing, hid nothing, and he fought a lonely fight, the bravest of his life.

His fight was of one man against a multitude. Alone, he had to be everywhere; he was in the Committee on Resolutions, in the Committee on Credentials, on the floor of the convention, speaking, fighting, working, twenty hours a day. He had no one to help him; all his fellows were on the other side, strangling their convictions and fighting against him. He was insulted on the platform, even by fellow-radicals; he was elbowed aside and snarled at by men who had been more radical than himself; attempts were made to deny him a hearing. Nothing could daunt him or perturb him; he fought on until Parker was nominated, went to his hotel at dawn as the convention adjourned, and fell into his bed in utter collapse. A doctor was summoned, who said that Bryan must instantly give up all work and undergo treatment.

That evening the news came that Parker had refused to run unless the word " gold " was written into the platform; the convention was thrown into panic; the sick man rose from his bed and entered the wild and turbulent hall, white-faced, breathing with difficulty, sweat pouring down his face, and there took up the work again, single-handed still. He fought on all night, was defeated again, and went under the doctor's hands. Those speeches in that convention were really the greatest of his

life, though they may not read as well as others; each of them was a battle.

Parker's defeat by Roosevelt again erased that ever-recurring epitaph over Bryan's political grave. It was evident at once that nothing could prevent him from being again the candidate in 1908. Again he was defeated, and again the epitaph was jubilantly rewritten. He was extinguished, he would never again be an influence in the party; it was, to use the phrase of 1896, 1900, and 1904, "the end of Bryan."

Again the epitaph had to be erased. He was so far from being extinguished that he became the dominating force of the convention of 1912. There is no doubt in the mind of the writer, who was there, that Bryan had given up all hope of running for President, because, as he expressed it in a thrilling midnight speech at that convention, he recognized at last that he had too many enemies ever to expect to win. But he did determine to be a king-maker if he could not be a king, and king-maker he was.

Not even the convention of 1904 showed Bryan in better light as a fighter than that of 1912. He was determined that the reactionaries should not control the convention. At the beginning he was defeated, but defeat never affected Bryan in the least in all his life, and this time, as usual, he only went on fighting. When the convention rejected him for Temporary Chairman and elected Parker, the embodiment of all he opposed, he merely took a fresh hold and fought harder.

When he swung Nebraska from Champ Clark to Wilson he had won, and thereafter Wilson's nomination was only a question of time. He was the centre of violent scenes, as when maddened men swept down upon him and shook their standards in his face and seemed on the verge of assaulting him. When he tried to get a hearing and the opposition shouted him down, he simply climbed up on the platform beside the Chairman and forced them to hear. Once, while the whole convention seemed to be yelling at him, and he stood in the midst of a whirlwind of angry noise, ex-Governor McCorkle of West Virginia, jumping up and facing him, shrieked in a voice heard above the cyclone: "Are you a Democrat?"

"My Democracy has been certified to by six and a half million voters. But," pointing his palm-leaf fan at McCorkle, with magnificent contempt, "I will ask the secretary to record one vote in the negative if the gentleman will give me his name."

He won; Wilson was nominated. He brought his great following into line for an Eastern man, and Wilson was elected. The new President, following a precedent set by Taylor, Garfield, and Harrison, made him Secretary of State.

Then Bryan showed a new side of his character to the country. He effaced himself in Wilson's interest; he became a loyal subordinate, accepting a minor place cheerfully and laboring with might and main to make the Administration a success. It is chiefly due to his efforts that it was one for its first two years. The new President was unknown to most of his party, and the legislation he recommended would have met with internal opposition but for Bryan. The Secretary whipped his followers into line even for legislation so repugnant to them as the Currency bill, and the Presidential program went through. In two years Mr. Wilson had become a definite personality to the country, and had a following of his own; but his initial success was due to Bryan, and but for Bryan Mr. Wilson might have had to face a party as divided as did Cleveland, and might have seen his Administration wrecked as Cleveland's was.

Mr. Bryan hoped to make an enduring name for himself as Secretary of State. In the years that had elapsed since he was Colonel of the Third Nebraska he had become an ardent pacifist, and he dreamed of going into history with a title greater than that of any other statesman who ever lived—for such, surely, would have been the meed of the man who abolished war. That mind of his, honest as the day, but far from great; strong but not broad, sees everything as simple, not as complex. Is there

a wrong? Why, then, abolish it; it is as simple as A B C. War is wrong; therefore let us stop it. How? Why, get everybody to agree not to fight without taking a year to look into the thing. And he busied himself drafting and negotiating treaties with all the world to get it to agree to this simple but certain remedy. The "glorified circuit rider" was at the head of the Department of State of the United States. If anybody had suggested to him that there were nations which no treaty could bind, he would have answered, in the style of the prayer-meeting exhorter, "Ah! I have a higher faith in human nature." So he worked busily, building himself his niche in the temple of fame, and meanwhile the greatest war in history broke out.

With such a mind as has been described, it is evident that this event could not shake Mr. Bryan's confidence in himself or his remedies. To him it was obvious that the war came because the nations involved had not signed his treaty; if they had, Germany would have abided by it; would not have dreamed of treating it as a scrap of paper; would have waited the prescribed year, and Austria would have given Serbia the same time to reply to her ultimatum. The mischief was done, but he set about heroically to repair it; he sought to have the United States intervene as a peacemaker; he sought to prevent the United States from protecting its citizens on the high seas, since that seemed likely to lead to war; and at last, finding his efforts of no avail, he resigned.

No one who had seen him in his unequal fights for his principles on less momentous occasions could doubt that he would fight for them to the end on this greatest one. There is no parallel to his action in American history. So far as its political aspects are concerned, the nearest thing to it is Blaine's resignation from Harrison's Cabinet in 1892; but that only faintly resembles it. Blaine did not resign because of any difference in principles, but because he wanted to fight the Administration; and the superficial resemblance lies only in the similarity of the relations of the two Presidents to their Secretaries of State.

Bryan leaves the Cabinet saddened, but not disillusioned. When he had been Secretary of State two months he said that he would not have taken office "if I thought there was to be a war during my tenure." "I believe," he added, "there will be no war while I am Secretary of State, and I believe there will be no war so long as I live." It has not come out that way; it might have so easily come out that way if only Germany had signed that treaty of his! But he is not disillusioned; nothing can disillusion him; his ideal is still only a day or two ahead of him, and he resigns to fight for it, since fight for it in the Cabinet he cannot any longer.

In the Name of Peace.

By LAVINIA V. WHITNEY.

(After Kipling.)

When the last of the soldiers has fallen, and the cannons lie twisted aside,
When the last of all homes has been ruined, and the heart of the youngest girl bride,
We shall wake from our terrible madness, and pause for an eon or two,
Till the Master of all the good soldiers shall call us to battle anew.

Then those that were brave shall be braver—they shall love with a love more fair;
They shall hear, o'er a worldwide battlefield, the Voice of their God in the air;
They shall have the real saints for their comrades—Magdalene, Peter, and Paul;
They shall fight unembittered, and never again shall be weary at all.

And only the Master shall praise us, for only the Master shall lead;
And no one shall fight for his country, and none for his honor or creed;
But each for the Master Who loves him, and Teuton and Briton and all
Shall fight, each the cause of the other, for the God of the Love of us All!

A World League to Enforce Peace

By William Howard Taft, ex-President of the United States.

President Wilson on June 15 denied the statement, cabled from Europe, that the United States was the only great neutral Government that had not encouraged the movement among neutral nations looking to a conference of neutrals to end the European conflict. To this Government, said the President, answering a direct inquiry, had been given no more opportunity than everybody knew in furthering a neutral movement for peace. He stated that this Government had supported everything of the sort as far as it could legitimately. It had done everything that was for peace and accommodation, he added. But the great drawback has been that none of the warring Governments has directly, that is officially, indicated that it would respond sympathetically to any suggestion that it become a party to a movement to end the war. The idea of a league of neutral nations, having for its object a concerted effort to bring about peace, is reported to be in the back of the President's mind, and members of the Cabinet have given some thought to the suggestion, which might contemplate the firm maintenance of neutral rights if peace could not be obtained, but the situation has not developed to a point where the American Government is ready to make a definite move.

Meanwhile, as the outgrowth of a series of meetings held in the Century Club, New York, terminating in a call for a conference signed by a National Provisional Committee of 109 members headed by ex-President Taft, an organization known as the League to Enforce Peace, American Branch, was formed on June 17, 1915, in Independence Hall, Philadelphia. The purpose of the conference was explained by Mr. Taft in his address as President, which appears in full below.

MY fellow-seekers after peace, we thank you for your cordial greeting. In calling this meeting my associates and I have not been unaware that we might be likened to the tailors of Tooley Street, who mistook themselves for the people of England. We wish first to say that we do not represent anybody but ourselves. We are not national legislators, nor do we control the foreign policy of this Government. A number of us were invited to dinner at the Century Club (New York) by four generous hosts, who were deeply interested in devising a plan for an international agreement by which, when this present war shall cease, a recurrence of such a war will be made less probable.

We are not here to suggest a means of bringing this war to an end; much as that is to be desired and much as we would be willing to do to obtain peace, that is not within the project of the present meeting.

We hope and pray for peace, and our hope of its coming in the near future is sufficient to make us think that the present is a good time to discuss and formulate a series of proposals to which the assent of a number of the great powers could be secured. *We think a League of Peace could be formed that would enable nations to avoid war by furnishing a practical means of settling international quarrels, or suspending them until the blinding heat of passion had cooled.*

When the World Conferenee is held our country will have its official representatives to speak for us. "We, Tailors of Tooley Street," will not be there, but if, in our sartorial leisure, we shall have discussed and framed a practical plan for a league of peace, our official representatives will be aided and may in their discretion accept it and present it to the conference as their own.

There are Tooley Streets in every nation today and the minds of earnest men are being stirred with the same thought and the same purpose. We have heard from them through various channels. The denizens of those Tooley Streets will have their influence upon their respective official representatives. No man can measure the effect upon the peoples of the belligerent countries and upon the peoples of the neutral countries—the horrors and exhaustion that this unprecedented war is going to have. It is certain they all will look with much more

favorable eye to leagues for the preservation of peace than ever before.

In no war has the direct interest that neutrals have in preventing a war between neighbors been so closely made known.

This interest of neutrals has been so forced upon them that it would require only a slight development and growth in the law of international relations to develop that interest into a right to be consulted before such a war among neighbors can be begun. This step we hope to have taken by the formation of a Peace League of the Great Powers, whose primary and fundamental principle shall be that no war can take place between any two members of the league until they have resorted to the machinery that the league proposes to furnish to settle the controversy likely to lead to war.

If any member refuses to use this machinery and attacks another member of the league in breach of his league obligation, all members of the league agree to defend the members attacked by force.

We do not think the ultimate resort to force can be safely omitted from an effective League of Peace. We sincerely hope that it may never become necessary, and that the deterrent effect of its inevitable use in case of a breach of the league obligation will help materially to give sanction to the laws of the league and to render a resort to force avoidable.

We are not peace-at-any-price men, because we do not think we have reached the time when a plan based on the complete abolition of war is impracticable. So long as nations partake of the frailties of men who compose them, war is a possibility, and that possibility should not be ignored in any League of Peace that is to be useful. We do not think it necessary to call peace-at-any-price men cowards or apply other epithets to them. We have known in history the most noble characters who adhered to such a view and yet whose physical and moral courage is a heritage of mankind.

To those who differ with us in our view of the necessity for this feature of possible force in our plan, we say we respect your attitude. We admit your claim to sincere patriotism to be as just as ours. We do not ascribe your desire to avoid war to be a fear of death to yourselves or your sons; but rather to your sense of the horrors, injustice, and ineffectiveness of settling any international issue by such a brutal arbitrament. Nevertheless, we differ with you in judgment that, in the world of nations as they are, war can be completely avoided.

We believe it is still necessary to use a threat of overwhelming force of a great league with a willingness to make the threat good in order to frighten nations into a use of rational and peaceful means to settle their issues with their associates of the league. Nor are we militarists or jingoes. We are trying to follow a middle path.

Now what is the machinery, a resort to which we wish to force an intending belligerent of the league—it consists of two tribunals, to one of which every issue must be submitted. Issues between nations are of two classes:

First—Issues that can be decided on principles of international law and equity, called justiciable.

Second—Issues that cannot be decided on such principles of law and equity, but which might be quite as irritating and provocative of war, called non-justiciable.

The questions of the Alaskan boundary, of the Bering Sea seal fishing, and of the Alabama Claims were justiciable issues that could be settled by a court, exactly as the Supreme Court would settle claims between States. The questions whether the Japanese should be naturalized, whether all American citizens should be admitted to Russia as merchants without regard to religious faith, are capable of causing great irritation against the nation denying the privilege, and yet such nations, in the absence of a treaty on the subject, are completely within their international right, and the real essence of the trouble cannot be aided by a resort to a court. The trouble is non-justiciable.

We propose that for justiciable questions we shall have an impartial court

to which all questions arising between members of the league shall be submitted. If the court finds the question justiciable, it shall decide it. If it does not, it shall refer it to a Commission of Conciliation to investgate, confer, hear argument, and recommend a compromise.

We do not propose to enforce compliance either with the court's judgment or the Conciliation Commission's recommendations We feel that we ought not to attempt too much—we believe that the forced submission and the truce taken to investigate the judicial decision or the conciliatory compromise recommended will form a material inducement to peace. It will cool the heat of passion, and will give the men of peace in each nation time to still the jingoes.

The League of Peace will furnish a great opportunity for more definite formulation of the principles of international law. The arbitral court will amplify it and enrich it in their application of its general principles to particular cases. They will create a body of Judge-made law of the highest value. Then the existence of the league will lead to ever-recurring congresses of the league, which, acting in a quasi-legislative capacity, may widen the scope of international law in a way that a court may not feel able or competent to do.

This is our plan. It is not so complicated—at least, in statement. In its practical application difficulties now unforeseen may arise, but we believe it offers a working hypothesis upon which a successful arrangement can be made.

We are greeted first by the objection that no treaties can prevent war. We are not called upon to deny this in order to justify or vindicate our proposals as useful. We realize that nations sometimes are utterly immoral in breaking treaties and shamelessly bold in avowing their right to do so on the ground of necessity; but this is not always the case. We cannot give up treaties because sometimes they are broken any more than we can give up commercial contracts because men sometimes dishonor themselves in breaking them. We decline to assume that all nations always are dishonorable, or that a solemn treaty obligation will not have some deterrent effect upon a nation that has plighted its faith to prevent its breach. *When we add to this the sanction of an agreement by a number of powerful nations to enforce the obligation of the recalcitrant and faithless member, we think we have a treaty that is much more than a "scrap of paper"—and we base our faith in this on a common-sense view of human nature.*

It is obected that we propose only to include the more powerful nations. We'll gladly include them all. But we don't propose to have the constitution of our court complicated by a demand for equal representation of the many smaller nations. We believe that when we have a league of larger powers the smaller powers will be glad to come in and enjoy the protection that the league will afford against the unjust aggression of the strong against the weak.

It is suggested that we invite a conference of neutral nations to bring about measures for present peace and to formulate demands as to the protection of neutral rights. This may be a good plan, but, as Kipling says, that is another story.

The League to Enforce Peace

Personnel and Text of the Resolutions Adopted

RESOLUTIONS.

[Adopted in Independence Hall, Philadelphia, June 17, 1915.]

Throughout 5,000 years of recorded history, peace, here and there established, has been kept, and its area has been widened, in one way only. Individuals have combined their efforts to suppress violence in the local community. Com-

munities have co-operated to maintain the authoritative state and to preserve peace within its borders. States have formed leagues or confederations or have otherwise co-operated to establish peace among themselves. Always peace has been made and kept, when made and kept at all, by the superior power of superior numbers acting in unity for the common good.

Mindful of this teaching of experience, we believe and solemnly urge that the time has come to devise and to create a working union of sovereign nations to establish peace among themselves and to guarantee it by all known and available sanctions at their command, to the end that civilization may be conserved, and the progress of mankind in comfort, enlightenment, and happiness may continue.

We, therefore, believe it to be desirable for the United States to join a league of nations binding the signatories to the following:

1. All justiciable questions arising between the signatory powers, not settled by negotiations, shall, subject to the limitations of treaties, be submitted to a judicial tribunal for hearing and judgment, both upon the merits and upon any issue as to its jurisdiction of the question.

2. All other questions arising between the signatories and not settled by negotiation shall be submitted to a Council of Conciliation for hearing, consideration, and recommendation.

3. The signatory powers shall jointly use forthwith both their economic and military forces against any one of their number that goes to war, or commits acts of hostility, against another of the signatories before any question arising shall be submitted as provided in the foregoing.

4. Conferences between the signatory powers shall be held from time to time to formulate and codify rules of international law, which, unless some signatory shall signify its dissent within a stated period, shall thereafter govern the decision of the judicial tribunal mentioned in Article 1.

There were half a dozen brief speeches in favor of the report. John Wanamaker did not think the report went far enough. He had hoped the conference would send out a message to the warring nations that would make them pause and think. He could not help but favor the report, he added, but felt that it, standing alone without any further action, would be laughed at by those on the other side of the Atlantic.

It is expected the Executive Committee will meet in the near future to adopt plans to carry out the objects of the league. One of the things that probably will be done, according to members of the Executive Committee, will be to start a propaganda in this country with a view to having the United States Senate adopt measures in line with the object of the league. Mr. Taft said today that, judging by its action in rejecting treaties in the past, the chief stumbling block to the aspirations of the league would be the Senate. Steps will also be taken to get European countries interested in the league.

ORGANIZATION.

President.

William Howard Taft.

Vice Presidents.

Lyman Abbott,
Edwin A. Alderman,
A. Graham Bell,
R. Blankenburg,
Charles R. Brown,
Francis E. Clark,
John H. Finley,
W. D. Foulke,
James Cardinal Gibbons,
W. Gladden,
George Gray,
Myron T. Herrick,
John G. Hibben,
George C. Holt,
D. P. Kingsley,
S. W. McCall,
J. B. McCreary,
Victor H. Metcalf,
John Mitchell,
John B. Moore,
Alton B. Parker,
George H. Prouty,
Jacob H. Schiff,
John C. Schaffer,
Robert Sharp,
Edgar F. Smith,
C. R. Van Hise,
B. I. Wheeler,
Harry A. Wheeler,
Andrew D. White,
W. A. White,
George G. Wilson,
Luther B. Wilson,
Oliver Wilson,
Stephen S. Wise,
T. S. Woolsey,
James L. Slayden,
David H. Greer,
Bernard N. Baker,
Victor L. Berger,
Edward Bok,
Arthur J. Brown,
Edward O. Browne,
R. Fulton Cutting,
John F. Fort,
A. W. Harris,
L. L. Hobbs,
George H. Lorimer,
Edgar O. Lovett,
S. B. McCormick,
Martin B. Madden,
Charles Nagel,
George A. Plimpton,
Isaac Sharpless,
William F. Slocum,
Dan Smiley,
F. H. Strawbridge,
Joseph Swain,
Edwin Warfield,
H. St. G. Tucker.

Executive Committee.

W. H. Mann,
John B. Clark,
J. M. Dickinson,
Austen G. Fox,
Henry C. Morris,
Leo S. Rowe,
Oscar S. Straus,
Thomas R. White,
Hamilton Holt,
Theodore Marburg,
W. B. Howland,
John H. Hammond,
W. H. Short,
A. L. Lowell,
John A. Stewart,
William H. Taft.

German-American Dissent

By Hugo Muensterberg.

The subjoined letter from Hugo Muensterberg, Professor of Psychology at Harvard University, is addressed to Augustus J. Cadwalader, Secretary of the National Provisional Committee for the League to Enforce Peace.

Clifton, Mass., June 9, 1915.

Dear Sir: I beg to express my thanks for the courtesy of the invitation to attend the conference of the League of Peace in Independence Hall under the Presidency of the Hon. W. H. Taft. I feel myself, of course, in deepest sympathy with the spirit of justice and peacefulness which has suggested the foundation of such a league. Nevertheless, I beg to be excused from attendance, as I am convinced that this time of international excitement and prejudice is unfit for the crystallization of new forms for the common life of the nations.

I venture, however, to add that I feel in any case grave doubts of the value of any plans which aim to secure future peace by the traditional type of agreements and treaties. We live in the midst of a war in which one belligerent nation after another has felt obliged to disregard treaties and to interpret agreements in a one-sided way. Only yesterday Italy, without any reason of vital necessity, annulled an agreement and a treaty which had appeared the firmest in European politics, and which yet failed in the first hour of clashing interests. A psychologist has no right to expect that the national temper of the future will be different.

Moreover, the Supreme Court of the United States has sanctioned the idea, which is shared practically by all nations, that treaties are no longer binding when a situation has changed so that the fulfillment of the agreement would be against the vital interests of the nation. We have learned during the last ten months how easily such disburdening changes can be discovered as soon as the national passions are awakened.

ST. MICHAEL'S COLLEGE LIBRARY

The new plan depends upon only one new feature by which the mutual agreement is to be fortified against the demands of national excitement. The plan of the League of Peace promises the joint use of military forces in case that one nation is unwilling to yield. But the world witnesses today the clear proof that even the greatest combination of fighting forces may be unable to subdue by mere number a nation which is ready to make any sacrifice for its convictions. One hundred and fifty millions are attacked by eight hundred and fifty millions, by joint forces from five continents, which moreover are backed by the economic forces of the richest country in the world; and yet after ten months of fighting one million prisoners, but no other hostile soldiers, stand on German soil. After this practical example the plan merely to join the military forces will less than ever appear a convincing argument in an hour in which a nation feels its existence or its honor threatened. For a long time we heard the claim that the Socialists and the bankers would now make great wars impossible; both prophecies have failed. The threat that the warring nation will have to face the world in arms will be no less futile. But the failure in this case will be disastrous, as the terms of such an agreement would draw many nations into the whirlpool which would have no reason of their own for entering the war.

The interests of strong growing nations will lead in the future as in the past to conflicts in which both sides are morally in the right and in which one must yield. We have no right to hope that after this war the nations will be more willing to give up their chances

in such conflicts without having appealed to force. On the contrary, the world has now become accustomed to war and will therefore more easily return to the trenches. The break between England and Russia and finally the threatening cloud of world conflict between Occident and Orient can already be seen on the horizon; the battles of today may be only the preamble. In such tremendous hours the new-fashioned agreements would be cobwebs which surely could not bind the arms of any energetic nation.

But, worst of all, they would not only be ineffective—they would awake a treacherous confidence. The nations would deceive themselves with a feeling of safety, while all true protection would be lacking. The first step forward toward our common goal must be to learn the two lessons of the war of today and to face them unflinchingly; mere agreements do not and can not bind any nation on the globe in an hour of vital need, and the mere joining of forces widens and protracts a war, but does not hinder it. We must learn that success for peace endeavors can be secured only from efforts to avert war which are fundamentally different from the old patterns of pledges and threats. These old means were negative; we need positive ones.

If a psychologist can contribute anything to the progress of mankind, he must, first of all, offer the advice not to rely on plans by which the attention is focused on the disasters which are to be avoided. Education by forbidding the wrong action instead of awaking the impulses toward the right one is as unpromising for peoples as it is for individuals. We must truly build up from within. But a time in which the war news of every hour appeals to sympathies and antipathies is hardly the time to begin this sacred work, which alone could bring us the blessed age of our vision, the United States of the World.

HUGO MUENSTERBERG.

Chant of Loyalty.

By ELIAS LIEBERMAN.

Firm as the furnace heat
Rivets the bars of steel,
Thus to thy destiny,
  Flag, are we plighted;
One are the hearts that beat,
One is the throb we feel,
One in our loyalty,
  Stand we united.

Many a folk have brought
Sinew and brawn to thee;
Many an ancient wrong
  Well hast thou righted;
Here in the land we sought,
Stanchly, from sea to sea,
Here, where our hearts belong,
  Stand we united.

Ask us to pay the price,
All that we have to give,
Nothing shall be denied,
  All be requited;
Ready for sacrifice,
Ready for thee to live,
Over the country wide,
  Stand we united.

One under palm and pine,
One in the prairie sun,
One on the rock-bound shore,
  Liberty-sighted;
All that we have is thine,
Thine, who hast made us one,
True to thee evermore,
  Stand we united.

American Munition Supplies

The Alleged German Plot to Buy Control of Their Sources

The following dispatch from Washington, dated June 8, 1915, appeared in The Chicago Herald:

President Wilson and his Cabinet considered today the known fact that German interests, reported backed by the German Government, are negotiating for the purchase of the great gun and munition of war plants in this country.

Secretary McAdoo of the Treasury laid the matter before the Cabinet. He had information from Secret Service agents of the Government who have been following these German activities for some weeks. It is reported today, confirming The Herald dispatch of last night, that the plants for which negotiations are on include that of Charles M. Schwab at Bethlehem, Penn.; the Remington small arms works at Hartford, Conn., and the Cramp works at Philadelphia, which, it is said, Schwab is about to acquire; the Metallic Cartridge Company, the Remington Company, and other munition and small arms works.

Included in the Schwab plant holdings are the Fore River Shipbuilding Company, Massachusetts, and the Union Iron Works, San Francisco, where it is reported parts of submarines are being made for English contract, shipment being made through Canada.

This new move of the Germans involves the outlay of hundreds of millions, a gigantic financial operation in the face of war needs and conditions. It is one of the most sensational developments of the present conflict in connection with the United States. Its consummation inevitably would lead this country into serious disagreement, if not conflict, with Great Britain and the Allies.

The latter will demand the fulfillment of their contracts with these concerns. The German move is to prevent this delivery of munitions of war. With the consummation of the purchases, the German owners could refuse to fill these contracts. They will not fear suits for broken contracts.

The whole matter is fraught with such possibilities of danger to this country that Attorney General Gregory and the experts of the Department of Justice have taken up the question with a view to interposing legal obstacles. It may become necessary, it was suggested today, to prevent such a sale on the grounds of public welfare because of strained relations with Germany.

Secretary McAdoo will not disclose who are the agents for the German interests seeking to purchase the munitions plants, or who are the financial backers. The Secret Service men are believed to know these details, having been on the investigation for three weeks. Rich Germans in the United States are believed to be interested.

Charles M. Schwab, head of the Bethlehem Company, came here two weeks ago in response to an urgent summons. He saw Secretary McAdoo, Secretary Daniels, and other officials. At that time it was given out that he was conferring as to details of supplies to be furnished this Government under contracts for new warship construction about to be awarded. It is now understood that Secretary McAdoo sought information as to the negotiations under way at that time for the purchase of the munitions plants in this country by the German interests.

The report of Secretary McAdoo today stirred the Cabinet as deeply almost as the resignation of Secretary of State Bryan. Complete reports were asked and the Secret Service arm of the Government will be required to fur-

nish immediately more complete and detailed information.

Of the efforts to obtain control of the munitions companies, The Providence Journal of June 9, 1915, reported:

Acting under the personal instructions of the German Ambassador, several German bankers of New York have been working together for the last week on preliminary negotiations for the purchase of every large plant they can lay their hands on which is now engaged in turning out munitions of war for the Allies.

Count von Bernstorff, Dr. Dernburg, and two well-known German bankers held a conference at the German Embassy in Washington on Tuesday, June 1. At that conference the Ambassador outlined in detail instructions he had received the day before from Berlin to proceed with this propaganda, and he declared to the three men there present that his Government considered the success of the plan as of vital importance, superseding every other phase of the war situation.

The bankers at once returned to New York, and at a meeting next day with Captain Boy-Ed and several other men at the German Club outlined their plan of campaign.

For months past the German Ambassador has been in possession of a list of factories all over the country engaged in turning out munitions of war for the Allies. Last Saturday a concerted movement was begun toward securing a majority control of many of these plants.

When one of the bankers at the conference in Washington asked the Ambassador if he had any conception of the magnitude of the financial problems involved in the scheme he replied that his Government was fully prepared to pay everything necessary, and repeated that the fate of the empire might rest on the success or failure of the plan. He then added these words:

"There is no limit, gentlemen, to the amount of money available."

The activities of the representatives of Count von Bernstorff in this matter have already brought them up to the point of negotiation, or attempted negotiation, with the Fore River Shipbuilding Company, the Remington Arms Company, the Bethlehem Steel Company, and the Union Metallic Cartridge Company.

Government officials, when notified of this new propaganda yesterday, were a unit in declaring it was impossible to believe that such a scheme could be carried through successfully. In the first place, they pointed out that activity of this kind would be a direct violation of the Sherman act, and, secondly, a case of conspiracy would lie against individuals attempting such a movement for wholesale violation of contracts, which would become necessary in order to carry the plan to its successful conclusion.

The moment the German agents in New York began to disclose their purpose, several cunning individuals who have had some slight connection with the contracts for supplying the Allies with various materials have deliberately put themselves in the path of these agents under the pretext that they already had contracts, or were about to be given contracts, and have already mulcted the German Government of many thousands of dollars.

In two specific cases men have talked of having contracts for picric acid—the manufacture of which necessitates the most skilled training, with most expensive and complicated machinery, and which is only being attempted in four places in this country, and were promptly paid off, on their pledge that they would violate these alleged agreements. One of these deals was made in the Waldorf-Astoria Hotel last Saturday.

Another case, which is fully authenticated, is that of a Western dealer in horses, who delivered 1,500 horses to the port of New Orleans for the British Government last January. As soon as he ascertained what the German agents were doing, he produced his receipt for delivery of his first and only order, and declared he was now searching for 5,000 horses, in addition, for the British Government. On his pledge to abandon this

search, he was given $2,500 by German agents.

The keen anxiety of the German Govment, acting through the embassy in Washington, to deprive the Allies of any shipments of war materials that they can possibly stop is based on the result of calculations made in Berlin and forwarded to this country two weeks ago, which profess to show that the Allies cannot possibly arm their increasing forces or secure ammunition for their great numbers of large guns from their own resources, and that they must have the help of this country in order to accomplish their purpose. The German representatives also thoroughly believe that without this assistance the Allies cannot continue and complete an aggressive campaign, driving the Kaiser's armies out of Belgium and France.

In THE NEW YORK TIMES *of June 9, 1915, appeared the following statement of counter-negotiations to checkmate the German operators in America:*

Negotiations for the purchase of arms and ammunition manufactories in this country have been under way for some little time, it is asserted, but so quietly have they been conducted that no hint of them became public until yesterday. Yet, coincident with their disclosure, came yesterday, also, announcement of a contract for the manufacture for the Allies of shrapnel and high explosive shells on the greatest scale yet undertaken by an American corporation, which revealed as could nothing else how carefully these supposedly secret dealings had been discovered, watched, and checkmated by the Allies.

This contract, all but the smallest details of which are said to be settled, is to be taken by the General Electric Company, directors of which admitted that the total involved would be at least $100,000,000 and might run far in excess of this figure. In fact, the order was spoken of as limited more by the capacity of the General Electric's plants than by any restricting order of the Allies.

The significance of this contract does not lie wholly, or even chiefly, in its size, for the American Locomotive Company recently closed a $65,000,000 contract with the Allies for shells. What is considered of especial note is that less than a week ago an official of the General Electric stated emphatically that his company had not taken any orders and was not negotiating for any despite the fact that for some time a proposal to specialize in war orders had been under consideration. Less than a week ago the company had reached a negative decision and less than a week ago there was no reason to suppose that it would rescind this decision.

J. P. Morgan & Co., fiscal agents for Great Britain and France in the matter of war supplies, then entered the field. Charles Steele, a partner in the banking house, is a Director of the General Electric Company and negotiations went forward rapidly. These were conducted with a secrecy which exceeded that even of the German interests with the other arms and ammunition companies, but there are several factors which, it is known, were of prime importance in effecting the General Electric's change of policy.

In the past much valuable time has been lost in the distribution of orders among a score or so of concerns which have had facilities for making shells, ordnance, and so forth. Competitive bidding for parts of contracts has held back the finished product and successful bidders have frequently been handicapped by inability to obtain necessary machinery.

Now plans for accelerating manufacture in all war lines have been launched by David Lloyd George, the new British Minister of Munitions, and in the shadow of his influence J. P. Morgan & Co. have practically brought to a conclusion plans to centre future war orders in a few great companies, with the General Electric Company as the dominant unit.

The extent to which the banking house used its tremendous influence is problematical, but it is history that Mr. Lloyd George has been bringing all pressure to bear to increase England's supplies, and with them the supplies of the re-

maining allies, since British purchasing agents are, to a large extent, looking after the interests of France and Russia, and it may be inferred that the Morgan firm has been as active as possible in carrying out the wishes of the European nations.

Persons in touch with the progress being made in war orders state that the British authorities have become greatly concerned over their supplies of ammunition at hand and in process of manufacture. While orders aggregating many hundreds of millions of dollars have been placed in this country and Canada, deliveries have been disappointing. Canadian plants got to work early in the war, but the delay in ordering supplies in the United States and other neutral countries has seriously affected the efficiency of the allied armies in France and Poland, it is said.

The experience of the American Locomotive Company is typical of the situation. After negotiations which covered several weeks, the company procured a contract which is said to amount to approximately $65,000,000 for shells. During the discussion of terms, and even before, the Locomotive officials were busy buying the necessary lathes and other machinery, but installation of equipment and the training of men could not be done in a few days. The contract was definitely closed six weeks ago, but the company has only begun to turn out the shells at its Richmond plant, and it was said in authoritative quarters that several weeks more would pass before anything like a substantial output would be possible.

The centring of manufacture in a single, or a few, great plants carries the additional and chief advantage to Great Britain and the Allies, that no efforts of Germany can now cut off their ammunition supply. The stoppage of this supply has been one of Germany's chief concerns since the war began, and by embargo propaganda here and by the attempt to create sentiment she has tried to cut down the supplies reaching the Allies from this country.

Well-founded gossip in Wall Street has had it that early rises in the stocks of munition-making concerns were occasioned not so much by the acquisition of war orders as by efforts of German agents quietly to buy up control of these companies in the open market. These devices failing, it is said, orders for ammunition and other supplies have been placed by Germany with no hope of receiving the goods, but merely to clog the channels against the Allies. With the General Electric and other co-operating companies pledged to the Allies this danger will cease to exist.

The concerns selected to join with the General Electric for what will thus amount practically to a combination of resources for rapid manufacture will be those whose equipment, with a few alterations, can be adapted to the new work.

The General Electric Company, according to a Director, is in a position to begin turning out shells at a high daily rate, and, under present plans, the company will not sublet any of the $100,000,000 order. There are facilities available in the plants at Schenectady, Lynn, Harrison, Pittsfield, and Fort Wayne to carry on the work rapidly and without interfering with the ordinary electrical manufacture now being conducted.

Wall Street offered one of the first evidences that things of moment were occurring in the war supply situation. Bethlehem Steel shot forward 10 points, to 165, a new high record, although Mr. Schwab's company was not mentioned in connection with fresh contracts.

It is believed that when the proposed concentration of munition making occurs the Bethlehem Steel Corporation and other companies which already have booked sufficient contracts to keep them busy for some time will not be included.

Stock of the Studebaker Corporation was in large demand as the result of reports that about $7,000,000 of additional war orders had been taken for artillery wheels, motor trucks, and harness. Tennessee Copper shares were strong after it became known definitely that the concern had arranged with the du Pont Powder Company for an increased monthly supply of sulphuric acid. Toward the close of business stocks generally re-

GENERAL KONRAD VON HOETZENDORFF
On the Staff of the Archduke Eugene in the Campaign Against Italy

GENERAL GOURAND

Commander of the French Land Forces Operating Against the Dardanelles

(Photo from Medem)

acted, being influenced by the desire of many traders to keep out of the market until the tenor of President Wilson's note to Germany was known.

But despite the many physical manifestations of unusual activity, officers and Directors of the companies mentioned as those on which Germany had set her eyes were uniformly non-committal when they did not positively deny that there was truth in the story.

William J. Bruff, who is President of the Union Metallic Cartridge Company and a Director of the Remington Arms and Ammunition Company, said:

"I don't think there is any truth in it. Yes, I am certain that no offer of any kind has been made by Germany to buy the two companies. I would know if such offers had been made and I haven't heard of them, except such reports as I have read in the newspapers."

Henry Bronner, a Director of the Bethlehem Steel Company, said:

"I have not heard that Germany or any one else has offered to buy the Bethlehem Steel Company. If such an offer were made, Charles M. Schwab would be the man who would know it."

THE NEW YORK TIMES *of June* 10, 1915, *included this report of Charles M. Schwab's purposes with respect to the control of the Bethlehem Steel Company:*

There is not the least danger of German interests getting control of the Bethlehem Steel Company and breaking the concern's contracts with the British for arms and ammunition, it was made known yesterday from an authoritative source. This same authority had no information that, as alleged by The Chicago Herald and The Providence Journal, and quoted in THE NEW YORK TIMES yesterday, the same interests were seeking to obtain control of other companies

What blocks the attempts of the German agents, in the case of the Bethlehem Steel Company, for one thing, is that the majority of the stock of the concern is not in the market. Contrary to rumors that have lately been floating about hotel corridors and into and out of the brokers' offices adjacent to them, Charles M. Schwab still owns the majority of stock. This much Mr. Schwab emphatically confirmed to a TIMES reporter yesterday at the St. Regis. That he had no intention of selling he asserted just as emphatically.

At the same time the information is authoritative that agents representing the German Government or German interests have approached Mr. Schwab, not once, but several times, since the beginning of the war, asking that negotiations be opened. It has been intimated that interests, private or Governmental, were willing to pay any price that Mr. Schwab would name for his controlling interest.

Figures running into scores of millions have been named in offers, it being the understanding that the prospective owners simply wished to buy the big plant—the only one in the world that now compares with that of the Krupps, with the possible exception of that of the Schneiders at Creusot—and shut it up, in order to stop the vast sales of munitions of war to the Allies, and the filling of contracts so big that their delivery has hardly begun. Mr. Schwab, it is understood, could get today $100,000,000 or more for his stock in the Bethlehem Company.

It was established yesterday that more or less directly the visit of Mr. Schwab to England last Fall, on the Olympic, was due to the activity of German agents in this country in their efforts to buy the Bethlehem Steel Company.

Word of the attempts of the German agents to obtain control of the Bethlehem Company soon found its way to England, and the result was that Mr. Schwab was invited to London for a special conference with the War Office. He renewed his acquaintance with Lord Kitchener, and his previously formed intention not to sell out was fortified with a guarantee of orders large enough to keep the big plant at Bethlehem going steadily for eighteen months or more.

When rumors were prevalent about New York that the visit of Sir Trevor Dawson, head of a great English steel concern, had as its object an attempt to obtain control of the Bethlehem Company so as to insure that it would con-

tinue turning out supplies for the Allies, the German agents here were making a strong bid for the control of the concern, and their efforts have since continued.

A TIMES reporter put to Mr. Schwab yesterday the direct question as to whether he was in actual control of the Bethlehem Steel Company.

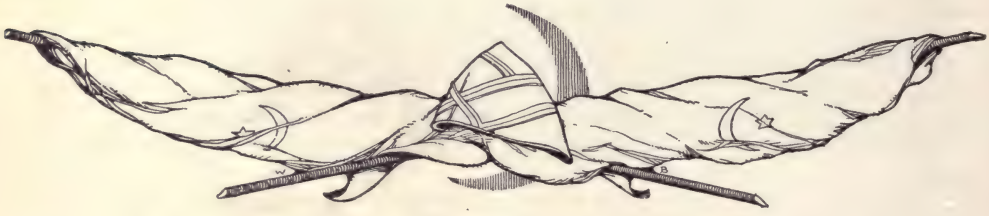
"Absolutely," he said. "The only way anybody else could obtain control would be to get my interest. I would never sell my interest without making for the men who stood by me with their support when I was struggling to put the Bethlehem Company where it is today the same terms that would be offered for my share. As a matter of fact, my interest in the Bethlehem Company is not for sale. Indeed, I could not sell. I have contracts that I cannot break."

It was said yesterday that the Germans had been trying to conduct their negotiations for the Bethlehem Company in much the same fashion as they recently had employed in their diplomatic negotiations, and that if they had been successful in getting the Bethlehem Company they would have found themselves with contracts on their hands which they would have had to carry out. The mere closing of the plant and the refusal to continue the further manufacture and delivery of munitions of war already contracted for would not save them from a situation which would be the equivalent of jumping from the frying pan into the fire.

Not only the courts would be promptly invoked to see that legal contracts were carried out, but, if necessary, the Federal Government could step in and insist that the manufacture and delivery of supplies contracted for be continued, in order to prevent a breach of neutrality. Then would be presented the spectacle of German interests turning out vast quanties of guns, shells, and shrapnel to be sent to Europe to be used in fighting their own troops.

According to the authority already mentioned, the Bethlehem Steel Company is the only plant in the United States that can turn out shrapnel shell complete. Most of the contracts that have been given here have been taken for various parts of the ammunition by different firms. One thing necessary for the turning out of shrapnel and shells is a twelve-mile proving ground, and the only privately owned range of the kind in this country is that of the Bethlehem Company.

Mr. Schwab has insisted to his friends who have questioned him about the rise in Bethlehem stock that the only valid reason, aside from whatever might be the intrinsic value of the property, is the tremendous war orders that have been obtained. On this account, as well as on account of his knowledge that the majority of the stock was safe in his possession, he was able to enjoy his trip to the Pacific Coast regardless of rumors at one time prevalent that a big market operator, who was supposed to retain an ancient grudge against him, was trying to wrest from him the control of the company he had built up.



A League for Preparedness

By Theodore Roosevelt, ex-President of the United States,

and

George L. von Meyer, ex-Secretary of the Navy.

It was ascertained in Washington on June 1, 1915, that the Atlantic battleship fleet would remain in Atlantic Ocean waters indefinitely. The plan to send the fleet through the canal in July for participation in the Panama-Pacific Exposition at San Francsco had been abandoned, and Admiral Fletcher's ships would not cross the Isthmus this year. The decision to hold the fleet in Atlantic waters is predicated on two principle factors. These are: First, there undoubtedly will be another great slide in Culebra Cut in the Panama Canal some time this Summer, and it would be considered highly undesirable to have the fleet on the Pacific Coast with such a slide interposed between Admiral Fletcher's vessels and the Atlantic waters. Second, the general situation of American foreign affairs growing out of relations with Germany is such that it is considered unwise to send the fleet to the west coast and leave the Atlantic Coast unguarded. This is the extent, at present, of national preparation against war.

The Peace and Preparation Conference, called in the name of the National Security League to discuss the military needs of the nation, began on the evening of June 14, 1915, with the opening to the public of the Army and Navy Exhibit in the Hotel Astor, where there were to be seen numerous placards which gave in figures and words information as to the situation of the United States so far as military preparedness is concerned.

General Luke E. Wright of Memphis, who was Secretary of War the latter part of the second Roosevelt Administration, was among the visitors to the conference, and said he was in thorough sympathy with the aims of the National Security League. In his opinion the American first line of defense, to be immediately available for service, should be at least 300,000 men.

An audience composed of nearly as many women as men heard in Carnegie Hall, on the evening of June 15, the arguments of Alton B. Parker, Dr. Lyman Abbott, Henry L. Stimson, ex-Secretary of War; Charles J. Bonaparte, ex-Attorney General, and Jacob M. Dickinson, ex-Secretary of War, advocating immediate increases in the army and navy as the best safeguard against war. Ex-Judge Parker, who was Chairman of the meeting, struck the keynote of the conference in these words:

"We want to arouse the people of the United States from the Atlantic to the Pacific, to the end that they shall let Congress know that they have made up their minds to spend a little of that $187,000,000,000 of which we boast in order that our wives and our children and our grandchildren shall not be visited with the calamity which has befallen Belgium."

Two features of the conference were the reading of a letter to Hudson Maxim from ex-President Theodore Roosevelt and a speech on naval unpreparedness by George von L. Meyer, ex-Secretary of the Navy. The speech is reproduced below in part, and the letter from Mr. Roosevelt in full, together with the resolution of the conference.

MR. ROOSEVELT'S LETTER.

My Dear Mr. Maxim:

I thank you heartily for your book on "Defenseless America." It is a capital book and I believe it is safe to say that no wise and patriotic American can fail to recognize the service that you have rendered in writing it. I hope it will have the widest possible circulation throughout our country.

I was glad to see the first-class letters that have been written you by such good Americans as Oscar Straus, Garrett P. Serviss, Rear Admiral W. W. Kimball, C. P. Gray, Holman Day, and the others. On the other hand, I was saddened by the extraordinary letter sent you by the three young men who purported to speak for the senior class of the college of which they are members. The course of conduct which these men and those like them advocate for the nation would, of course, not only mean a peculiar craven avoidance of national duty by our people at this time, but would also inevitably tend permanently to encourage the spirit of individual cowardice no less than of national cowardice.

The professional pacifists, the pro-

fessional peace-at-any-price men, who during the last five years have been so active, who have pushed the mischievous all-arbitration treaties at Washington, who have condoned our criminal inactivity as regards Mexico and, above all, as regards the questions raised by the great world war now raging, and who have applauded our abject failure to live up to the obligations imposed upon us as a signatory power of The Hague Convention, are, at best, an unlovely body of men, and taken as a whole are probably the most undesirable citizens that this country contains.

But it is less shocking to see such sentiments developed among old men than among young men. The college students who organize or join these peace-at-any-price leagues are engaged, according to their feeble abilities, in cultivating a standard of manhood which, if logically applied, would make them desire to " arbitrate " with any tough individual who slapped the sister or sweetheart of one of them in the face.

Well-meaning people, as we all know, sometimes advocate a course of action which is infamous; and, as was proved by the great Copperhead Party fifty years ago, there are always some brave men to be found condoning or advocating deeds of national cowardice. But the fact remains that the advocates of pacifism who have been most prominent in our country during the past five years have been preaching poltroonery.

Such preaching, if persevered in long enough, softens the fibre of any nation, and, above all, of those preaching it; and if it is reduced to practice it is ruinous to national character. These men have been doing their best to make us the China of the Occident, and the college students, such as those of whom you speak, have already reached a level considerably below that to which the higher type of Chinaman has now struggled on his upward path.

On the whole, for the nation as for the individual, the most contemptible of all sins is the sin of cowardice; and while there are other sins as base there are none baser. The prime duty for this nation is to prepare itself so that it can protect itself—and this is the duty that you are preaching in your admirable volume. It is only when this duty has been accomplished that we shall be able to perform the further duty of helping the cause of the world righteousness by backing the cause of the international peace of justice (the only kind of peace worth having) not merely by words but by deeds.

A peace conference such as that which some of our countrymen propose at the moment to hold is purely noxious, until as a preliminary we put ourselves in such shape that what we say will excite the respect and not the derision of foreign nations; and, furthermore, until we have by practical action shown that we are heartily ashamed of ourselves for our craven abandonment of duty in not daring to say a word when The Hague Conventions were ruthlessly violated before our eyes.

Righteousness must be put before peace, and peace must be recognized as of value only when it is the hand-maiden of justice. The doctrine of national or individual neutrality between right and wrong is an ignoble doctrine, unworthy the support of any brave or honorable man. It is wicked to be neutral between right and wrong, and this statement can be successfully refuted only by men who are prepared to hold up Pontius Pilate, the arch-typical neutral of all time, as worthy of our admiration.

An ignoble peace may be the worst crime against humanity, and righteous war may represent the greatest service a nation can at a given moment render to itself and to mankind.

Our people also need to come to their senses about the manufacture and sale of arms and ammunition. Of course, the same moral law applies here between nations as between individuals within a nation. There is not the slightest difference between selling ammunition in time of war and in time of peace, because when sold in time of peace it is only sold with a view to possibility or likelihood of war. It should never be sold to people who will make bad use of it, and it should

be freely sold at all times to those who will use it for a proper purpose.

It is absolutely essential that we should have stores where citizens of a nation can buy arms and ammunition. It is a service to good citizenship to sell a revolver to an honest householder for use against burglars or to a policeman for use against "gunmen." It is an outrage against humanity knowingly to sell such a revolver to a burglar or a "gunman." The morality of the sale depends upon the purpose and the probable use. This is true among individuals. It is no less true among nations.

I am speaking of the moral right. Our legal right to sell ammunition to the Allies is, of course, perfect, just as Germany, the greatest trader in ammunition to other nations in the past, had an entire legal right to sell guns and ammunition to Turkey, for instance. But, in addition to our legal right to sell ammunition to those engaged in trying to restore Belgium to her own people, it is also our moral duty to do so, precisely as it is a moral duty to sell arms to policemen for use against "gunmen."

Wishing you all possible success, I am, faithfully yours,

THEODORE ROOSEVELT.

Hudson Maxim, Esq., Lansing, N. J.

MR. MEYER'S SPEECH.

The National Security League brought its two-day Peace and Preparation Conference to a close on June 15, 1915, *with a luncheon in the Hotel Astor at which more than* 1,000 *men and women listened to George von L. Meyer, ex-Secretary of the Navy, as he announced that the navy of the United States was utterly unfit for war with any first-class nation. Mr. Meyer was interrupted many times by applause, and the loudest outburst came when he placed the blame for what he termed the present demoralized state of the navy squarely up to Secretary Josephus Daniels. He said, in part:*

In calling attention to these defects I have not done so from a desire to criticise the present head of the navy, although I do believe that he is responsible for the demoralized condition of the personnel and the decreased efficiency of the navy.

In advancing his argument for a greater navy Mr. Meyer contended that such a step would be the best safeguard against war. He asserted that we would have had no war with Spain in 1908 *if we had had four more ships like the Oregon. With such a powerful fighting force, he argued, no nation at that time would have dared to meet us. Spain would have yielded without a fight, and this country would have saved* $500,000,000. *He continued:*

The only attack we need consider is an attack from some great naval power, and for that reason we need an adequate navy because it tends toward peace, because it discourages attack and serves the best interests of the country, while an inadequate navy is a vast expense to the country and does not serve as a protection.

Of the thirty-five battleships that we have today only twenty-one are in commission and ready for emergency. Of those twenty-one, three have broken shafts, and the fourth is a turbine battleship which was put out of commission because it needs to be thoroughly overhauled. In addition to that, there are seventy fighting vessels which are not ready to be called upon for an emergency because they are out of commission and would require a long overhauling. We lack battle cruisers, scout cruisers, aeroplanes, and armed airships.

Our submarine fleet is in a critical condition. The complement of torpedo vessels has been reduced from 15 to 25 per cent. to get men to commission new boats. This reduction in personnel is a serious handicap, reduces the efficiency of the destroyers, affects contentment, and prevents the boats being kept in good condition. The Atlantic fleet needs 5,000 men, according to the evidence of the Commander in Chief of that fleet. The reserve fleet at Philadelphia was largely depleted in order to get a new crew for the Alabama when she was ordered to Hampton Roads to enforce neutrality; and the naval force of Hampton Roads was a pitifully weak one: One

small submarine, one little torpedo destroyer diverted from Annapolis, and one reserve battleship, of which the fleet in Philadelphia had been robbed in order to put her in commission.

The review in New York this year was a poor imitation of previous reviews, in that the reserve fleet was absent. It was a mere parade, not a mobilization. It did not indicate the true condition of the fleet, because the people did not know the whole truth. For lack of men, ships are laid up in navy yards, where they rapidly deteriorate, like a vacant house.

All small ships and all cruisers now laid up for lack of men are needed in Mexico and elsewhere, and should be ready for an emergency call. The complement of enlisted men at shore stations and training stations has been kept down, with a decided loss of efficiency and greatly to the discontent and discomfort of the men. A navy with an insufficient and disgruntled personnel cannot be efficient, and its morale must necessarily be disastrously affected.

It would take 18,000 *men in order to put the vessels that are fit for war service into commission, Mr. Meyer asserted. Congress was to blame for not having established a national council of defense, a general staff, and a national reserve of* 50,000 *efficient men. He added:*

It is the lack of any definite naval policy and the failure of Congress to recognize the necessity for such a policy that has placed us in a position of inferiority, which may lead us to war or cause us great embarrassment as well as dscredit to the country.

Mr. Meyer urged an investigation by Congress of our national defense, to the end that a comprehensive plan should be adopted for the future. He declared further:

This investigation has been denied to the people by the leaders of the party in power, and it is deplorable that there should be an attempt to deceive the people in a matter of such vital importance.

OFFICIAL RESOLUTION.

Here is the resolution of the league, which was later ratified by the official delegates and forwarded to the White House at Washington:

Whereas, The events of the past year have demonstrated the fact that war, no matter how greatly it may be deplored, may suddenly and unexpectedly occur, notwithstanding the existence of treaties of peace and amity, and have also shown that nations who were unprepared have paid and are paying the price of their lack of foresight;

And, Whereas, The reports of our military and naval experts have made clear that the defensive forces of the country are inadequate for the proper protection of our coasts and to enable our Government to maintain its accepted policies and to fulfill its obligations to other States, and to exert in the adjustment of international questions the influence in which the Republic is entitled;

Therefore, be it Resolved

That we appeal to the President, if consistent with the public interest, to call the early attention of Congress to the pressing need of prompt and efficient action so that the resources of our great country can be utilized for the proper defense of the Republic;

And, Resolved, That the National Security League, under whose auspices this Peace and Preparation Conference has been held, be urged to continue the work which it has already undertaken, of bringing the American people to a full realization of our deplorable state of unpreparedness and of the necessity of action by Congress.

Przemysl and Lemberg

German Reports of Mackensen's Victorious Thrust in Galicia

Przemysl fell to the German arms on June 3, 1915, ten weeks after the Russians had captured the fortress and its Austrian garrison following a six months' investment. The campaign which meant as its first result the recapture of this great fortress of nineteen modern forts and sixteen field fortifications, with innumerable trenches, was continued by the renewal of the "thrust" of General von Mackensen toward Lemberg, the capital of Galicia. Semi-official figures published in Berlin estimated the Russian losses from May 1 to June 18, when the victorious German armies were approaching the gates of Lemberg, at 400,000 dead and wounded and 300,000 prisoners, besides 100,000 lost before Field Marshal von Hindenburg's forces in Poland and Courland. On June 22 Berlin reported five Austro-German armies shelling the last lines of the Russian defenses before Lemberg, which fell on June 23.

The admitted weakness of Russia in this campaign was the exhaustion of her ammunition supplies. The intent of the German thrust was to drive the Russians far back and establish easily defended positions from which the Germans might detach forces for operations against Italy and the Allies in the west. Political consequences, also, were expected from German success in Galicia in deterring Bulgaria and Rumania from entering the war.

On June 21 advices reaching Tokio from Vladivostok indicated that heavy shipments of munitions of war intended for use by Russia's armies had arrived at that seaport, in such quantities that facilities were lacking to forward them by rail through Siberia.

THE WEST GALICIAN "DRIVE."

(Wolff Telegraphic Bureau, Berlin, May 6, 1915.)

From the Great Headquarters we have received the following in regard to the "drive" in West Galicia:

To the complete surprise of the enemy, large movements of troops into West Galicia had been completed by the end of April. These troops, subject to the orders of General von Mackensen, had been assigned the task in conjunction with the neighboring armies of our Austrian ally of breaking through the Russian front between the crest of the Carpathians and the middle Dunajee. It was a new problem and no easy undertaking. The heavens granted our troops wonderful sunshine and dry roads. Thus fliers and artillery could come into full activity and the difficulties of the terrain, which here has the character of the approaches of the German Alps, or the Hörsal hills in Thuringia, could be overcome. At several points ammunition had to be transported amid the greatest hardships on pack animals and the marching columns and batteries had to be moved forward over corduroy roads, (artificial roads made of logs.) All the accumulation of information and preparations necessary for breaking through the enemy's line had been quietly and secretly accomplished. On the first of May in the afternoon the artillery began its fire on the Russian positions. These in some five months had been perfected according to all the rules of the art of fortification. In stories they lay one over the other along the steep heights, whose slopes had been furnished with obstacles. At some points of special importance to the Russians they consisted of as many as seven rows of trenches, one behind the other. The works were very skillfully placed, and were adopted to flanking one another. The infantry of the allied [Teutonic] troops in the nights preceding the attack had pushed forward closer to the enemy and had assumed positions in readiness for the forward rush. In the night from May 1 to 2 the artillery fired in slow rhythm at the enemy's positions. Pauses in the fire served the pioneers for cutting the wire entanglements. On the 2d of May at 6 A. M. an overwhelming artillery fire, including field guns and running up

to the heaviest calibres, was begun on the front many miles in extent selected for the effort to break through. This was maintained unbroken for four hours.

At 10 o'clock in the morning these hundreds of fire-spouting tubes suddenly ceased and the same moment the swarming lines and attacking columns of the assailants threw themselves upon the hostile positions. The enemy had been so shaken by the heavy artillery fire that his resistance at many points was very slight. In headlong flight he left his defenses, when the infantry of the [Teutonic] allies appeared before his trenches, throwing away rifles and cooking utensils and leaving immense quantities of infantry ammunition and dead. At one point the Russians themselves cut the wire entanglements to surrender themselves to the Germans. Frequently the enemy made no further resistance in his second and third positions. On the other hand, at certain other points of the front he defended himself stubbornly, making an embittered fight and holding the neighborhood. With the Austrian troops, the Bavarian regiments attacked Mount Zameczyka, lying 250 meters above their positions, a veritable fortress. A Bavarian infantry regiment here won incomparable laurels. To the left of the Bavarians Silesian regiments stormed the heights of Sekowa and Sakol. Young regiments tore from the enemy the desperately defended cemetery height of Gorlise and the persistently held railway embankment at Kennenitza. Among the Austrian troops Galician battalions had stormed the steep heights of the Pustki Hill, Hungarian troops having taken in fierce fighting the Wiatrowka heights. Prussian guard regiments threw the enemy out of his elevated positions east of Biala and at Staszkowka stormed seven successive Russian lines which were stubbornly held. Either kindled by the Russians or hit by a shell, a naphtha well behind Gorlise burst into flames. Higher than the houses the flames struck up into the sky and pillars of smoke rose to hundreds of yards.

On the evening of the 2d of May, when the warm Spring sun had begun to yield to the coolness of night the first main position in its whole depth and extent, a distance of some sixteen kilometers had been broken through and a gain of ground of some four kilometers had been attained. At least 20,000 prisoners, dozens of cannon and fifty machine guns remained in the hands of the allied troops that in the battle had competed with one another for the palm of victory. In addition, an amount of booty to be readily estimated, in the shape of war materials of all sorts, including great masses of rifles and ammunition, had been secured.

WORK OF GERMAN ARTILLERY.

(German Press Headquarters in Galicia, May 4, 1915.)

Reports of prisoners are unanimous in describing the effect of the artillery fire of the Teutonic allies as more terrible than the imagination can picture. The men, who were with difficulty recovering from the sufferings and exertions they had undergone, agreed that they could not imagine conditions worse in hell than they had been for four hours in the trenches. Corps, divisions, brigades, and regiments melted away as though in the heat of a furnace. In no direction was escape possible, for there was no spot of ground on which the four hundred guns of the Teutonic allies had not exerted themselves. All the Generals and Staff Officers of one Russian division were killed or wounded. Moreover, insanity raged in the ranks of the Russians, and from all sides hysterical cries could be heard rising above the roar of our guns, too strong for human nerves. Over the remnants of the Russians who crowded in terror into the remotest corners of their trenches there broke the mighty rush of our masses of infantry, before which also the Russian reserves, hurrying forward, crumbled away.

GERMAN TEAM WORK.

(Wolff Telegraphic Bureau, Vienna, May 7, 1915.)

From a well-informed source at the Royal and Imperial Chief Command, the

The Routes to Lemberg

At least four Austro-German armies were operating toward Lemberg, the capital of Eastern Galicia, which Grand Duke Nicholas, Commander in Chief of the Russian Army, evacuated on June 23 to escape being surrounded. After the recapture of Przemysl (1) one army advanced along the railroad to Lemberg and captured Grodek, (2,) where the Russians were expected to make a possibly successful stand at the line of the lakes. Another, advancing along the railroad from Jaroslau, (3,) took Krakowice, Jaworow, Skio, Janow, and Zolkiew (4). A third, advancing from Sieniawa, (5,) apparently was joined by forces which took Tarnogrod (6) and on June 21 captured Rawa Ruska, (7,) thus cutting the Russian communications and line of retreat to the north. Finally an army, operating from Stryi, (8,) drove the Russians across the Dniester.

War Press Bureau has received the following communication:

While by those concerned in conducting the operations of the armies individual achievements and isolated developments of distinction are regarded as excluded from particular mention, in the public press not infrequently certain successes are assigned to certain personalities. This, too, has been the case frequently with reference to the recent happenings in Galicia. The suggestions and plans made in the war are always the result of the co-operation of a number of persons. The Commander in Chief then assumes the responsibility for them. So far as the present operations in Galicia are concerned, these had in March already been similarly planned, and at that time such forces as were available were put into position for a penetrating thrust in the direction, by way of Gorlice, through the chain of valleys toward Zmygrod. These forces, however, proved to be numerically too weak, in spite of initial successes at Senkorva and Gorlice, to break through the enemy's stubbornly defended front. Only the proposal made by General von Falkenhayn and sanctioned by the German chief command, to bring up further strong German forces for a forward drive, supplied the foundation for the brilliant success of May 1 by the armies of Mackensen, Archdukes Joseph and Frederick and Boroevic.

ADVANCE IN MIDDLE GALICIA.

(Wolff Telegraphic Bureau, Berlin, May 26, 1915.)

We learn from the Great Headquarters the following concerning the progress of the operations of the Teutonic allies in Middle Galicia:

In barely fourteen days the army of Mackensen has carried its offensive forward from Gorlice to Jaroslaw. With daily fighting, for the most part against fortified positions, it has crossed the line of three rivers and gained in territory more than 100 kilometers in an airline. On the evening of the fourteenth day, with the taking of the city and bridge-head, Jaroslau, they won access to the lower San. It was now necessary to cross this stream on a broad front. The enemy, though, still held before Radymo and in the angle of San-Wislok with two strongly fortified bridge-heads the west bank of this river. For the rest he confined himself to the frontal defense of the east bank.

While troops of the guard in close touch with Austrian regiments gained, fighting, the crossing of the river at Jaroslau, and continued to throw the enemy, who was daily receiving reinforcements, continually further toward the east and northeast, Hanoverian regiments forced the passage of the river several kilometers further down stream. Brunswickers, by the storming of the heights of Wiazowinca, opened the way and thereby won the obstinately defended San crossing. Further to the north the San angle was cleared of the enemy that had still held on there. One Colonel, fifteen officers, 7,800 prisoners, four cannon, twenty-eight machine guns, thirteen ammunition wagons, and a field kitchen fell into our hands. The rest found themselves obliged to make a hasty retreat to the east bank.

These battles and successes took place on the 17th of May in the presence of the German Emperor, who, on the same day, conferred upon the Chief of Staff of the army here engaged, Colonel von Seeckt, the order *pour le mérite*, the commander of the army, General von Mackensen, having already received special honors. The Emperor had hurried forward to his troops by automobile. On the way he was greeted with loud hurrahs by the wounded riding back in wagons. On the heights of Jaroslau the Emperor met Prince Eitel Friedrich, and then, from several points of observation, for hours followed with keen attention the progress of the battle for the crossing.

In the days from the 18th to the 20th of May the Teutonic allies pressed on further toward the east, northeast, and north, threw the enemy out of Sieniawa and took up positions on the east bank of the river upon a front of twenty or thirty kilometers. The enemy withdrew behind the Lerbaczowa stream. All his attempts to win back the lost ground were unsuccessful, although in the days

from the 13th to the 20th of May he brought on no less than six fresh divisions to stem our advance at and beyond Jaroslau.

Altogether, the Russian command had since the beginning of the operation thrown seven army corps from other areas of the war against the front of the army of von Mackensen and against the centre and right wing of the army of Archduke Joseph Ferdinand. These were the Third Caucasian, the Fifteenth, and a combined army corps, six individual infantry regiments, the Thirty-fourth, Forty-fifth, Fifty-eighth, Sixty-second, Sixty-third, Seventy-seventh, and Eighty-first Infantry, and the Thirteenth Siberian division, not counting a cavalry division, which entered the field already in the earliest days. With the combined army corps there appeared a Caucasian infantry division, the Third, made up of Armenians and Grusinians, which till January had fought in Persia, was transferred in April to Kars, and later to Odessa, where it formed part of the so-called Army of the Bosporus. Before our front now also appeared Cossacks on foot, a special militia formation, which hitherto had fought in the Caucasus. Finally, there came on the outermost left wing of the Russians the Trans-Amoor border guards, a troop designed purely for protection of the railway in North Manchuria, whose use in this part of the area of war was probably not foreseen even in Russia.

Yet the Russians still held along the lower San the bridge-head of Radymo on the west bank. The problem of the next ensuing battles was to drive him also from this point.

APPROACHING PRZEMYSL.

(By The Associated Press.)

VIENNA, June 1, *(via Amsterdam and London.)—The following official communication was issued today:*

East of the San our troops were attacked Monday night along the entire front by strong Russian forces. This was especially true on the lower Lubaczowka, where superior forces attempted to advance. All the attacks were repulsed with severe losses to the enemy, who at some points retreated in disorder.

On the lower San, below Sieniawa, Russian attacks also failed.

On the north front of Przemysl Bavarian troops stormed three defenses of the circle of forts, capturing 1,400 prisoners and 28 heavy guns.

South of the Dniester the allied troops penetrated the enemy's defensive position, defeated the Russians and conquered Stry, the enemy retreating toward the Dniester. We captured 53 officers and over 9,000 prisoners, 8 cannon, and 15 machine guns.

On the Pruth and in Poland the situation is unchanged.

BERLIN, June 1, *(via London.)—The German General Staff gave out the following report today on the operations in the eastern theatre of war:*

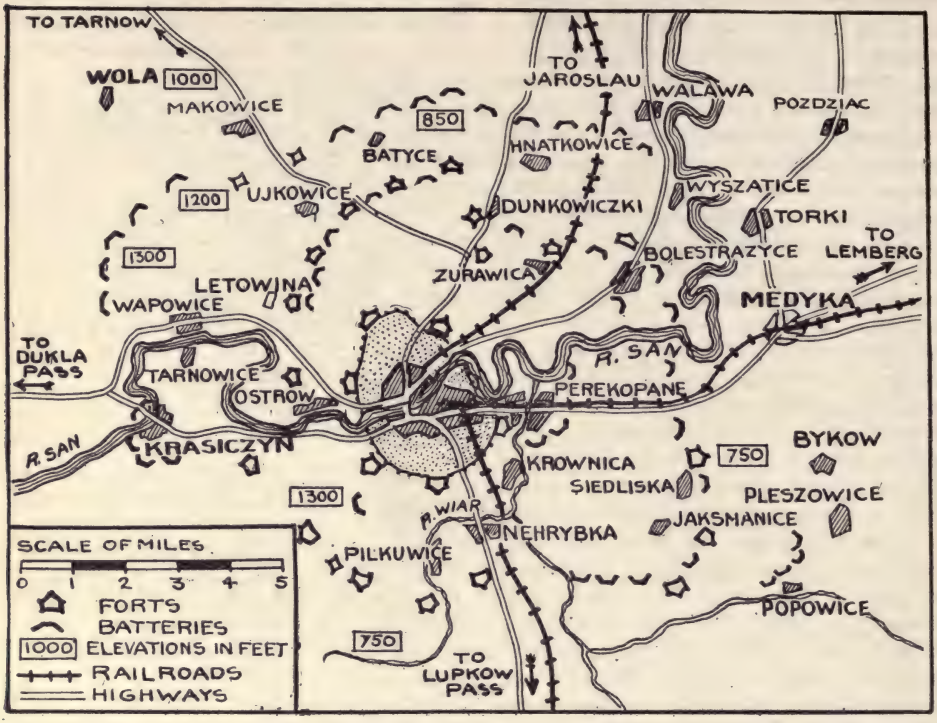
In the eastern theatre of war, near Amboten, fifty kilometers, (about thirty miles,) east of Libau, (Courland,) German cavalry defeated the Russian Fourth Regiment of Dragoons. Near Shavli, hostile attacks were unsuccessful.

Our booty in the month of May, north of the Niemen River, amounts to 24,700 prisoners, seventeen cannon, and forty-seven machine guns; south of the Niemen and the Pilica, 6,943 prisoners, eleven machine guns, and one aeroplane.

In the southeastern theatre of war: In front of Przemysl Bavarian troops yesterday stormed Forts 10-A, 11-A, and 12, west of Dunkowiczki, capturing the remainder of a garrison of 1,400 men, with eighteen heavy and five light cannon. The Russians attempted to escape their fate by an attack in masses against our positions east of Jaroslau, but failed, an enormous number of dead covering the battlefield before our front.

The conquerors of Zwinin (a ridge in the Carpathians)—the Prussian Guard under command of the Bavarian General, Count Bothmer—stormed a strongly fortified place on the Stry, and broke through Russian positions near and northwest of Stry. Up to the present time we have captured in this region fifty-three officers, 9,183 men, eight cannon, and fifteen machine guns.

According to an unofficial report from



Map of Przemysl and its defenses.

Piotrkow, Russian Poland, the Russians have evacuated Radom, in Poland, to the south of Warsaw.

MORE DEFENSES TAKEN.

VIENNA, June 2, (via Amsterdam and London.)—The official statement issued by the Austrian War Office tonight reads as follows:

The Russians have renewed their strong attacks against the allied troops on the eastern bank of the San. Desperate attacks everywhere have been repulsed with heavy Russian losses.

On the northern front of Przemysl two additional fortifications have been taken by storm, and we have maintained the conquered ground.

South of the Dniester our attacks are making successful progress. Hostile positions between Stry and Drohobycz were stormed yesterday.

Strong Russian forces, which yesterday attacked our position near Solowina, in South Galicia, suffered severe losses. They retreated and, at some points, took to flight.

Besides the booty mentioned in the German communication as having been captured during the month of May from the Russians we took 189 ammunition wagons and a quantity of other war material, such as 8,500 rounds of artillery ammunition, 5,500,000 cartridges, and 32,000 rifles.

BERLIN, June 2, (via London.)—The following report on the operations in the eastern theatre of war was issued today by the German General Staff:

Successful engagements occurred against minor Russian divisions at Neuhausen, fifty kilometers (about thirty miles) northeast of Libau, and at Shidiki, sixty-nine kilometers (about forty miles) southeast of Libau. The same thing happened further south in the district of Shavli, and on the Dubysa, southeast of Kielmy and between Ugiamy and Ejargola. At Shavli we took 500 prisoners.

Further Russian intrenchments situated around Dunkowiozki (near Przemysl) were taken by storm yesterday. After the victory at Stry the allied troops

advanced yesterday in the direction of Medenice.

In the month of May 863 officers and 268,869 men were taken prisoners in the southeastern theatre of war, while 251 cannon and 576 machine guns were captured. Of these numbers, the capturing of 400 officers, including two Generals, 153,254 men, 160 cannon, including twenty-eight heavy ones, and 403 machine guns, is to the credit of the troops under General Mackensen.

Including prisoners taken in the eastern theatre of war, as well as those announced yesterday, the total number of Russians who have fallen into the hands of the Germanic allied troops during the month of May amounts to about 1,000 officers and more than 300,000 men.

PRZEMYSL RECAPTURED.

VIENNA, June 3, (via Amsterdam and London.)—The following official communication on the Przemysl victory was issued in Vienna today:

In the Russian war theatre the German troops last night stormed the last positions on the north front of Przemysl and entered the town at 3:30 o'clock this morning from the north.

Our Tenth Corps entered the town from the west and south and reached the centre of the town soon after 6 o'clock.

The importance of this success cannot yet be estimated.

The attack of the allied troops in the sector north of Stry is making successful progress.

Following is the Berlin official announcement of the fall of Przemysl, dated June 3:

The fortified town of Przemysl was taken by us early this morning, after the fortifications on the northern front, which still held out, had been stormed during the night. The amount of booty taken has not yet been ascertained.

PETROGRAD ADMITS DEFEAT.

PETROGRAD, June 3.—Petrograd admits the loss of the fortress in the following official bulletin:

As Przemysl, in view of the state of its artillery and its works, which were destroyed by the Austrians before their capitulation, was recognized as incapable of defending itself, its maintenance in our hands only served our purpose until such time as our possession of positions surrounding the town on the northwest facilitated our operations on the San.

The enemy having captured Jaroslau and Radymno and begun to spread along the right bank of the river, the maintenance of these positions forced our troops to fight on an unequal and very difficult front, increasing it by thirty-five versts, (about twenty-four miles,) and subjecting the troops occupying these positions to the concentrated fire of the enemy's numerous guns.

Przemysl was bombarded with heavy guns up to 16-inch calibre, and the enemy delivered his principal attack against the north front in the region of Forts 10 and 11, which the Austrians had almost completely demolished before the surrender of the fortress.

When we repulsed these attacks the enemy succeeded in taking several of our guns, which had bombarded the enemy's columns until the latter were close to the muzzles, and the last shell was spent. According to supplementary information we took two hundred prisoners and eight quick-firers.

In Galicia on Monday between the Vistula and Przemysl stubborn fighting developed, our troops gaining somewhat important successes on the left bank of the lower San, taking several villages, some with the bayonet. On the right bank of the same river we were successful near the village of Kalukouve, taking a base south of the village, capturing 1,200 prisoners, including twenty-two officers and eight quick-firers.

RUSSIAN RETREAT FROM PRZEMYSL.

VIENNA, (via London,) June 4.—The Austrian War Office this evening issued the following official communication announcing the retreat of the Russians from Przemysl, their stand at Medyka, ten miles to the east, and their defeat at other points:

During the day Przemysl was cleared

of the enemy, who is retreating in an easterly direction, offering resistance on the height southwest of Medyka. The allied troops there are attacking.

Meanwhile the army of the Austrian General Eduard von Boehm-Ermolli has succeeded in breaking through the Russian defensive positions from the south, and advanced in the direction of Mosciska, on the railroad to Lemberg, ten miles beyond Medyka, within a short distance of which our troops now hold positions. In these engagements we have captured numerous prisoners.

The army under General Alexander Linsingen also has achieved fresh successes, and the Russians are in full retreat before him.

On the Pruth line, in consequence of the events on the San and the upper Dniester, further fighting has developed. Wherever the enemy attempts an attack he is repulsed with severe losses. We have captured 900 men.

Otherwise the situation on the lower San and in Poland is unchanged.

AUSTRO-HUNGARIAN FIELD HEADQUARTERS, (via London,) June 5.—According to information given out by the Austro-Hungarian military authorities to representatives of the press, heavy fighting is now in progress along virtually the entire Galician front, and the general situation is very favorable to the Austro-Germans. A decisive conclusion to the entire Russian campaign in Galicia is in sight.

Przemysl's recapture by Austrian and Bavarian troops, according to details received from the front, resulted from the taking of five forts in the northern sector and the simultaneous threatening of the forts on the south and west fronts.

With the forts on the north side in the possession of the besiegers, with a Bavarian corps pressing impetuously through the breach against the city, and with the Austrian Tenth Army Corps within storming distance of the southern and western forts, which artillery fire already had reduced sufficiently for attack, the Russians decided to evacuate the town and all the forts except those on the eastern and southeastern sectors. This movement was executed Wednesday night.

The Bavarians resumed their attack at dawn on Thursday, and entered Przemysl upon the heels of the retiring Russians.

The Austrian Tenth Army Corps simultaneously started toward the west and south fronts, but found the forts there had been evacuated. An attack now is in progress against the forts still held by the Russians, those positions being defended apparently with the object of covering the latter's retirement.

"The Russian rear guards," the statement to the press says, "are fighting delaying actions south of the Dniester River against the Austro-German forces advancing from Stry to cover the passage of the river. The Russians north of Przemsyl are launching a series of the most desperate attacks against General von Mackensen's army. Here they are making use of new reserves, and at the same time they are exerting heavy pressure against the troops commanded by Archduke Joseph Ferdinand in the triangle between the River San and the River Vistula.

"The Russian offensive in Southeastern Galicia, designed to relieve this situation, has been a complete failure"

BERLIN, (via London,) June 4.—*The following official communication on the Eastern fighting was issued here today:*

Our troops, after much fighting, reached the line east of Przemysl and to the northeast thereof, to Bolesteasyzce, Ormis, Poodziao, and Tarzawa. The booty taken at Przemysl has not yet been ascertained. According to statements made by prisoners of the most varied descriptions, the Russians during the night of June 2-3, during which Przemysl was taken by storm, had prepared a general attack over the whole front against the army under General von Mackensen. This offensive broke down completely at the outset. Twenty-two kilometers (about 13½ miles) east of Przemysl German troops under General von Marwitz are fighting on the heights on both sides of Myslatyeze.

The army of General von Linsingen is about to cross the lower crossing of the Stry, northeast of the town of the same name.

Our cavalry has driven Russian divisions out of the villages of Lenen and Schrunden, sixty kilometers, (thirty-seven miles,) and seventy kilometers, (forty-three miles,) east of Libau Courland. In the district of Rawcliany, west of Kurschany and near Sredniki, on the Dubysa, attacks by the enemy failed.

GERMAN THRUST TOWARD LEMBERG.

[By The Associated Press.]

VIENNA, June 3, (via London, Friday, June 4.)—The German and Austrian forces which broke the Russian lines at Stry are moving northward rapidly. The Russians are apparently unable to make a stand in the plains, and the chances of doing so north of the river are regarded as problematical.

Now that Przemysl has fallen, rendering it possible for General Mackensen to continue his movement eastward, he would naturally meet a check at the Russian fortified positions partly composed of a chain of lakes extending north and south, about eighteen miles west of Lemberg. It is thought, however, that these positions will prove untenable, because General Linsingen, having crossed the Dniester to the west of Mikolajow, will likely cut the communications with Lemberg. The Austro-German plan of operations against Lemberg apparently is the same as against Przemysl. The assailants are expected to throw columns on both sides of the city and then press together some distance beyond it. In the meantime this movement seems to threaten the Russians fighting around Nadworna with a loss of contact with the main body.

In view of the double success at Przemysl and Stry, it is expected in Vienna that the Galician campaign will move at an accelerated pace the next few days.

AN ENCIRCLING MOVEMENT.

LONDON, June 5.—Heavy fighting is still in progress in Galicia, where the Austro-Germans are attempting an encircling movement against Lemberg such as proved successful at Przemysl. The following statement was given out today at the War Office in Vienna:

East of Przemysl, near Medkya, the Russians have been unable to resist a further advance of the Teutonic allies toward Mosziska.

In the district of the Lower San the enemy's attacks were repulsed. From the west Austro-German troops approached the district near Kalusz and Zurawna.

On the Pruth fighting is proceeding. The enemy obstinately attacked here at several points but was driven back to the river.

The following is the official report from Berlin:

In connection with the Russian attacks repulsed yesterday at Rawdejany and Sawdyniki, our troops have made further advances and have driven off their opponents who held the bridgehead at Sawdyniki. They made 1,970 prisoners. Further north cavalry engagements took place yesterday in the region of Fokeljanij with good results for us.

To the east of Jaroslau the situation remains unchanged. South of Prezmysl our troops, under General Marwitz, together with Austro-Hungarian troops, are advancing in the direction of Mosziska. The army under General von Linsingen has driven the enemy back in the direction of Kalusz and Zurawno on the Dniester.

SIXTH WEEK OF THE "THRUST."

BERLIN, June 7, (via London.)—Everything indicates that the Teutonic allies are beginning the sixth week of their Galician campaign with a promising outlook. The Russians have lost their line on the River San, and they appear also about to lose their positions on the River Dniester. These same advices indicate further that the Russians to the east and northeast of Czernowitz already have begun to retreat. The following bulletin was issued by the War Office today:

During the battles at Przemysl 33,805 prisoners were taken. East of Przemysl

the troops of the Teutonic allies continued their victorious battle. They drove back the enemy toward Wysznia, to the northweast of Mosciska.

Part of the army under General von Linsingen has crossed the Dniester at Zurawna, and has taken the hill to the north of the eastern bank by storm. Further south the pursuit reached the Nowica-Kalusz-Tomaszow line. The number of prisoners taken has been increased to more than 13,000.

In addition to crossing the Dniester, which was accomplished by General von Linsingen's army through a feint attack on Zurawna, the Austro-German forces also were victors at Klusz, forty-five miles southeast of Drohobycz, where they took many prisoners

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VIENNA, (via London,) June 7.—The following official statement was issued tonight by the Austrian War Office:

After the severe defeat at Przemysl the Russian Army command, during the last few days, has made strong efforts to break our line by attacks against our positions on the Pruth, especially against the district of Kolomea and Delatyn, where the enemy continues to push forward masses of fresh troops

While all thees attacks were being put down by the tenacious bravery of General Pflanzer's army, through which the Russians suffered severely, allied forces under General Linsingen were approaching from the west. Yesterday they captured Kalusz, the district north of Kalusz and the heights on the left bank of the Dniester, north of Zurawna. Between Nadowarna, near the Bystrica, and the Lomnica, our troops joined in the attack.

Battles to the east of Przemysl and Jaroslau continue. North of Mosciska the enemy has been forced to evacuate Sieniawa. Isolated weak counter-attacks by the Russians collapsed.

Near Przemysl we have captured since June 1 33,805 prisoners.

LINSINGEN AT LUBACZOW.

BERLIN, June 8, (via London.)—General von Linsingen, in his advance from Przemysl in the direction of Lemberg, has reached Lubaczow, forty-five miles northeast of Przemysl. This information was contained in the following official report given out at German Army Headquarters today:

Eastern Theatre of War—Our offensive movement in the Shavli district and east of the Dubsa is taking its course. Southwest of Plodock an enemy aeroplane was captured.

Southeastern Theatre of War—East of Przemysl the general situation is the same. The number of prisoners taken by the army under General von Mackensen since June 1 amounts to more than 20,000. In the hills near Nowoszyn, northeast of Zuralt, the troops under General Linsingen again defeated the enemy. The pursuit reached the line of Lubaczow.

South of the Dniester River we crossed the Lukew River and reached Byslow, east of Kalusz, Wojnilow, Feredne, and Kolodziejow. The booty taken this day amounts to 4,300 prisoners, four cannon, and twelve machine guns.

VIENNA, June 8. (via London.)—At Army Headquarters tooay the following statement was given out:

In the districts of the Pruth and Dniester (Galicia) the troops of the Teutonic allies yesterday prosecuted an attack along the Lanozyn - Nadworna - Kalusz line and pushed back the enemy toward Stanislau and Halicz. Further progress was made on the left bank of the Dniester, east and north of Zurawna, 6,200 Russians being captured. Otherwise the situation is unchanged.

STANISLAU TAKEN.

BERLIN, June 9, (via London.)—Following is the bulletin concerning the operations issued today by the War Office:

unchanged. To the northeast of Zurawna troops under General Linsingen brought the Russian counter-attack to a standstill. Further to the south fighting is in progress for possession of the hills to the east of Kalusz and west of Jezuwol.

Stanislau already is in our possession.

ENVER PASHA

The All-Powerful Turkish Minister of War

PRINCE SAID HALIM
The Grand Vizier of Turkey

We took 4,500 men prisoners and captured thirteen machine guns.

BERLIN, June 9, (by Wireless to Sayville.)—Included in the items given out today by the Overseas News Agency is the following:

The army under General von Linsingen has succeeded in crossing the Dniester River, in Galicia, with the purpose of cutting communications to the Russian armies in Bukowina and Galicia.

VIENNA, June 9, (via London.)—The Austrian War Office issued the following official communication tonight:

South of the Dniester the Russians have again lost ground. After many victorious engagements the [Teutonic] allies yesterday reached, to the north of Kolomea, the Kulacz-Kowcekorzow line and occupied the heights of Otynia. In the evening they occupied Stanislau, and made a further advance toward Halicz. The day's captures amounted to 5,570 prisoners

No important events have occurred on the remainder of the front in Poland and Galicia.

GERMAN SETBACK IN THE NORTH.

BERLIN, (via London,) June 10.—An official announcement from Army Headquarters today states that the German forces which invaded the Baltic provinces of Russia have retreated. Following is the text of the statement:

To the southeast of Shavli the Russians offered strong resistance yesterday to our advance. Minor progress was made. The booty taken by us in the last two days in this district amounts to 2,250 prisoners and two machine guns.

The enemy brought forward reinforcements from a northeasterly direction in opposition to our encircling movement on the east of the Dubysa. On account of this menace our wing was withdrawn toward the line of Beisagola-Zoginie without being interfered with by the enemy.

South of the Niemen River we took 3,200 Russian prisoners, while in pursuit of the enemy since June 6. We also captured two flags, twelve machine guns, and many field kitchens and carts.

In the southeastern theatre the situation to the east of Przemysl remains unchanged.

Fresh Russian forces advanced from the region of Mikolaiow and Rohatyn, to the south and the southeast of Lemberg, respectively. Their attack was repulsed by parts of the army under General Linsingen on the line of Lityma, northeast of Drohobac, and Zurawna, in the Dniester section.

East of Stanislau and at Kaledniz battles and pursuit continue.

NORTH OF SHAVLI.

BERLIN, June 13, (via London.)—The following report of the operations on the Russian front was issued by the War Office today:

In the eastern theatre our attack northwest of Shavli made good progress. Kuzie was taken by storm. Enemy counter-attacks failed. Eight officers and 3,350 men and eight machine guns were captured.

Southeast of the Mariampol-Kovno Road battles against Russian reinforcements arriving from the south have commenced.

North of Przasnysz another 150 prisoners were made.

Our invasion into the enemy lines south of Bolimow was followed in the night by Russian counter-attacks, all of which were unsuccessful. The gained positions are firmly in our hands. Our booty in this sector has been increased to 1,600 prisoners, eight cannon, two of which are of heavy calibre, and nine machine guns.

DRIVING NEAR MOSCISKA.

VIENNA, June 14, (via London.)—The following official statement was issued today from General Headquarters:

In the Russian war theatre the allied armies again attacked yesterday in Middle Galicia. After stubborn fighting the Russian front to the east and southeast of Jaroslau was broken and the enemy was forced to retreat with very heavy losses.

Since last night the Russians have

Scene of General von Hindenberg's operation in Courland.

also been retreating near Mosciska and to the southeast of that place. We captured yesterday 16,000 Russians.

Battles south of the Dniester are continuing. Near Derzow, south of Mikolaiow, our troops repulsed four strong attacks. The enemy was routed from the battlefield.

Northeast of Zurawna the allied troops advanced against Zydaczow yesterday and captured it after heavy fighting. North of Tlamcz an attack is also in progress. Many prisoners, the number of whom has not yet been fixed, have fallen into our hands.

North of Zale Szczyky the Russians attacked, after 11 o'clock at night, on a front of three kilometers, (nearly two miles,) but the attack failed under losses to the enemy

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BERLIN, June 14, *(via London.)—The following official announcement was issued here today:*

Eastern Theatre of War: In the neighborhood of Kuzie, northwest of Shavli, (Baltic provinces,) a few enemy

positions were taken. Three officers and 300 men were taken prisoners. Southeast of the road from Mariampol to Kovno our troops took the first Russian line by storm. Three officers and 313 men were captured.

Southeast Theatre of War: General von Mackensen began an attack over a line extending seventy kilometers, (forty-three miles.) Starting from their positions at Cyerniawa, northwest of Mosciska, and at Sieniawa, the enemy's positions have been taken along the entire length of this front. Sixteen thousand prisoners fell into our hands yesterday.

Attacks by the troops under General von Linsingen and General von der Marwitz also made progress.

LEMBERG IN DANGER.

VIENNA, June 15, *(via London.)— The following official communication was issued today:*

There is heavy fighting along the entire Galician front.

The army of Archduke Joseph Ferdinand, after the capture of Sieniawa, on the east bank of the San, has advanced in a northern and northeastern direction. The castle and farm of Piskorvice were stormed yesterday and numerous prisoners captured.

Fighting heavily, the army of General Mackensen is advancing on both sides of Krakowiec (southeast of Jaroslau) and toward Oleszyce (northeast of Jaroslau.)

Southeast of Mosciska the troops of General Soehm-Ermolli are attacking fresh hostile positions covering the road to Grodek (on the railroad between Mosciska and Lemberg.)

On the upper Dniester strong Russian forces are defending the bridge-head at Mikolajow against the advancing allies under General Linsingen, while further down the river the troops of General Pflanzer and General Baltin are standing before Nizniow (south of Maryampol) and Czernelica, maintaining the captured town of Zale Szczyky against all Russian attacks. Portions of this army again have forced the Russian troops making a stand in Bessarabia, between the Dniester and the Pruth Rivers, to retreat, driving them toward Chotin and along the Pruth.

The number of prisoners taken in Galicia since June 12 has been increased by several thousands.

BERLIN, June 15. — *Official announcement that the Austro-German forces operating in Galicia had captured the town of Mosciska was made in the following bulletin issued from Army Headquarters today:*

The enemy, who was defeated on the 13th and 14th of June by the army of General von Mackensen, has been unable to regain a footing in the positions prepared by him. To the northeast of Jaworow the enemy was driven back from the position at which he had stopped, the booty increasing.

The Russian forces south of the Przemysl-Lemberg Railway have been forced to retreat. The troops of General von der Marwitz yesterday took Mosciska. The right wing of the army of General von Linsingen stormed the heights east of Zekel. Our cavalry reached the district south of Maryampol.

Of the operations in the Baltic Provinces and in Poland the bulletin says:

East of Shavli German troops stormed the village of Danksze and took 1,660 prisoners. The positions recently won southwest and east of the Maryampol-Kovno Road were repeatedly attacked yesterday by a strong force of the enemy, which had no success. Our troops advanced on the Lipowo-Kalwarya front, pressed back the Russian line, and captured the Russian advanced trenches.

On the River Orzyc our attacking troops stormed and took the village of Gednoroczec, southeast of Chorzetten, and Czerwonagora and the bridges there, as well as the bridges east of this place. The booty taken at this place amounts to 365 Russian prisoners. Attacks by the enemy against the point at which we broke through north of Bolimow failed.

122,408 PRISONERS.

The following official report of the operations was issued today by the War Office:

The defeated Russian armies in Ga-

licia attempted on Tuesday along the whole front between the River San, north of Sieniawa and the Dniester marshes to bring the Teutonic allies to a standstill. In the evening the Russians everywhere had been driven from their positions near Cieplice, north of Sieniawa, in the Lubsyow-Zuwadowka sector, southwest of Niemerow and west of Sadowa-Wiszenia. The enemy is being pursued.

General Mackensen's army has captured upward of 40,000 men and sixty-nine machine guns since June 12.

Between the Dniester marshes and Zurawna the Russians have gained some ground, but the general situation there has not changed

Of the operations in the north the bulletin says:

Russian attacks against the German positions southeast of Mariampol, east of Augustowa, and north of Bolimow all were repulsed Our attacks along the Lipowo-Kalwarya front gained further ground, several positions being recaptured. We made 2,040 Russian prisoners and captured three machine guns.

On the north of the Upper Vistula our troops repulsed an attack on the positions we took from the Russians on Monday.

VIENNA, June 16, *(via London.)—The following official communication was issued today:*

In Galicia the Russians, despite their obstinate resistance, could not withstand the general attack by the allied armies. Hotly pursued by our victorious troops the remainder of the defeated Russian corps are retreating across the Newkow, Lubaczow and Javorow.

South of the Lemberg Railroad the army of General Boehm-Ermolli Tuesday night stormed the Russian positions on the entire front, driving the enemy across the Sadowa, Wyszna, and Rudki.

South of the Dniester the fighting is proceeding before the bridge head. The troops of General Pflanzer yesterday captured Nijnioff.

From June 1 to June 15 our total war booty has been 108 officers and 122,300 men, 53 cannon, 187 machine guns, and 58 munition wagons.

LEMBERG'S LAST DEFENSES.

BERLIN, (via London,) June 18.—*The following official report on the operations was issued today by the War Office:*

In the Eastern Theatre—An advancing Russian division was driven back by German cavalry across the Szymeza branch. At a point to the east of the highroad between Cycowyany and Shavli an attack by the enemy in strong force against the Dawina line was repulsed.

In the Southeastern Theatre—On both sides of Tarnogrod Austro-German troops yesterday drove the enemy back toward a branch of the Tanew River. Later during the night these defeated Russians were driven still further back by the army under General von Mackensen. They retreated as far as the prepared positions at Grodek, which are on the line running from the Narol and Wereszyca brooks to their junction with the River Dniester.

On the Dniester front, northeast of Stry, the situation remains unchanged.

VIENNA, June 18, *(via London.)—The Austro-German troops in pursuit of the retreating Russians have crossed the Galician border to the north of Sieniawa and occupied the Russian town of Tarnogrod, according to an official communication issued by the War Office tonight. The communication says:*

North of Sieniawa our pursuing troops have penetrated Russian territory and reached the heights north of Krezow and occupied Tarnogrod.

The Russian forces between the Lower San and the Vistula have retired at several points. The heights north of Cieszanow (ten miles north of Lubaczow) have been taken. In the mountainous region east of Niemirow and in the rear of Jaworow, strong Russian forces have appeared.

On the Wereszyca River the fighting continues. Our troops have gained a footing at some points eastward of the river.

South of the Upper Dniester the Russians, after hard fighting, were compelled to retire from positions near

The dotted line shows the approximate position of the Austro-German battle line in the middle of February, when the drive at Lemberg, supportd with enormous reinforcements which had been concentrated at Cracow, began. The heavy black line shows the approximate position of the victorious armies bent on driving the Russians out of the corner of Galicia still remaining in their possession. The frontier is indicated by the line of dots and dashes.

Litynia toward Kolodrub. Our pursuing troops have reached the mouth of the Wereszyca. Elsewhere the situation along the Dniester is unchanged.

The eastern groups of General Pflanzer's army yesterday repulsed three Russian storming attacks. The enemy making desperate attempts to throw our troops back in Bukowina, suffered heavy losses from our artillery and retired quickly. Eight officers and 1,000 men and three machine guns were captured.

GRODEK POSITION CAPTURED.

BERLIN, (via London,) June 20.—The armies under General von Mackensen are continuing their advance upon Lemberg, the Galician capital, after capturing Grodek, and have taken Russian trenches, one after another, along a front of almost twenty-four miles to the northwest of the city, where the Muscovites are making a desperate stand, according to a statement issued today at the headquarters of the German Army Staff. The statement says:

Eastern Theatre — Russian attacks against our lines in the vicinity of Szawle and Augustowo were beaten off. Our advance in small divisions resulted in the capture of advanced positions of the enemy near Budtbrzysieki and Zalesie, east of the Przasnysz-Myszyniec Road.

Southeastern Theatre — South of the Pilica, troops under General von Woyrich have taken several advanced enemy positions during the last few days.

The armies under General von Mackensen have taken the Grodek position.

Early yesterday morning German troops and the corps of Field Marshal von Arz commenced an attack upon strongly intrenched enemy lines. After stubborn fighting, lasting until afternoon, enemy trenches, one behind the other, almost along the entire front, extending over a distance of thirty-five kilometers (twenty-four miles) north of Janow (eleven miles northwest of Lemberg,) Bisputa, and Obedynski, and southeast of Rawa Ruska, (thirty-two miles northwest of Lemberg,) had been stormed. In the evening the enemy was thrown back behind the high road to Zolkiew, north of Lemberg and Rawa Ruska.

Under pressure of this defeat the enemy also is weakened in his communication. Between Grodek and the Dniester marshes the enemy is hard pressed by Austro-Hungarian troops.

Between the Dniester marshes and the mouth of the River Stry the enemy has evacuated the southern bank of the Dniester.

KAISER WILHELM AT THE FRONT.

BERLIN, (via London,) June 21.—Emperor William, it was announced officially by the German War Department today, was present at the battle of Beskid for possession of the Grodek line. These Russian positions are to the west of Lemebrg, the Galician capital.

The rapidity of the Austro-German success excites astonishment here. It was believed that the Russians would be able to check the allies' advance for some days on the Grodek line; hence the bulletins issued today recorded results far exceeding the expectations of the most optimistic observers.

Special dispatches from the front describe the Russian retreat from Grodek and the Russian resistance from the Tanew River to the mouth of the Wereszyca. Air scouts report that the Russians have fallen back upon their last line of defenses protecting Lemberg, which is nine miles west of the city limits.

The situation at Lemberg is evidently precarious, as General von Mackensen today seized the railway between Lemberg and Rawa Ruska, which is the main line of travel northward. This, it is considered, gives the Russians the alternative of preparing for speedy evacuation or of trying to hold the city, with the risk of being enveloped by von Mackensen's army sweeping around southeastward and forming a junction with General Linsingen's forces.

Grand Duke Nicholas, the Russian Commander in Chief, apparently has begun to realize the threatening dangers, for he has ordered the withdrawal of all Russian forces from the south bank of the Dniester. Military opinion here is that he cannot extricate his huge armies without heavy losses in men and material.

FALL OF LEMBERG.

BERLIN, June 23, *(by Wireless Telegraphy to Sayville, N. Y.)*—Lemberg has been conquered after a very severe battle, according to an official report received here from the headquarters of the Austro-Hungarian Army. The Galician capital fell before the advance of the Second Army.

The news that Lemberg has been carried by Austrian and Hungarian troops is received today with great jubilation in Berlin. Throngs of people crowd the public squares and the parks, flags are displayed from windows, and bands are playing patriotic airs. Extra editions of the newspapers are being shouted on the streets, and the church bells are ringing. Everybody seems to feel that another great step in the direction of final victory has been gained.

A correspondent of the Cologne Gazette telegraphs that the Russians, before the general retreat began, hurriedly sent back all the artillery they could move. This was done instead of endeavoring to cover the retreat of the artillery and saving all of it. Part of the cannon were useless, on account of poor ammunition. Continuing, the correspondent says:

"It was after the artillery had been sent to the rear that the panic-stricken troops began their flight. Wagons and supply trains blocked the roads. Men detached the horses from these vehicles and rode away on them, heedless of the crowd of soldiers of all arms crowding

back to the rear. Generals and Colonels were helplessly carried away. Units were disbanded, and the army became a mere mob. It was readily to be seen that catastrophe was unavoidable."

A report given out today sets forth that, since June 12, 60,000 Russian soldiers and nine Russian guns have been captured.

LONDON ACCEPTS THE STATEMENT.

LONDON, June 23, 12:10 *P. M.*—The statement from Austrian headquarters that Lemberg had fallen before the advance of the forces of Austria and Germany was received in London without surprise. It was known that the Germanic allies were within artillery range of the Galician capital, and capitulation was regarded as a question only of days. Nothing has been heard yet from Petrograd, but there is no disposition to doubt the accuracy of the Austrian claim.

ARCHDUKE FREDERICK HONORED.

VIENNA, June 23, (*via London,*) 5:42 *P. M.*—Emperor William has given Archduke Frederick of Austria the rank of Field Marshal in the Prussian Army in recognition of his services in the campaign which resulted in the fall of Lemberg.

BELGIUM.

By LEONID ANDREYEV.

[Translated from the Russian by Leo Pasvolsky.]

I AM Belgium!

Oh, look at me, kind men! I am clothed in snow-white robes, for I am innocent before the God of peace and love; it was not I that cast into the world the torch of strife, not I that lit the horrid flame of conflagration, not I that caused hot tears to stream from mothers', widows' eyes.

Oh, look at me, kind men! Look at this scarlet blot upon my bosom that burns so vividly upon my snow-white robe—Oh, 'tis my wounded heart, from which red blood is gushing forth! The traitor pierced me to the heart, he plunged his sword into my bosom. Ah, what a cruel blow!

On through this field I marched in peace, bearing these flowers, listening to the songsters' choirs on high, and praising God, who made the beauteous flowers. Who coveted this path of mine, that wound 'midst flowers and songs? The traitor pierced my very heart, and the white petals lifeless hang, o'ersprinkled with red blood.

White rose! My gentle, dear white rose!

Oh, look at me, kind men! 'Tis not a crown upon my head, 'tis waterplants, the greenish grass of ocean fields, with which the sea had clad me. What could I do? So once again I sought my dear, old sea, I knelt before its mighty waves, I prayed: "Oh, cover me, my dear, old sea, for nowhere alse can I seek aid. The cruel stranger rules my home; my gentle children lifeless lie. And dost thou see those horrid flames, that rise where once my temples stood? Oh, cover me, protect me, my dear, my dear, old sea, for nowhere else can I seek aid!"

'Twas thus I spoke and wept in grief. And lo! the kindly sea gave me protection.

And out of the sea I came again, I came to tell you that I live.

Oh, look at me, kind men! For I am Belgium, and I live. My King, my Albert is alive; my Belgian people lives.

No, these are not tears that glisten in my eyes. Enough of tears! A holy wrath inflames my heart!

No, this is not a wound upon my bosom, 'tis a red, red rose, the quenchless flame of war, my sacred oath!

Red rose! My terrible red rose!

No, this wreath upon my head is not of waterplants, no, 'tis the crown of Belgium, the crown of a free nation!

Where is my sword?

In the name of Justice and of Freedom, in my King's name I raise the sword.

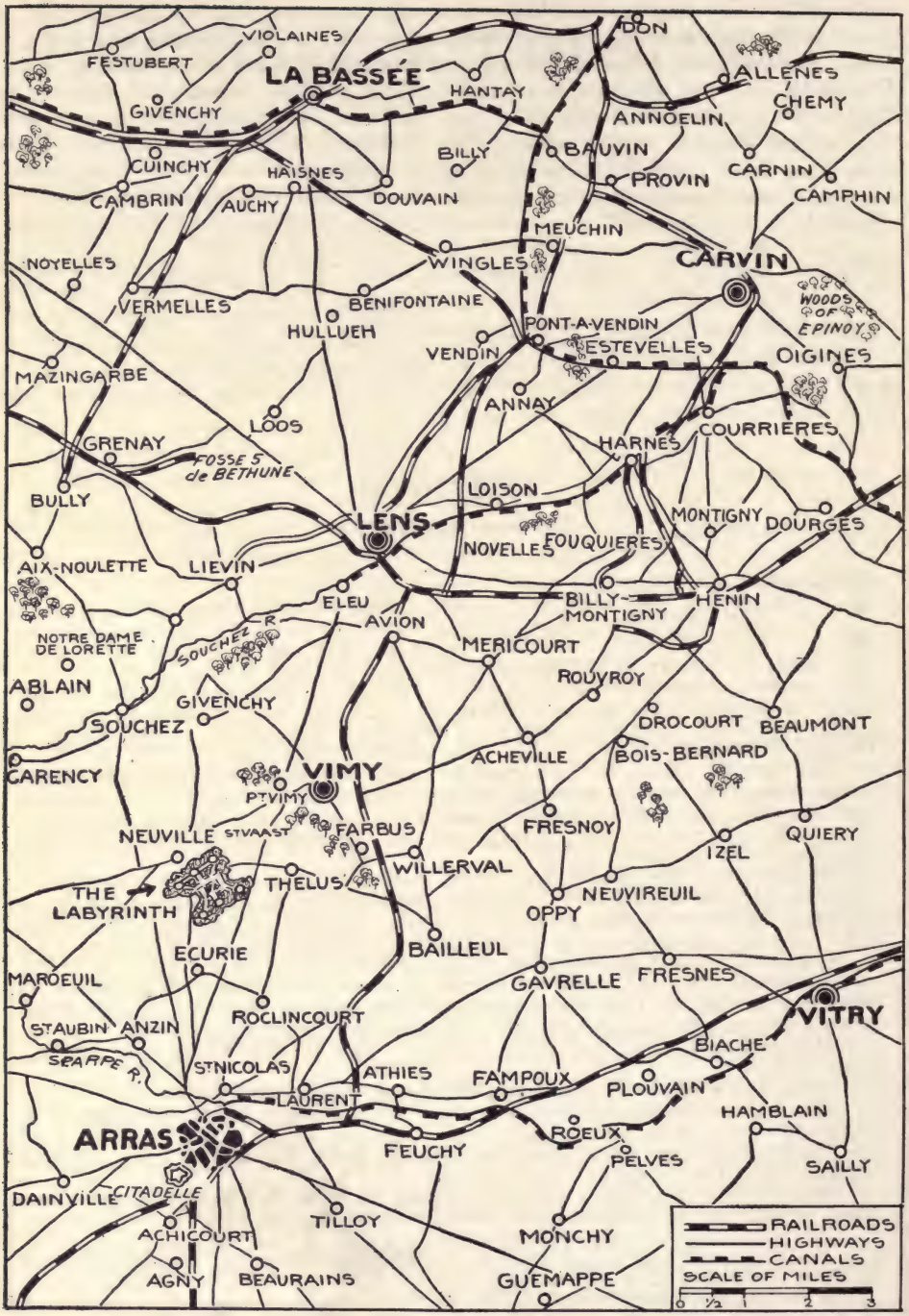
To Belgium's aid, O Nations!

God save the Czar and Russia, that gave her blood for me!

God save the King and Britain, that shed her blood for me!

Forward, fair France's children! Form your battalions, hasten, hasten!

To Belgium's aid, O Nations!



Map showing where the French were trying on June 20, 1915, to capture the German lateral lines of communications about Arras and Lens in their steady forward drive in the north of France. The "Labyrinth" appears in the lower left section.

Battle of the Labyrinth

France's Victory in the Chief Western Operation Since the Marne

The Battle of the Labyrinth, technically described in French communiqués as "operations in the section north of Arras," really began in October, 1914, when General de Maud-Huy stopped the Prussian Guard before Arras. Because of their great strength the labyrinth of German trenches and fortifications southeast of Neuville-St. Vaast formed a dangerous salient which the French troops had to dispose of before they could make progress eastward from north and south of that point. The decisive part of the battle—or series of battles extending over fifty miles of front—is described in the brief review of the French official observer at the front, and in the two accounts by Wythe Williams cabled to THE NEW YORK TIMES after a trip to the front specially arranged for him and three editors of Paris newspapers by the French War Ministry.

By The Associated Press.

Account of the French Official Observer At the Front

PARIS, June 22.—A terrific combat from May 30 to June 19 has resulted in the conquest by the French of the formidable system of works and trenches called the "Labyrinth." The operations are described today in a dispatch from an official observer at the front.

The Labyrinth, lying between Neuville St. Vaast and Ecurie, formed a salient of the German line, and its position, a strong one, had been greatly reinforced from time to time. The "Observer" writes:

French attacks on May 9 and days thereafter failed to modify the situation. At the end of May the French decided to finish things, and the order was given to take the Labyrinth inch by inch.

This meant an operation of two principal phases of different nature. It was necessary, first, by well-prepared and vigorous assaults, to get a footing in the enemy organization, and then to progress to the interior of the communicating trenches, repulsing the enemy step by step. These two operations lasted more than three weeks and resulted in complete success.

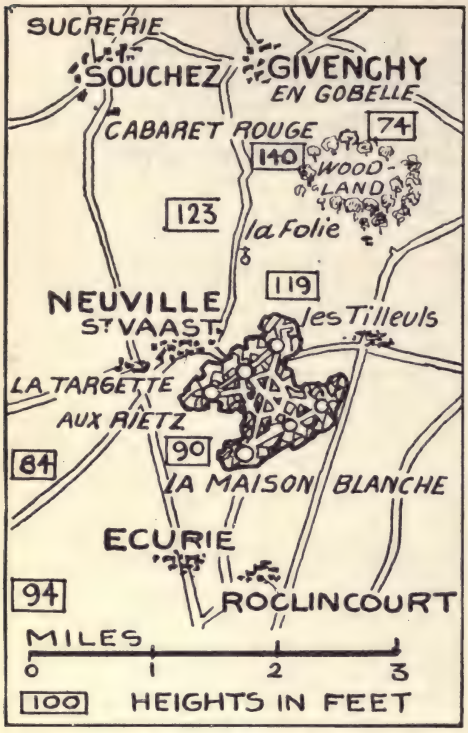
The debouch must have been difficult, as numerous German batteries, composed of 77-millimeter guns, the 150, 210, 280, and even 305 millimeter guns, concentrated their fire on us. They were stationed at Givenchy, La Folie, Thelus, Farbus, and Beaurains, south of Arras. Nevertheless, our men understood, and prepared to do their duty.

It was on May 30 that the assaults began, our regiments marching out from different points. Their ardor was admirable.

Everywhere, except on the right, we captured the first line. Behind this were a great number of barricades and fortlets. We took some of these, while others stopped us. One hundred and fifty prisoners, surprised in their holes by the furious charge of the French infantry, fell into our hands.

From this moment the war of the communicating trenches began. There were the trenches of von Kluck, Eulenburg, and the Salle des Fêtes, without counting innumerable numbered works, giving a feeling of unheard-of difficulties which our troops had to overcome.

Without a stop, from May 30 to June 17, they fought on this ground, full of big holes and filled with dead. The combat never ceased, either day or night. The attacking elements, constantly renewed, crushed the Germans with hand grenades and demolished their earth barricades. There was not an hour of truce nor an instant of repose. The men were



"The Labyrinth"

under a sun so hot in the trenches that they fought bareheaded and in their shirtsleeves.

On each of these bloody days there were acts of incomparable heroism. From three sides at a time we made way where the Germans had dug formidable shelters, ten meters under ground. The enemy artillery continued firing on our line without interruption.

Our reserves suffered, for in this upturned earth, where every blow from the pickaxe would disinter a body, one can prepare but slowly the deep shelters which the situation demands.

We lost many men, but the morale of the others was unshaken. The men asked only one thing—to go forward to fight with grenades, instead of waiting, gun in hand, the unceasing fall of shells.

They were hard days, and it was necessary constantly to carry to the fighting men munitions and food, and especially water. Everybody did his best, and we continued our success. Little by little our progress, indicated by a cloud of dust, resulting from the combat of the grenades, brought us to an extremity north of the Labyrinth. The fighting continued in the Eulenburg and other trenches daily, and ultimately the Labyrinth belonged to us.

The Germans lost an entire regiment. We took a thousand prisoners. The rest were killed. A Bavarian regiment also was cut to pieces.

Our losses were 2,000 men, among whom many were slightly wounded.

The resistance was as fierce as the attack. Despite the nature of the ground and the organized defenses, which had been in preparation for seven months, and despite the artillery, the bomb-throwers, and the quick-firers, we remained the victors.

THE FRENCH "CURTAIN OF IRON."

By Wythe Williams.

[Special Cable to THE NEW YORK TIMES.]

PARIS, June 1.—I have just completed another trip to the front, probably the most important one accorded any correspondent since the war began. For several days, in the company of three Paris editors, I was escorted by an officer of the General Staff through the entire sector north of Arras where the French have been making brilliant gains in the last few weeks.

The trip was arranged suddenly by the War Ministry in order to prove the truth of the French official communiqués and the falsity of the German reports. I was the only neutral in the party. In fact, the day before we started I was informed that trips to the front had temporarily been abandoned because the fighting was too hot to take correspondents to any place on the line. During the entire time I was under heavy artillery fire and got more intimately acquainted with modern war than on all my previous trips to the front. I was especially fortunate to be picked out by the War Office over all competitors as the single foreigner permitted to go, for it so happened that we covered the same sector of fighting as that traversed last February on my first officially authorized visit to the battle zone. Thus I was able to make comprehensive comparisons

of just what had been accomplished since that time.

On this trip I covered a large stretch of territory that until a few weeks ago —some places only a few days ago— Germany had claimed as her own by right of conquest. I walked through miles of trenches that only last February I peered at from other trenches through a periscope; cautiously, because they were then occupied by Germans; fearfully, because any instant the periscope was likely to be struck from my eyes and shattered by a hostile bullet.

The result of this long walk taught me many things. First in importance was that my confidence in the superiority of German trenches had been sadly misplaced. Since the trench fighting began after the battle of the Marne we have been regaled in Paris with stories of the marvelous German trenches. Humorists went so far as to have them installed with baths and electric lights, but we have all believed them to be dry, cement lined, with weather-proof tops and comfortable sleeping quarters, and as hygienically perfect as the German organization has ever made anything. This belief for me had been borne out in accounts of the German trench life reported for American newspapers and magazines.

What I can now say is that the correspondents who permitted this legend to go over the world must have been grandly entertained by the Germans in special sections of their trenches set aside as quarters for the officers. I believe that these trenches, which I saw on this trip, must compare favorably with any they hold, for they form part of what is called "the labyrinth." Some of the most desperate fighting of the war is still going on there, with the French literally blasting the Germans out yard by yard, trench by trench. In fact, this trench line was to have formed part of the new boundary line of Germany—they dug themselves in to stay.

I entered these trenches following a long passage leading from the rear of the original French lines. I thought I was still in the French trenches, when suddenly I found myself in a mud ditch, much narrower than any I had ever traversed. The bottom, instead of being corduroy lined, was rough and uneven, making very hard walking. I said to the Major with me, "You must have made these trenches in a hurry; they are not so good as your others." He replied, "We did not make them. The Germans are responsible."

Then we came to a wide place where a sign announced the headquarters of the German commandant. The sides of his underground cavern were all solid concrete, with cement inner walls separating four rooms. Paper and artistic burlaping covered the walls and ceilings, and rugs were on the floors. The furniture was all that could be desired. There was a good iron bed, an excellent mattress, a dresser with a pier glass, and solid tables and chairs. The rooms consisted of an office, dining room, bedroom, and a kitchen, with offshoots for wine, and sleeping quarters for the orderlies and cook. Kultur demanded that the Kaiser's office should have the best accommodation transportable to the firing line, but the fare of the common soldier, I should judge, averaged quite a third below that of the French—both privates and officers, all of whom share the common lot, with straw for bedding and either mud or stars for the roof.

Leaving this commandant's late magnificence, we soon found ourselves in another wide, corduroy-lined trench, with straw dugouts. My Major, without attempting any comparison, but merely to get my geography right, said quite simply: "We are now in the parallel French trench to that German one we just visited."

All this particular bit of trenches was where the Germans cleared out precipitately after French night attacks, and without waiting for the fearful "rideau de fer," or iron curtain, with which the French usually devastate everything before advancing. Littered through them were hundreds of unused cartridges, rifles, knapsacks, bayonets, and clothing of every description. The dead had been taken away just before our arrival. The prisoners—hundreds of them—we met going to the rear.

The second great lesson I learned on

this trip I already had a good understanding of from my previous trip. It is that the "rideau de fer" is the most terrible thing ever devised by man to devastate not only men but every single object upon which it descends.

This time I saw the results of the "rideau de fer" on another long stretch of what had lately been German trenches. The "rideau de fer" is simply the French method of converging artillery fire upon a single point where they intend to attack or where they are being attacked. The fact that it is possible is due to the enormous number of guns and the unlimited supply of high explosive shells.

Behind the entire infantry lines there seems to be an endless row of batteries of "seventy-fives," close up to the trenches. These terrible little destroyers can whirl in any direction at will, so when the order comes for the "rideau de fer" at any point, literally hundreds of guns within a few seconds are converging their fire there, dropping a metal curtain through which no mortal enemy can advance.

In this section the French dropped nearly a quarter of a million shells in one day. Unlike the English shrapnel, which makes little impression against earthworks, the French use explosive shells almost entirely.

As I walked over this section after the curtain had been lifted, I was absolutely baffled for descriptive words. All the earth in that vicinity seemed battered out of shape. The dead needed no burial there. Down under the wreck and ruin the dead all lie covered just where they fell.

Among the places I either visited or at least was able to see plainly, all of which were held by the Germans at the time of my last trip, were Saint Elci, Carrency, Notre Dame de Lorette, Souchez, and Neuville Saint Vaast, where the fighting still continues from house to house.

I found the same efficient, imperturbable army that I discovered previously, all absolutely sure of complete victory not very far off. I got an illustration on this trip of the imperturbability of the French soldier in such a way as I never before believed existed. We were walking along a country lane to a turning where a trench boyau began. Just at the turning the nose of a "seventy-five" poked across the path. Although the gun was speaking at its high record of twenty shots per minute, several soldiers lolled idly about within a few yards, smoking cigarettes. We stood off at an angle slightly in front, but about thirty yards away.

It was evening. We could see the spurt of flame from the mouth of the gun as the shell departed to the distant Germans.

Across the road in the direction the gun pointed was a field. There, almost in the path of the gun, which, instead of being raised at an angle, was pointed horizontally, and only fifteen yards away, I saw a man grubbing in the soil. He seemed so directly in the path of the shells that I don't believe they missed blowing off his head by more than two feet. But he just grubbed away, almost on his hands and knees. If the gunners saw him they paid not the slightest attention, but just calmly went on firing.

One of our party called the situation to the attention of an officer, who immediately began dancing up and down, calling to the man to "Come out of that before you are killed."

The man then raised his head and looked our way. He was a soldier. His cap was slanted over one eye, his pipe dangled from his mouth, and his face wore an expression of irritation. Seeing the officer, he saluted, but did not trouble to stand up.

"What are you doing there?" the officer called. The man raised his dirty fist to his cap, and said, "Digging carrots."

As we gasped our astonishment he calmly went back to his grubbing, this time, it seemed, slightly nearer to the flash of the cannon than before.

Another impressive sight afforded me was the manoeuvres behind the lines. I do not mean strategic manoeuvres bearing upon real operations, but manoeuvres such as were held in pre-
manoeuvres such as were held in pre-

vious years—mimic warfare within the sound of real war and only a couple of miles away. Approaching the front, we were continually passing through these manoeuvres. I calculated that I saw thousands of soldiers playing at war and snapping empty rifles who the day before stood in the trenches firing bullets, and who will do it again tomorrow. The manoeuvres come during "days of repose" from the trenches, when the men know they at least have that day more to live. Every field, every road was full of them.

We motored along country lanes preferably to the main highways, where our autos would be more easily discerned by the German aeroplanes constantly hovering about. In these lanes we found lines of men sneaking along, sometimes crawling inch by inch, to surprise an imaginary enemy down around the bend. In the fields we saw charges and counter-charges from trench to trench. We saw cavalry manoeuvres across the open country and cavalry on foot facing each other in long lines along the roadsides, fighting desperately with lance and clubbed carbine.

Occasionally a real shell would come popping over from somewhere to tear a hole in the roadside to make our automobiling more difficult. In fact, we discovered that during "Joffre's offensive" days of repose mean drill, drill, and more drill, and when the men are not drilling many of them are guarding prisoners.

Along other roadsides we saw hundreds of prisoners, usually in charge of a cavalry company marching them to the rear. At one place we stopped and talked with them—several could speak French. There were many well set up, fine-looking fellows, who seemed perfectly content to do no more fighting. About a dozen under one guard were across the road in a meadow, tossing a tennis ball about, laughing and joking. Others were eating luncheon. It was just 1 o'clock. They had the same fare as their captors, the only difference in service being that the captors got theirs first.

Our officer talked to the Captain of the guard, who explained that his lot of about 400 had just been taken at Neuville Saint Vaast. Our officers then talked to the prisoners. I was surprised to note the extraordinary decency of their attitude and conversation. There was no boasting, no arrogance, no animosity. On the contrary, I heard one Captain telling the prisoners considerable they apparently did not know about the progress of the fighting in that neighborhood. He smiled as he talked, and concluded by telling the men they would be well fed and well treated.

I also noted the attitude of the prisoners. As a French officer approached the German soldier, true to his years of iron discipline, leaped to his feet and stood rigid as a poker through the talk, but never the raising of a hand to cap, never the salute to the Frenchman.

I strolled down the road and found another with whom I was able to talk. He was a non-commissioned officer, young and very intelligent. I told him I was an American, which aroused his interest. He wanted to talk about America. He had friends there. I asked him:

"How long do you think Gremany can hold out against so many enemies?"

He stood very straight, looked me directly in the eye, and said: "Germany knows she is beaten, but she will fight to the last cartridge."

He spoke French. His final words, "La derniere cartouche," rang out. His eyes flashed. Several others crowded about.

Just then a company of Spahis cavalry came clattering down the road—a more ferocious-looking lot I have never seen—and disappeared in a cloud of dust. All of us turned to look, the prisoner remarking: "I'll say one thing, though: we never thought we would have to fight men like those."

Coming from the trenches at night, we waited in a little hamlet about a kilometer in the rear for our automobiles. About 1,000 soldiers were there, waiting to return to the trenches in the morning. They completely surrounded us, singling me out for observation on account of my khaki clothes. I heard one ask our Captain about me. The Cap-

tain replied that I was a correspondent of THE NEW YORK TIMES. Many had never seen an American before. I was conscious that I was an object of intense curiosity.

I saw one little chap pushing through the crowd. He stood before me and thrust out his hand. "Hello!" he said. I thought his "Hello!" might be French quite as easily as American, so I merely returned his handshake. He grinned, and then said in perfectly good "American": "You forget me, huh?" I admitted my shortcoming in memory; but his beard was very thick and stubby and his uniform was very dirty. I complimented his linguistic ability. He waved his arms, saying: "Huh, didn't I live eight years in little old New York?" Then he came still nearer, saying: "You don't remember me, and I have served you many a cocktail. I don't know your name; but I am sure."

After something like a jar I gasped out, "Where?"

"Five years ago, at Mouquin's," he replied, and then I did remember him, and while the others stood about marveling at their "educated" comrade who could actually converse with the American, we talked about many of the old newspaper crowd in New York who frequented that restaurant. He had sailed on Aug. 4 to rejoin his regiment.

The automobiles arrived, and I climbed aboard. He reached up his hand.

"Tell those folks back in America that we are all doing fine," he said. Then his voice sank to an impressive whisper: "And take it from me, you can say we are giving the Germans hell now."

As our automobile jerked suddenly away into the night I could hear my ex-waiter excitedly introducing American journalism, particularly THE NEW YORK TIMES, to his regiment on the battlefield. WYTHE WILLIANS.

THE LABYRINTH.

[Special Cable to THE NEW YORK TIMES.]

PARIS, June 2.—This is a story about what, in the minds of the French military authorities. ranks as the greatest battle of the war in the western theatre of operations, excepting the battle of the Marne, which has already taken its place among the decisive battles of the world's history. This battle is still raging, although its first stages have been definitely settled in favor of the French, who are continuing their progress with less and less opposition.

So far the battle has received no name. The French official communiqués laconically refer to it as "operations in the section north of Arras."

I cannot minutely describe the conflict; no one can do that at this stage. I can, however, write about it and tell what I have seen these past few days when the Ministry of War authorized me to accompany a special mission there, to which I was the only foreigner accredited. I purpose to call this struggle the battle of the Labyrinth, for "labyrinth" is the name applied to the vast system of intrenchments all through that region, and from which the Germans are being literally blasted almost foot by foot by an extravagant use of French melinite.

There have been successive chapters by different writers describing and disposing of as finished—though it is not finished—still another battle which, from the English point of view, takes top rank, namely, the battle of Ypres. While a British defeat at Ypres might mean the loss of Dunkirk and possibly of Calais, a French defeat at the Labyrinth would allow the Germans to sweep clear across Northern France, cutting all communication with England.

The battle of the Labyrinth really began last October, when General de Maud-Huy stopped the Prussian Guard before Arras with his motley array of tired Territorials, whom he gathered together in a mighty rush northward after the battle of the Marne. The crack Guards regiments afterward took on the job at Ypres, while the Crown Prince of Bavaria assumed the vain task of attempting to break the more southward passage to the sea.

All the Winter de Maud-Huy worried him, not seeking to make a big advance, but contenting himself with the record of never having lost a single trench.

With the return of warm weather, just after the big French advance in Champagne, this sector was chosen by Joffre as the place in which to take the heart out of his enemy by the delivery of a mighty blow.

The Germans probably thought that the French intended to concentrate in the Vosges, as next door to Champagne; so they carted all their poison gases there and to Ypres, where their ambition still maintains ascendency over their good sense But where the Germans think Joffre is likely to strike is usually the place furthest from his thoughts. Activities in the Arras sector were begun under the personal command of the Commander in Chief, who was still personally directing operations during my visit only two days ago.

I doubt whether, until the war is over, it will be possible adequately to describe the battle, or rather, the series of battles extending along this particular front of about fifty miles. "Labyrinth" certainly is the fittest word to call it. I always had a fairly accurate sense of direction; but, standing in many places in this giant battlefield, it was impossible for me to say where were the Germans and where the French, so completely was I turned around on account of the constant zigzag of the trench lines. Sometimes, when I was positive that a furious cannonade coming from a certain position was German, it turned out to be French. At other times, when I thought I was safely going in the direction of the French, I was hauled back by officers, who told me I was heading directly into the German line of fire. I sometimes felt that the German lines were on three sides, and often I was quite correct. On the other hand, the French lines often almost completely surrounded the German positions.

One could not tell from the nearness of the artillery fire whether it was from friend or foe. Artillery makes three different noises; first, the sharp report followed by detonations like thunder, when the shell first leaves the gun; second, the rushing sound of the shell passing high overhead; third, the shrill whistle, followed by the crash when it finally explodes. In the Labyrinth the detonations which usually indicated the French fire might be from the German batteries stationed quite near us, but where they could not get the range on us, and firing at a section of the French lines some miles away. I finally determined that when a battery fired fast it was French; for the German fire is becoming more intermittent every day.

I shall attempt to give some idea of what this fighting looks like. Late one afternoon, coming out of a trench into a green meadow, I suddenly found myself planted against a mudbank made of the dirt taken from the trenches. We were just at the crest of a hill. In khaki clothes I was of the same color as the mudbank; so an officer told me I was in a fairly safe position.

Modern war becomes quite an ordinary—often even a sedate, methodical—affair after the first impressions have been rubbed off.

We flattened ourselves casually against our mudbank, carefully adjusting our glasses, turned them toward the valley before us, whence came the sound of exploding shells, and calmly watched a village developing into nothingness in the sunset. It was only about a thousand yards away—I didn't even bother to ask whether it was in French or German possession. There was a loud explosion, a roll of dense smoke, which was penetrated quickly enough by the long, horizontal rays of the descending sun to permit the sight of tumbling roofs and crumbling walls. After a few seconds' intermission there was another explosion, and what looked like a public school in the main street sagged suddenly in the centre. With no entre-acte came a succession of explosions, and the building was prone upon the ground—just a jagged pile of broken stones.

We turned our glasses on the other end of the village. A column of black smoke was rising where the church had caught fire. We watched it awhile in silence. Ruins were getting very common. I swept the glasses away from the hamlet altogether and pointed out over the distant fields to the left.

"Where are the German trenches?"

I rather uninterestedly asked the Major.

"I'll show you—just a moment!" he answered, and at the same time signaling to a soldier squatting in the entrance to a trench near by, he ordered the man to convey a message to the telephone station which connected with a "seventy-five" battery at our rear. I was on the point of telling the officer not to bother about it. The words were on my lips. Then I thought "Oh, never mind! I might as well know where the trenches are, now that I have asked."

The soldier disappeared. "Watch!" said the officer. We looked intently across the field to the left. In less than a minute there were two sharp explosions behind us, two puffs of smoke out on the horizon before us, about a mile away.

"That's where they are!" the officer said. "Both shells went right in them."

"Ah! Very interesting!" I replied.

Away to the right of the village, now reduced to ruins, was another larger village; we squared around on our mud bank to look at that. This town was more important; it was Neuville-St. Vaast, which is still occupied by both French and Germans, the former slowly retaking it, house by house. We were about half a mile away. We could see little; for, strangely, in this business of house-to-house occupation, most of the fighting is in the cellars. But I could well imagine what was going on, for I had already walked through the ruins of Vermelles, another town now entirely in French possession, but taken in the same fashion after two months' dogged inch-by-inch advances.

So, when looking at Neuville-St. Vaast, I suddenly heard a tremendous explosion and saw a great mass of masonry and débris of all descriptions flying high in the air, I knew just what had happened. The French—for it is always the French who do it—had burrowed, sapped and dug themselves laboriously, patiently, slowly, by tortuous, narrow underground routes from one row of houses under the foundations, gardens, backyards, and streets to beneath the foundations of the next row of houses. There they had planted mines. The explosion I had just witnessed was of a mine. Much of the débris I saw flying through space had been German soldiers a few seconds before.

Before the smoke died away we heard a savage yell. That was the French cry of victory. Then we heard a rapid crackling of rifles. That was the sign that the French had advanced across the space between the houses to finish the work their mine had left undone. When one goes to view the work of those mines afterward all that one sees is a great, round, smooth hole in the ground—sometimes thirty feet deep, often twice that in diameter. Above it might have been either a château or a stable; unless one has an old resident for guide it is impossible to know.

It takes many days and nights to prepare these mines. It takes careful mathematical precision to determine that they are correctly placed. It takes morale, judgment, courage, and intelligence—this fighting from house to house. And yet the French are called a frivolous people!

A cry from a soldier warned us of a German aeroplane directly overhead; so we stopped gazing at Neuville-St Vaast. A French aeroplane soon appeared, and the German made off rapidly. They usually do, as the majority of German aeronauts carry only rifles; the French now all have mitrailleuses. A fight between them is unequal, and the inequality is not easily overcome, for the German machines are too light for mitrailleuses.

Four French machines were now circling above, and the German batteries opened fire on them. It ws a beautiful sight. There was not a cloud in the sky, and the sun had not yet gone. We could not hear the shells explode. but we could see little feathery white clouds suddenly appear as if some giant invisible hand had just put them there—high up in the sky. Another appeared, and another. There were several dozen little white clouds vividly outlined against the blue before the French machines, all un-

touched, turned back toward their own lines.

Again our thoughts and actions were rudely disturbed by the soldier with us, who suddenly threw himself face down on the ground. Before we had time to wonder why a German shell tore a hole in the field before us, less than a hundred yards away. I asked the officer if we had been seen, and if they were firing at us. He said he did not think so, but we had perhaps better move. As a matter of fact, they were hunting the battery that had so accurately shown us their trenches a short time before.

Instead of returning to the point where we had left our motors by the trench, we walked across an open field in quite another direction than I thought was the correct one. All the time we heard, high overhead, that rushing sound as of giant wings. Occasionally, when a shell struck in the neighborhood, we heard the shrill whistling sound, and half a dozen times in the course of the walk great holes were torn in our field, sometimes quite near. But artillery does not cause fear easily; it is rifles that accomplish that. The sharp hissing of the bullet that resembles so much the sound of a spitting cat seems so personal—as if it was intended just for you.

Artillery is entirely impersonal; you know that the gunners do not see you; that they are firing by arithmetic at a certain range; that their shell is not intended for anyone in particular. So you walk on striking idly with your stick at the daisies and buttercups that border your path. You calculate, almost indifferently, the distance between you and the bursting shell. You somehow feel that nothing will harm you. You are not afraid; and if you are lucky, as we were, you will find the automobiles waiting for you just over there beyond the brow of the hill.

The Modern Plataea

By Frederick Pollock

[From King Albert's Book.]

NEARLY 2,400 years ago the Boeotian city of Plataea was one among the many lesser Greek republics. Her citizens earned immortal fame by taking part with the leading States of Athens and Sparta in the decisive battles, fought on their own territory, which delivered Greece from the fear of Persian conquest and saved the light of Greek freedom and civilization from being extinguished. To this day the name of Plataea is held in honor throughout the world; for many years that honor was unique. Belgium has now done and dared for the freedom of modern Europe as much as Plataea did of old; she has, unhappily, suffered far more. As her valor has been equal and her suffering greater her reward will be no less immortal. Belgium will be remembered with Plataea centuries after the military tyranny of the Hohenzollerns has vanished like an evil dream.

A British Call For Recruits

Is Your Conscience Clear?

Ask your conscience why you are staying comfortably at home instead of doing your share for your King and Country.

1. Are you too old?

   The only man who is too old is the man who is over 38.

2. Are you physically fit?

   The only man who can say honestly that he is not physically fit is the man who has been told so by a Medical Officer.

3. Do you suggest you cannot leave your business?

   In this great crisis the only man who cannot leave his business is the man who is himself actually doing work for the Government.

If your conscience is not clear on these three points your duty is plain.

ENLIST TO-DAY.

God Save the King.

This advertisement, occupying full pages, was recently run in the British press.

The British Army in France

Richebourg, La Quinque Rue, Festubert, and Ypres

By the Official "Eyewitness" and Sir John French

SAXONS SLAIN BY PRUSSIANS.

Under date of May 21, 1915, an Eyewitness with the British Headquarters in France, continues and supplements his narrative of operations:

The ground our troops were holding on Monday, May 17, projected as two salients into the enemy's territory, one south of Richebourg-L'Avoue and the other to the north of Festubert. The purpose of the operations undertaken on Monday was to connect up the space which lay between them. In this we were successful.

At about 9:30 A. M. on Monday, May 17, our forces attacked the enemy occupying this area, from north and south, and gradually drove him from all his intrenchments within it. The Germans here, pressed on three sides, subjected to a cross-fire from several directions and to continuous bombing, reached the limits of their endurance during the morning, and over 300 surrendered.

After this area had been made good by us fighting continued throughout the day, and our troops, having joined hands, pressed the enemy still further eastward, forcing them out of one post after another. As the afternoon wore on more prisoners fell into our hands, entire groups of men giving themselves up.

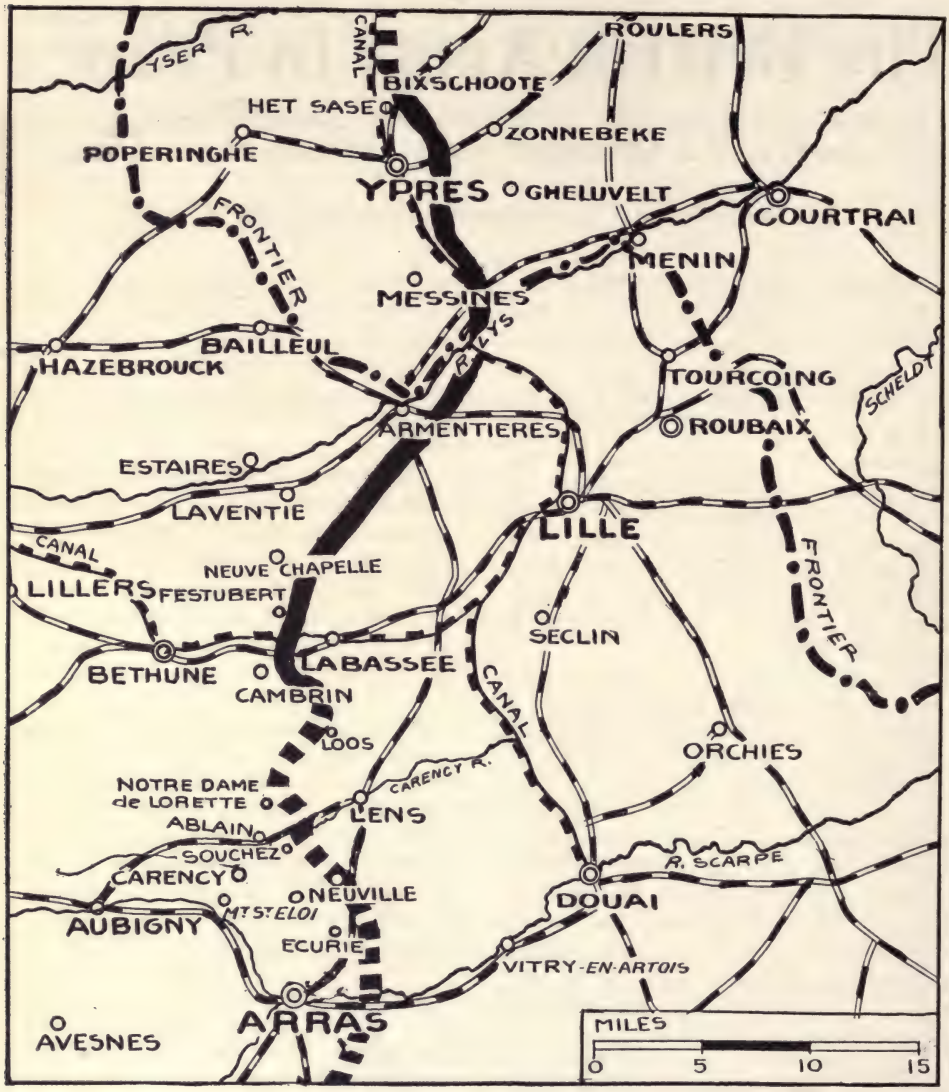
The centres of the hostile resistance in this quarter were the clusters of buildings which were very strongly held and surrounded by networks of trenches dotted with numerous machine gun posts, and in front of one of the nests of works near the Ferme Cour de L'Avoue, between La Quinque Rue and Richebourg-L'Avoue, a horrible scene was witnessed by our troops during the day.

Desperate fighting was going on in front of this farm when the remains of a battalion of Saxons, which, it appears, had been hastily brought down from further north and thrown into the fight, having decided to surrender en bloc, advanced toward our line. Not knowing what the movement of this mass of men implied, our infantry poured a hail of bullets into them, whereupon the survivors, some hundreds strong, halted, threw down their rifles, and held up their hands, and one of their number waved a white rag tied to a stick.

Our guns continued to fire from the rear, and whether our infantry, who, by this time, have had some experience of the treachery of the enemy, would have paid any attention to these signals is uncertain, but the matter was taken out of their hands, for as soon as the Prussian infantry on the north of this point realized what their Saxon comrades were trying to do, they opened rapid fire from the flank, enfilading the mass. It appears also that the news of what was happening must have been telephoned back to the German artillery further east—which was also probably Prussian, since its guns suddenly opened on the Saxon infantry, and under this combined fire most of the latter were very soon accounted for.

Among the many scenes of the war there has probably been no more strange spectacle than that of the masses of gray-coated soldiers standing out in the open, hands raised, amidst the dead and dying, being butchered by their own comrades before the eyes of the British infantry. The fact that the victims of this slaughter were Saxons was a source of regret to us, since the Saxons have always proved themselves more chivalrous and less brutal than either the Prussians or the Bavarians—in fact, cleaner fighters in every way.

While we were thus pressing forward



Map of the British position. The solid line represents the territory held by the British, the dotted line to the north showing the position of the Franco-Belgian Army, and the dotted line to the south the position of the French Army.

gradually on the section of front between our two original points of penetration, our troops on the right in front of Festubert were making good progress southward along the German trenches. Their attack began at 11:30 A. M., and the Germans were soon cleared out of their line in this quarter up to a point a short distance south of Festubert, where they made a strong resistance and checked our further lateral progress.

The fighting here was made up of a series of isolated and desperate hand-to-hand combats with bayonet and hand grenades, and, since the Germans were, at many points, outflanked and enfiladed, their losses were very heavy, for in the narrow trenches there was often no

room for escape, and the only alternative was death or surrender. In some places the trenches presented a horrible sight, being heaped with German corpses, many of whom had been blown to pieces by our bombardment carried out previous to the original attack. By about noon the total number of prisoners captured since the commencement of the attack on Sunday had increased to 550.

On the extreme right the Germans were pressed back along their communication trenches in such large numbers that they occasionally formed an excellent mark for the machine guns in our own line to the north of Givenchy, which were able to do great execution at certain points.

By midday the total front of the "bite" taken by us out of the enemy's position was almost exactly two miles long; but, as trenches and isolated posts were taken and retaken several times, the exact situation at any moment, as is usual in such cases, is somewhat obscure. Further progress was made to the south during the afternoon and after dark, and various posts and breastworks east of La Quinque Rue, from which we had withdrawn the previous night, again fell into our hands, although the enemy continued to hold some trenches in rear of them. But they again formed an exposed salient, and were once more temporarily evacuated by us.

At nightfall we held a continuous line embracing the whole of the German original front trenches from the south of Festubert to Richebourg-L'Avoue, and, in many places, were in possession of the whole series of hostile entrenchments, with the exception of a few supporting points and machine-gun posts in rear of the zone.

EAST OF FESTUBERT.

The following dispatch was received on May 26, 1915, *from Field Marshal Sir John French, commanding in chief the British Army in the field:*

The First Army continues to make progress east of Festubert. A territorial division carried last night a group of German trenches, capturing thirty-five prisoners, and this morning it captured one officer, twenty-one men, and a machine gun.

Since May 16 the First Army has pierced the enemy's line on a total front of over three miles. Of this the entire hostile front line system of trenches has been captured on a front of 3,200 yards, and of the remaining portion the first and second lines of trenches are in our possession.

The total number of prisoners taken is 8 officers and 777 of other ranks. Ten machine guns in all have fallen into our possession, as well as a considerable quantity of material and equipment, particulars of which are not yet available.

GERMAN GAS WARFARE AGAIN.

Under date of May 28, *an Eyewitness with the British Headquarters in France continues and supplements his narrative as follows:*

Monday, May 24, witnessed a fresh development in the situation in our front. It was a most brilliant May day, the heat of the sun being tempered by a light breeze, which had blown from the northeast during the night, and in the course of the morning had veered round toward the north. This breeze gave the enemy the opportunity they awaited of repeating their gas tactics against our position in front of Ypres, which, though reduced in prominence, was still a salient in the general line.

Between 2 and 3 o'clock in the morning a violent bombardment with gas shells was started against a section of our line about two and three-quarters miles long, and divided into four approximately equal parts by the roads from Ypres to St. Julien and Moorslede and the railway from Ypres to Roulers. The supply of gas available must have been great, for it continued to pour southwestward for some hours in great volume, in some places reaching to a height of several feet. Owing to the direction of the wind, also, it swept southward along our line as well as penetrating behind it.

The manner in which such an attack develops with a favoring wind cannot better be described than by the reports of its progress brought in on Monday

morning by our aerial reconnaissances. One observer who crossed the opposing front in this quarter shortly after dawn reported when he came back that a thick cloud of what looked like smoke outlined the whole of the German trenches. The next observing officer, who arrived some time afterward, stated that to the west and southwest of the German line he could see a broad band of yellow grass and trees which looked as if they had been bleached. A third, who came in later, stated that the whole area behind our line was covered by a mist so thick as to interfere with observation.

This attempt to asphyxiate was of course preliminary to an assault against the salient, for which infantry had been massing on the east. It was carried out from three directions, being pushed forward under cover of a heavy bombardment against the northern face from the neighborhood of St. Julien, against the northeast face from Zonnebeke along the Roulers Railway, and against the west direct from the Polygon Wood. On the greater part of the front assailed our troops were able to stand their ground, and to maintain their positions in spite of the poisonous fumes, but in certain sections they were forced to evacuate the trenches, and the German infantry succeeded in getting a footing in our front line near the farm to the north of Wieltje, for some distance astride the Roulers Railway, and to the north and south of the Menin Road on the south of the Bellewaarde Lake.

In doing this the enemy lost considerably both from our artillery fire and the rifle fire of the sections of the defense which were able to maintain their position. Counter-attacks were organized during the morning, and by about midday our infantry had succeeded in reoccupying our former line to the north of the railway. By evening there were no Germans west of our original position on the south of the Menin Road, though we had not been able to reoccupy our line in that quarter, nor near Wieltje. The advance of the enemy, however, had been stopped. In the neighborhood of Hill 60 a party of our infantry during the night bombed their way for some forty yards up a trenche which the Germans had taken from us, destroyed the enemy's barricade, reconstructed it, and held the trench.

In the centre, near Bois Grenier, a slight success was gained in the evening, our troops seizing some ground between our front line and that of the Germans near the Bois Grenier—Bridoux Road. This ground had been partially intrenched during the previous night, and at 8:50 P. M. the infantry advanced under cover of our artillery and established themselves in the new line.

On our right, in the neighborhood of Festubert, our troops continued their pressure, gaining one or two points in the maze of trenches and defended houses here and there, in spite of the heavy artillery and machine-gun fire to which they were subjected. Before dark the German infantry was observed to be massing opposite Festubert, as if to counter-attack in force; but their two offensive efforts made during the night were not serious, and were easily beaten back.

On Tuesday matters were quieter. On our left the German infantry attacking the Ypres salient did not, in the face of our resistance, attempt to push on further, nor was gas employed, but the bombardment of our positions was maintained. Except where he had retained or regained our original line our position was established behind the portions which the Germans had succeeded in occupying.

A GAIN AT GIVENCHY.

The following dispatch was received on June 4, 1915, from Field Marshal Sir John French, commanding in chief the British Army in the field:

On the night of the 30th of May we seized some outbuildings in the grounds of a ruined chateau at Hooge. Since then our trenches there have been subjected to a heavy bombardment.

Fighting on a small scale has been continuous. At one time we were forced to evacuate the buildings, taken by us, but last night we recaptured them.

Northeast of Givenchy last night we expelled the enemy from his trenches

on a front of 200 yards, taking forty-eight prisoners. Our infantry, however, was unable to remain in occupation of these trenches after daylight, owing to the enemy fire.

Field Marshal Sir John French in a report, dated June 8, on the fighting along the British line, says:

The situation on our front has not changed since the last communication of June 4. There has been less activity on the part of the artillery.

On the 6th, in front of the Plogsteert wood, we sucessfully exploded a mine under the German trenches, destroying thirty yards of the parapet.

We have brought down two German aeroplanes, one opposite our right by gunfire, and the other in the neighborhood of Ypres, as the result of an engagement in the air with one of our aeroplanes.

AN ADVANCE NEAR YPRES.

Sir John French's report of June 16—the first since that of June 8—said:

Last week there was no change in the situation. The enemy exploded five mines on different parts of our front, but none of these caused any damage to our trenches, and only one caused any casualties.

Yesterday evening we captured the German front-line trenches east of Festubert on a mile front, but failed to hold them during the night against strong counter-attacks.

Early this morning in the neighborhood of Ypres we successfully attacked the enemy's positions north of Hooge, (to the east of Ypres.) We occupied the whole of his first line of trenches on a front of 1,000 yards, and also parts of his second line.

By noon today 157 prisoners had passed to our rear. The German counter-attack has been repulsed with heavy losses.

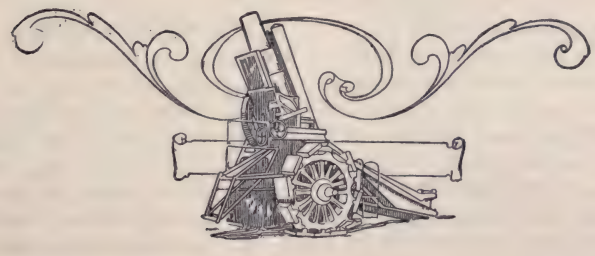
ALLIES IN CONCERTED ATTACK.

Field Marshal French's report of June 18 indicates that a strong, concerted attack was then being made by British and French troops upon the German front from east of Ypres to south of Arras. This report preceded the French announcement of victory in the battle of the Labyrinth, an account of which appears elsewhere. It says:

The fighting in the northern and southern portions of our front continued throughout June 16 in co-operation with the attack of our ally about Arras.

East of Ypres all the German first-line trenches which we captured remain in our hands, in spite of two counter-attacks, which were repulsed with heavy loss to the enemy. We were, however, unable to retain those of the enemy's second-line trenches which we had occupied in the morning.

East of Festubert, as a result of a further attack on the afternoon of the 16th, we made a slight advance and, judging by the number of dead Germans in the trenches entered by us, our artillery fire was very effective.



The Dardanelle's Campaign

Progress of the Allies in June Slow and Difficult

In his speech at Dundee on June 5, from which the passage concerning the Dardanelles is reproduced below, Winston Spencer Churchill's reference to "losses of ships" constituted the official comment on the sinking by submarine attack on May 26 and 27 of the British battleships Triumph in the Gulf of Saros, and Majestic off Sedd-el-Bahr. That increased to six the sum of battleships lost to the Allies in the Dardanelles operations. The review of the operations from May 15 to June 17, shows a development of slow trench warfare on land, which postpones the attainment of a few miles to a victory confidently predicted by Mr. Churchill.

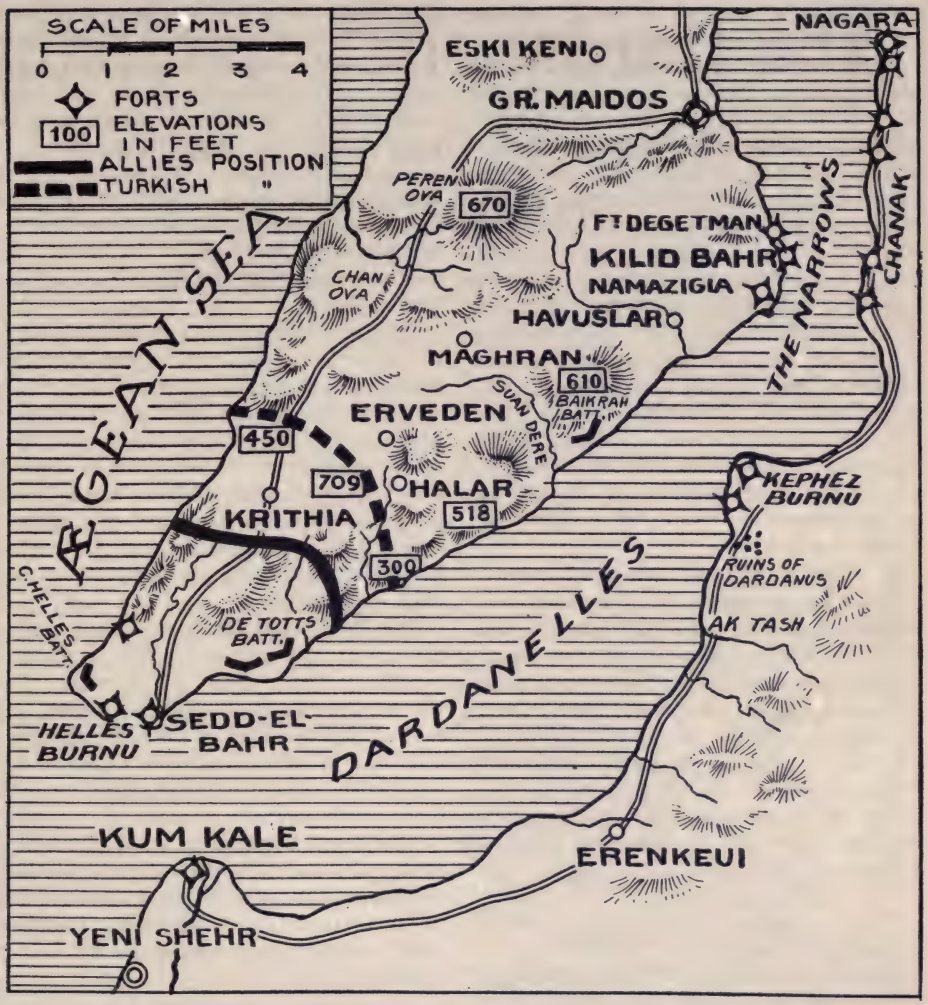
A FEW MILES FROM VICTORY.

In the course of his speech at Dundee on June 5, 1915, Winston Spencer Churchill said:

The operations which are now proceeding at the Dardanelles will give him (Mr. Balfour) the opportunity of using that quality of cool, calm courage and inflexibility which fifteen years ago prevented Ladysmith from being left to its fate and surrendered to the enemy. I have two things to say to you about the Dardanelles.

First, you must expect losses both by land and sea. But the fleet you are employing there is your surplus fleet, after all other needs have been provided for. Had it not been used in this great enterprise it would have been lying idle in your southern ports. A large number of the old vessels, of which it is composed, have to be laid up in any case before the end of the year, because their crews are wanted for the enormous reinforcements of new ships which the industry of your workships is hurrying into the water. Losses of ships, therefore, as long as the precious lives of the officers and men are saved—which in nearly every case they have been—losses of that kind, I say, may easily be exaggerated in the minds both of friend and foe. Military operations will also be costly, but those who suppose that Lord Kitchener—(loud cheers)—has embarked upon them without narrowly and carefully considering their requirements in relation to all other needs and in relation to the paramount need of our army in France and Flanders—such people are mistaken, and not only mistaken, they are presumptuous.

My second point is this. In looking at your losses squarely and soberly you must not forget at the same time the prize for which you are contending. The army of Sir Ian Hamilton, the fleet of Admiral de Robeck are separated only by a few miles from a victory such as this war has not yet seen. When I speak of victory I am not referring to those victories which crowd the daily placards of any newspapers. I am speaking of victory in the sense of a brilliant and formidable fact shaping the destinies of nations and shortening the duration of the war. Beyond those few miles of ridge and scrub on which our soldiers, our French comrades, our gallant Australian and New Zealand fellow-subjects are now battling, lie the downfall of a hostile empire, the destruction of an enemy's fleet and army, the fall of a world-famous capital, and probably the accession of powerful allies. The struggle will be heavy, the risks numerous, the losses cruel, but victory when it comes will make amend for all. There never was a great subsidiary operation of war in which a more complete harmony of strategic, political, and economic advantages were combined, or which stood in truer relation to the main decision, which is in the central theatre. Through the Narrows of the Dardanelles and across the ridges of the Gallipoli Peninsula lie



Scene of the Dardanelles operations. The black line marks the approximate allied position, the dotted line the approximate Turkish position, on June 18, 1915.

some of the shortest paths to a triumphant peace.

TWO WEEKS' FIGHTING.

By The Associated Press.

PARIS, June 14.—*An official note given out today presents a summary of the operations in the Dardanelles from May* 15 *to June* 1 *as follows:*

Heavy fighting has taken place during this time. Today our progress is somewhat slower than it was in the beginning, but every inch of ground gained has been organized in such a manner as to permit the repelling of counter-attacks, and each advance has been held. The physical aspects of the country make fighting extremely difficult and dangerous, as the battle front presents the form of a triangle

During the second half of May there were attacks on the Turkish line of intrenchments in front of Kereves Dere and the redoubt called the 'Bouchet,' which we took May 8. All the Turkish counter-attacks failed completely.

Our position being assured here, we

endeavored to capture a small fortress situated on the extreme left of the enemy's line. On account of the strategic position of this fortress it was impossible to take it in the ordinary way by an artillery attack, followed by a bayonet charge; such a method would have resulted in heavy loss of life. The attack had to be a surprise. On the night of May 28 a mixed company composed of thirty-four white and thirty-two negro troops, all volunteers, under the command of a Lieutenant, received orders to slip out of our first trench one by one and crawl on their hands and knees to the opposing trench Here they were to surprise the occupants and kill them without a shot. Two other companies bringing up the rear were to go at once to the assistance of the first company if the plan failed.

At 11:45 P. M. our men, having gone forward in accordance with instructions, rushed over the embankments of the enemy trenches. The Turks were completely surprised. They discharged their guns into the air and immediately took to flight. Thanks to the rapidity of our attack our only casualties were one Sergeant and two men wounded.

The Turks attacked twice without success, and dawn saw us firmly established in our new positions

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A GENERAL ASSAULT.

LONDON, June 6.—Official announcement was made tonight that the British troops at the Dardanelles, as a result of their new offensive movement last week, captured two lines of Turkish trenches along a three-mile front. The statement follows:

On the night of June 3-4 the Turks, having heavily bombarded a small fort in front of the extreme right French position, which previously had been captured, launched an infantry attack against it which was repulsed with heavy loss to the enemy. At the same time the Turks set fire to scrub in front of the left centre of the position occupied by the British divison and attacked, but with no success.

On the morning of the 4th of June Sir Ian Hamilton ordered a general attack on the Turkish trenches in the southern area of the Gallipoli Peninsula, preceded by a heavy bombardment by all guns, assisted by battleships, cruisers, and destroyers.

At a given signal the troops rushed forward with the bayonet. They were immediately successful all along the line except in one spot, where the heavy wire entanglement was not destroyed by the bombardment.

Indian troops on our extreme left made a magnificent advance. They captured two lines of trenches, but, owing to the fact that the troops on their right were hung up by this wire entanglement, they were obliged to retire to their original line. The regular division made good progress on the left centre, capturing a strong redoubt and two lines of trenches beyond it, about 500 yards in advance of their original line.

The Territorial Division on our centre did brilliantly, advancing 600 yards and capturing three lines of trenches, but though the advanced captured trench was held all day and half of the ensuing night, they had to be ordered back in the morning to the second captured line, as both their flanks were exposed.

The Naval Division on our right centre captured a redoubt and a formidable line of trenches constructed in three tiers 300 yards to their front, but they, too, had to be ordered back, owing to the heavy enfilading fire.

The French Second Division advanced with great gallantry and élan. They retook for the fourth time that deadly redoubt they call 'Le Haricot,' but unfortunately the Turks developed heavy counter-attacks through prepared communication trenches, and under cover of an accurate shell fire were able to recapture it.

On the French extreme right the French captured a strong line of trenches which, though heavily counter-attacked twice during the night, they still occupy.

We captured 400 prisoners, including ten officers. Among the prisoners were five Germans, the remains of a volunteer machine gun detachment from the Goeben (the Turkish cruiser Sultan Se-

lim). Their officer was killed and the machine gun was destroyed.

During the night information was received that enemy reinforcements were advancing from the direction of Maidos toward Kithia. Thereupon Lieutenant General Birdwood arranged to attack the trenches in front of Quinn's post at 10 P. M., which was successfully carried out, and the captured trenches held throughout the night. The Turkish casualties were heavy.

At 6:30 A. M. the enemy heavily counter-attacked, and by means of heavy bombs forced our men out of the most forward trench, though we still hold communication trenches made during the night.

The result of these operations is that we have made an advance of 500 yards, which includes two lines of Turkish trenches along a front of nearly three miles. We are now consolidating our new positions and strengthening the lines."

MR. ASQUITH'S PREDICTION.

LONDON, June 15.—*There have been so many rumors recently that the Allies had forced the Dardanelles that Sir James H. Dalziel asked Premier Asquith this afternoon in the House of Commons if there was any truth in such reports.*

"None whatever," was the reply. The Premier said that it was not in the public interest to say anything now about the Dardanelles. "The operations are of the highest importance," he added, "and they will be pushed to a successful conclusion."

The following announcement concerning the operations was given out officially today:

The situation on the Gallipoli Peninsula has developed into trench warfare. After our success on the 4th instant the Turks have evinced a great respect for our offensive, and by day and by night they have to submit to captures of trenches.

On the night of the 11th-12th of June two regiments of a British regular brigade made a simultaneous attack on the advanced Turkish trenches, and after severe fighting, which included the killing of many snipers, succeeded in maintaining themselves, in spite of bombs, in the captured position.

On the morning of the 13th a counter-attack was made by the Turks, who rushed forward with bombs, but coming under the fire of the naval machine gun squadron were annihilated. Of the fifty who attacked, thirty dead bodies were counted in front of that part of our trenches.

The situation is favorable to our forces, but is necessarily slow on account of the difficulties of the ground. The Turkish offensive has sensibly weakened.

FROM THE TURKISH SIDE.

[Staff Correspondence of The Brooklyn Eagle.]

CONSTANTINOPLE, June 5, (*by Courier to Berlin and Wireless to Sayville, L. I.)*—The forces of the Allies on the Gallipoli Peninsula at Ari Burnu and Sedd-el-Bahr are in the greatest danger, as a result of the withdrawal of the bombarding fleets—made necessary by the activity of German submarines—and the consequent difficulty of maintaining communications oversea from the Aegean Islands.

The English position is at present desperate.

The inability to land heavy artillery was at first compensated for by the protection given by the guns of the fleet, but the withdrawal of the ships from Ari Burnu leaves the shore forces resting almost on the water's edge without means of meeting attacks.

Heavy Turkish batteries are mounted on the surrounding heights.

These statements are made after a week spent in the Turkish field under the first personal pass issued to a newspaper correspondent by Field Marshal Liman von Sanders, the Commander in Chief of the Turkish Army.

The Turks are fighting confidently, aided by a few German machine gun squads.

The farthest advance made by the English at Ari Burnu is 1,000 yards

from shore; at Sedd-el-Bahr, about two miles.

Have seen Forts Chanak and Kalid Bahr, and find they are still intact.

The net results of the English attempt to force the Dardanelles are at present almost nil.

The general impression at Constantinople and Berlin is that the attack as at present conducted is a failure.

The bombardment of March 18 was ineffectual, owing to the inadequacy of the landing forces, and the failure of the Entente powers to embroil Bulgaria against Turkey.

[By The Associated Press.]

KRITHIA, Dardanelles, June 17, *(via London, June* 19.*)*—The allied troops who landed at Sedd-el-Bahr, on the Gallipoli Peninsula, hold about ten square miles of the extreme southern part of the peninsula, the occupancy of which is maintained with the greatest difficulties.

The ground held by the Allies consists principally of a small plateau to the north of Sedd-el-Bahr and two adjoining ridges to the northwest, between which the Turks are pushing advance trenches.

The Associated Press correspondent, who spent two days in the trenches, found the Turkish troops in excellent condition and spirits, in spite of the fact that the Allies were using every conceivable means to carry on the operations, including bombs thrown from catapults and from aeroplanes.

From the Turkish station of artillery fire control the effect of the Turkish fire upon the allied trenches could be observed today, and the shells were reaching the mark. The sanitary and supply services of the Turks are being carried on efficiently. The number of wounded at the hospital bases at the front was small, although the fighting during the night had been fairly severe.

During the daytime both sides are usually inactive, the Turks preferring night bayonet attacks. Many Turkish batteries are in position, but the nearness of the opposing trenches makes their work difficult, and for the most part they are directing their attention to the reserves of the Allies and to changing shifts which are exposed at certain points. The Turks, in this, have the support of their heavy batteries on the Asiatic side, which, since the retirement of the allied fleet, work without fear of being molested, bombarding chiefly the allied right wing, composed of French, home, and Colonial troops.

Weber Pasha, the German General commanding the south group, gave the correspondent every opportunity to visit the Sedd-el-Bahr district, placing no restrictions whatever upon his movements. The result was a thorough inspection of the ground. Weber Pasha made no comment on the situation himself beyond saying that "the failure of the Allies to consummate their plan of forcing the Dardanelles is too obvious for discussion."

Weber Pasha, who is a member of the German military mission which undertook the improvement of the Ottoman Army organization, is fully confident that the Turks will be able to meet the Gallipoli situation, and that the Allies will never advance against the Dardanelles forts.

It has been ascertained that only a few German officers are active in the south group. German privates are employed in special lines.

Krithia, once a thriving village of about 4,000 inhabitants, is probably the most ruined place in all Europe. The Allies left no house standing during their bombardment.

THE EUROPEAN WAR AS SEEN BY CARTOONISTS

[American Cartoon]

An Old Time Aeronaut

—From The Plain Dealer, Cleveland.

Poor Darius Green, he tried to fly.

[American Cartoon]

A Parthian Brick

—*From The World, New York.*

"God Bless You."

[American Cartoon]

The Benevolent Assassin

—From The Sun, New York.

"Et tu, Brute!"

[American Cartoon]

The Black Flag

—From The Herald, New York.

Will He Haul It Down?

[American Cartoon]

A Statesman's Exit

—From The Evening Sun, New York.

The White Feather.

[American Cartoon]

"My Heart Bleeds for Karlsruhe"

—*From The Sun, New York.*

"Emperor William has telegraphed his deep indignation at the wicked attack upon beloved Karlsruhe. The poor innocent victims among civilians have greatly affected him."—Berlin Press Dispatch.

[German-American Cartoon]

The Sandwich Man

—*From The Express, Los Angeles.*

Peace and Prosperity.

[English Cartoon]

The Two-handed Sword

—*From Punch, London.*

[The allusion is to the New British Coalition Cabinet.]

[German Cartoon]

Wilson's Wrapping Paper

—From Simplicissimus, Munich.

"Here is a sample of a new shell. It is wrapped up in a little bit of a protest—but you needn't take that very seriously."

[English Cartoon]

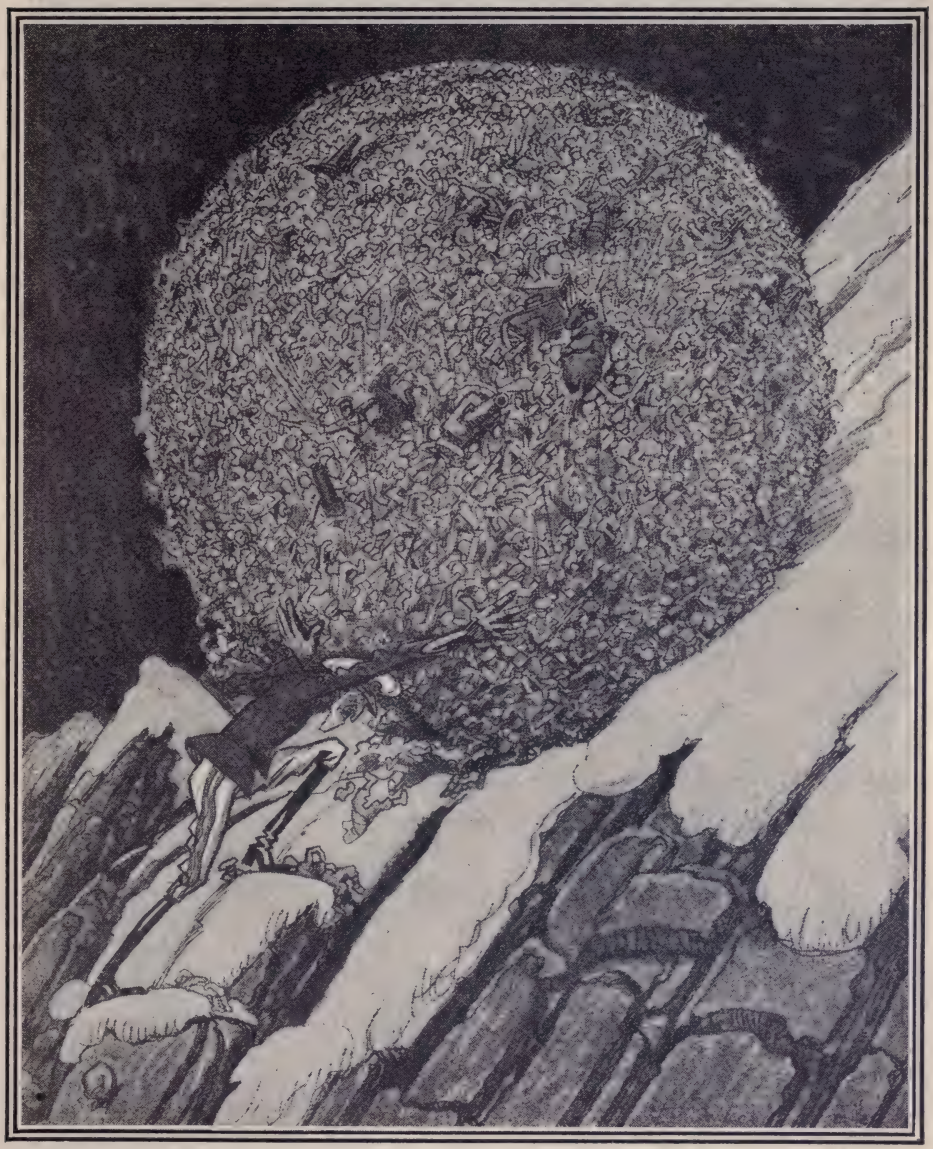
A Haul of U-Boats

—*From The Sketch, London.*

The British Sea Lion returns from Shrimping.

[German Cartoon]

In the Carpathians



—*From Lustige Blaetter, Berlin.*

Look out Sisyphus, the fall may be a terrible one!

[German Cartoon]

The Sphinx on the Bosporus

—From Lustige Blaetter, Berlin.

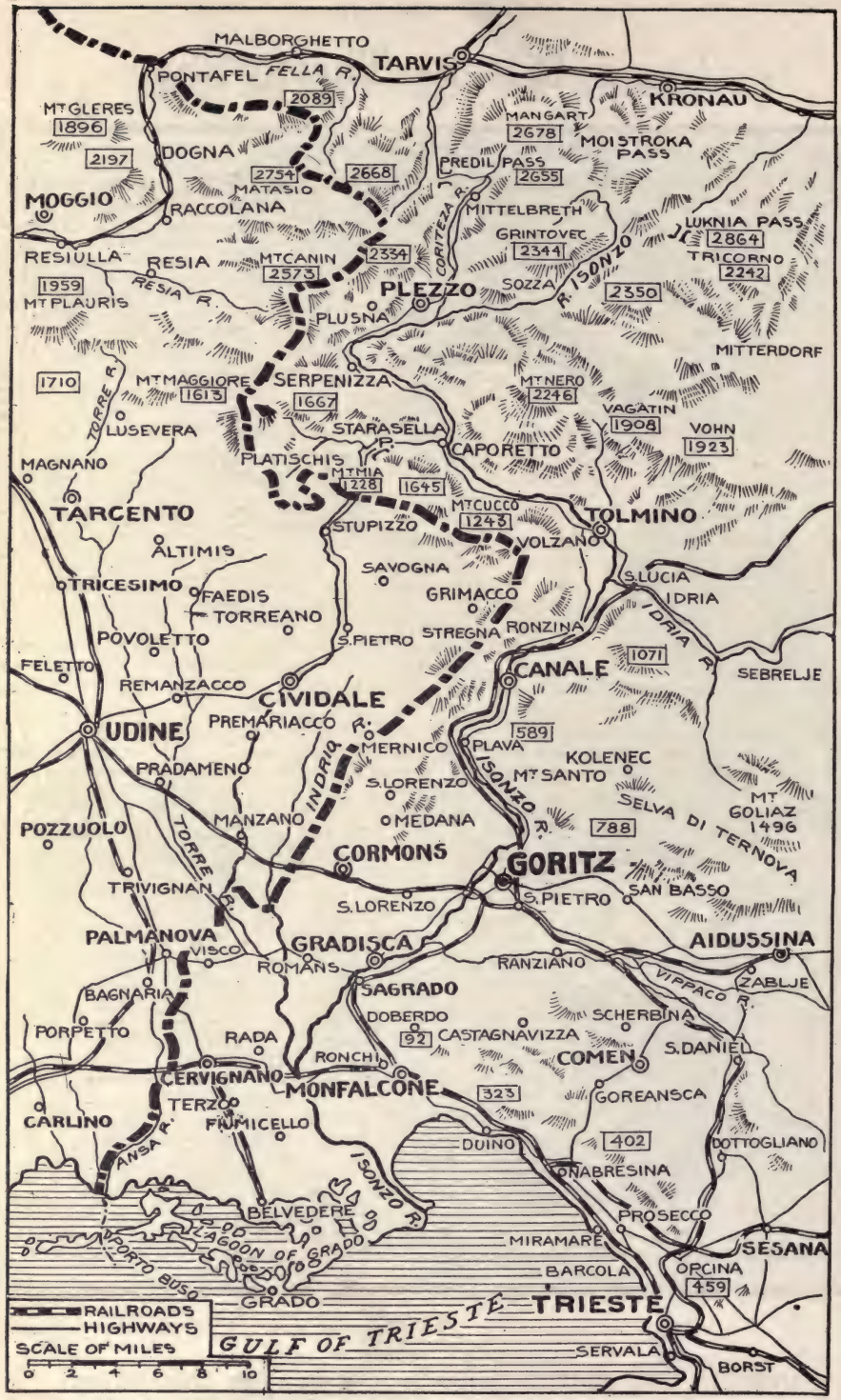
"Come in, little boats! But you'll never get out again!"

[English Cartoon]

Twice Bitten—Thrice Shy

—*From The Bystander, London.*

Bulgaria contemplates the outlook with some trepidation.



Map of the frontier between Italy and Austria where the Italians were advancing on June 18, 1915, to capture Trieste. The boxed numbers indicate altitudes in meters.

Italy vs. Austria-Hungary

The Italian Invasion and Italo-Germanic Differences

Official reviews of the first month, ending June 23, of Italy's war with Austria-Hungary are still lacking.* On May 24 it was officially reported in London that Italy had given her adhesion to the agreement, already signed by the allied powers, not to conclude a separate peace. Active war operations were begun by Austria on the same day; bombs were dropped on Venice and five other Adriatic ports, shelled from air and some from sea. The attackers were driven off.

The rapid advance of the Italian armies which invaded Austria on the east had by May 27 carried part of the forces across the Isonzo River to Monfalcone, sixteen miles northwest of Trieste. Another force penetrated further to the north in the Crownland of Goritz and Gradisca. On June 4 the censored news from Udine, Italy, reported that encounters with the enemy thus far had been merely outpost skirmishes, but had allowed Italy to occupy advantageous positions in Austrian territory. The first important battle of the Italian campaign, for the possession of Tolmino, was reported on June 7.

A general Italian advance took place on June 7 across the Isonzo River from Caporetto to the sea, a distance of about forty miles. On June 12 reports from the Trentino indicated an Italian advance on Rovereto in Tyrol, thirteen miles southwest of Trent, and upon Mori, near by. Monfalcone was taken by the Italians on June 10—the first serious blow against Trieste—as Monfalcone is a railway junction and its electrical works operate the light and power of Trieste. In the extreme north, on the threshold of the Carnic Alps, after three days' fighting it was reported on June 10 that the Italians had swept the Austrians from Monte Croce and possessed themselves of Freikofel. The Austrian city of Gradisca was reported taken on June 11, as indicated in an official statement signed by Lieut. Gen. Count Cadorna, Chief of Staff of the Italian Army. The defenses of Goritz were shelled by the Italian artillery on June 13, and on June 14 the Italian eastern army had pushed forward along the Gulf of Trieste toward the town of Nabresina, nine miles from Trieste.

The Italian advance was checked—but not until June 16, more than three weeks after the beginning of the war—by an elaborate system of intrenchments prepared by the Austrians along the Isonzo River. On June 17 the Italians in the Trentino had arrived at the town of Mori, where their forces were blocked by the fortifications between that town and Rovereto. On June 18 a dispatch of The Associated Press from Rome reported that the Austrians had then so strengthened their forces that they were taking the offensive both from Mori and Rovereto against the Italians, who were encamped at Brentanico at the foot of Mount Altissimo, at Serravale, situated in the Lagardina Valley, and also in the Arsa Valley. Tolmino, on Austria's battlefront to the north of Goritz, was being heavily fortified

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*In an Associated Press dispatch from Rome (via Paris) on June 23 one of the chief Generals in the Italian War Office was reported to have summarized the first month of the campaign about as follows:

One month ago the Italians invaded Austrian territory, uprooted the yellow and black poles bearing the Austrian eagle, and occupied the enemy positions along a front of 500 miles. An Austrian squadron bombarded the Italian coast on the Adriatic, and Austrian aeroplanes dropped eleven bombs on Venice.

During this month the Italians overran the whole of Friuli. The capture of Tolmino and Goritz, the two Austrian strongholds, is considered imminent, which would open the way to Trieste; while in the Alpine region in the province of Trent they have conquered peaks and passes, from which the picked Austro-Hungarian troops have been unable to dislodge them.

Austrian activity has been chiefly displayed in bombarding the Italian Adriatic towns.

From Vienna (via London) on June 23 the following Austro-Hungarian official résumé of the operations of the first month of war along the Italian frontier was issued:

During the first month of the war the Italians have gained no great success. Our troops in the southwest maintain their positions as in the beginning, on or near the frontier.

On the Isonzo front in the fortified frontier district from Flitsch to Malborgeth, on the Carinthian ridge, and on all the fronts of Tyrol, all enemy attempts at an advance have collapsed with heavy losses.

by the Austrians with a garrison of some 30,000 men, this place being considered indispensable to their operations as the key to the Isonzo Valley. On June 20, the fourth week of the war, was reported by General Cadorna as marking a brilliant victory at Plava. But on the following day reports from Rome indicated that the Italians were encountering strong and better-organized resistance from the Austrians. On June 22 dispatches from the Italian front to Berlin declared that serious reverses had been experienced by the Italians in their attempts to storm the Austro-Hungarian line along the Isonzo River.

Two things have puzzled the public: First, the status of Germany in regard to Italy declaring war against Austria-Hungary, arraying herself on the side of the Eentente powers, and pledging herself, in turn, as each of them had done, not to make a separate paece with the enemy, and, second, the apparent weakness of the Austrian defensive in the Trentino and on the eastern frontier of Venetia.

Diplomatic relations between Rome and Berlin have been severed, but neither Chancellery has yet (June 23) found the other guilty of an aggression sufficiently grave to warrant a declaration of war. There is nothing astonishing in this situation. A similar situation obtained between Paris and Vienna and London and Vienna long after a state of war existed between Germany and Russia, France, and England.

The Italian plan of campaign apparently consists (1) in neutralizing the Trentino by capturing or "covering" her defenses and cutting her two lines of communication with Austria proper—the railway which runs south from Innsbruck and that which runs southwest from Vienna and joins the former at Franzensfeste, and (2) in a movement in force from the eastern frontier, with Trieste captured or "covered" on the right flank, in the direction of the Austrian fortress of Klagenfurt and Vienna, only 170 miles northeast from the present base of operations—a distance equal to that from New York City to Cape Cod.

The initial weakness of the Austrian defensive, which will doubtless be strengthened as troops can be spared from the seat of war in Galicia, is due to the fact that the invaded regions are normally defended by the Fourteenth and Third Army Corps, which were, in August, sent with two reserve corps to defend the Austrian line in Galicia. To fill the casualties in these corps the drain on the population has been great, so that when Italy began her invasion the defenses of the country were chiefly in the hands of the hastily mobilized youths below the military age of 19 and men above the military age of 42.

During the last six months, when Vienna gradually came to realize that war with Italy was inevitable, the Austro-Hungarian military authorities enrolled a new army of men who had already seen military service, but, for various reasons, had not been availed of in the present war. They were men of an unusually high mental and physical standard and had received additional training under German officers. Their ages were from 35 to 40, and they numbered from 700,000 to 800,000. On the desire of the German War Office this new army, which should have been sent to the Italian frontiers, was diverted to Galicia toward the last of April, and since then has been the backbone of the Teutonic drive against Russia in that region.

Below are given a sketch of the Alpine frontier by G. H. Perris, appearing in The London Chronicle of May 29; Colonel Murray's article on Italy's armed strength, and the speeches of mutual defiance uttered by the German Imperial Chancellor in the Reichstag or May 28 and the Italian Premier at the Capitol in Rome on June 2.

The Armed Strength of Italy

By Colonel A. M. Murray, C. B.

The article presented below originally appeared in The London Daily News of May 21, 1915.

The organization of the military forces of Italy is based upon the law of organization of 1887 and the recruiting law of 1888. Modifications have been made in these laws from time to time in regard to the strength of the annual contingent trained with the colors and the duration of the periods of training, but the original laws have not been altered in principle, and have now had time to completely materialize.

Every man in Italy is liable to military service for a period of nineteen years from the age of 20 to 39. All young men on reaching the age of 20, if passed medically fit for military service, are divided into three categories—first, those who are taken by lot for color service; second, those for whom there is no room with the colors, and, third, those who are exempted from military service for family reasons specified by law.

Men placed in the first category serve for two years with the colors, after which they go to the active army reserve for six years. Men in the second category are sent at once into the active army reserve for the period of eight years, after which both they and the men in the first category are passed into the mobile militia reserve for four years, and subsequently into the territorial militia for seven years, making nineteen years altogether. The men in the third category pass all their nineteen years' obligatory period of military service in the territorial militia, receiving no training whatever till they are called up to their depots when mobilization is ordered. The following table shows the periods of service of the men according to the categories in which they are placed by the recruiting authorities. The figures are years:

	ACTIVE ARMY.		RESERVE ARMY.		
Categories.	With the Colors.	In the Re- serve.	Mobile Militia.	Terri- torial Militia.	Tot. Yrs.
First	2	6	4	7	19
Second	..	8	4	7	19
Third	..	..	..	19	19

In the above table the mobile militia corresponds to the German Landwehr, and the territorial militia to the Landsturm.

After deducting emigrants, men put back for the following year, those who are medically unfit, and one-year volunteers, the average number of recruits placed each year in the first category is approximately 150,000, in the second category 36,000, and in the third category 28,000. All men in the first category are fully trained, while those in the second category, who correspond to the German Ersatz Reserve, are only partially trained, being called up at the discretion of the War Minister for one or more periods of training not exceeding twelve months altogether during their eight years' service.

Last year's returns, which were published in the Italian press, gave the approximate war strength of the army as under:

Officers	41,692
Active army (with colors).....	289,910
Reserve (including men of first and and second categories).....	638,979
Mobile militia	299,596
Territorial militia	1,889,659
Total war strength.....	3,159,836

According to a calculation, which need not be given in detail here, the above number of total men available includes upward of 1,200,000 fully trained soldiers, who have been through the ranks, with perhaps another 800,000 partially trained men of the second category, the remaining million being completely untrained men, who have passed all their nineteen years of obligatory service in the third category.

The organization for putting the above numbers of men into the field is as follows: The fully trained men are organized in four armies, each army consisting of three corps, one cavalry division, and a number of troops for the lines of communication. The twelve corps are recruited and organized on a territorial basis, each corps having its allotted area, as shown in the sketch, which also indicates the locality of corps headquarters. The Italian army corps, which is larger than that in other European armies, is composed of two active army divisions, with thirty guns each, one mobile militia division, brought up to strength from the territorial militia, one regiment of Bersaglieri, or light infantry, one cavalry regiment, one field artillery regiment of six batteries, (corps artillery,) and other technical and administrative units. The strength of the corps amounts to 50,000 men, with 8,400 horses and 126 guns, and this gives each of the four armies a strength of 150,000 men, 25,200 horses, and 378 guns, with the addition of a cavalry division of 4,200 sabres. The first line Italian army, therefore, which can be put into the field seven days after mobilization is ordered amounts to 600,000 men, 100,800 horses, 1,512 guns, and 16,200 sabres. But these cadres only absorb half the fully trained men called out on mobilization; duplicate corps will

Map showing the Military Districts of Italy.

consequently be formed to take the place of the twelve first-line corps as soon as they have been dispatched to their concentration rendezvous. It is believed that sufficient guns have now been provided for these twelve duplicate corps, but it is unlikely that more than two cavalry divisions could be formed in addition to the four divisions with the first-line armies. These duplicate corps would be ready to take the field three or four weeks after the concentration of the first twelve corps. The above calculations show that within a few weeks after the declaration of war Italy can place in the field a force of 1,200,000 men, (24 corps,) and would still have 1,800,000 men of fighting age left at the depots after the field armies had been dispatched to the front.

The infantry are armed with the Mannlicher (1891) rifle, the field artillery

with the 75-millimeter quick-firing Krupp gun, (1906,) and the mountain batteries, of which there are twenty-four, with a new 65-millimeter (2.56-inch) quick-firing gun of Italian construction. The heavy artillery is armed with a 149-millimeter field howitzer, also of Italian construction.

The organization of the Italian Army and the quality of the troops composing it were both tested in the Tripoli campaign, (1911-12,) and all military judges agree that the results prove the army to have reached a high standard of efficiency. The mobilization was only partial, but it was well carried out, and between October and December, 1911, 90,000 men, with 12,000 horses, were transported to Tripoli and Benghasi without a single hitch. Italian officers are well educated, and the men are brave and disciplined. Unlike the Austro-Hungarian Army, which is composed of men split into a variety of racial sections, the Italian Army is absolutely homogeneous, and the troops will enter the European struggle with the moral consciousness that they are fighting, not with aggressive intentions, but for the principle of nationality, which is the keynote to that marvelous progress which Italy has made since she became a nation in 1860.

The Italian Navy has ten up-to-date battleships in commission, all armed with twelve-inch guns, six of these being pre-dreadnoughts and four quite recently built dreadnoughts. These four latter ships carry a more powerful primary armament than the battleships of any other European country, the Dante Alighieri, the first of the type built, carrying twelve and the Conte di Cavour, Leonardo-da-Vinci, and Giulio Cesare thirteen twelve-inch guns mounted on the triple-turret system. Two more ships of the same class—the Caio Duilio and Andrea Dorea—are due to be commissioned this Autumn, and their completion will doubtless now be accelerated. Then there are four more battleships under construction, known as the Dandolo class—the Dandolo, Morosini, Mazzini, and Mameli—two of which are due to be launched in 1916 and two others in 1917. When completed these ships will be equal in gun power and speed to the ships of the Queen Elizabeth class, for they will carry eight fifteen-inch guns paired in four turrets—the triple-turret system having been abandoned—twenty six-inch and twenty-two fourteen-pr. guns, their speed being 25 knots. Besides these ten, or practically twelve, completed battleships, Italy has ten armored cruisers in commission and three twenty-eight knot light cruisers, but no fastgoing battle cruisers corresponding to those in the British and German Navies. She has also twenty-seven completed destroyers and thirteen thirty-two knot destroyers laid down, along with fifty-one torpedo boats and sixteen submarines, with four others building. With this fleet, which is half as strong again as the Austrian fleet, Italy can secure complete control of the Adriatic Sea and lock up the Austrian ships in Pola.

The Alpine Frontier

By G. H. Perris.

[This article appeared originally in The London Daily Chronicle of May 29, 1915.]

We have all learned a good deal of French, Russian, and Austrian geography in the last ten months; and, in the same sad school, we shall now become better acquainted with the region of mountain and plain which, through and for 140 miles east of Lake Garda, is the Austro-Italian borderland, and with the north-eastern coast of the Adriatic, where there will be important side issues. There is this great difference, among others, between the Adriatic and the Alpine military problems: On the one side, the Germanic powers can now only assume

the defensive; on the other, they can, and probably will, attempt the invasion of provinces dear not only to Italians, for their homes and a splendid galaxy of historic associations, but to cultivated minds throughout the world for treasures of art abounding even in the humblest towns and villages.

The irregularity of this northern frontier is the product of an unhappy history; it does not follow the line of the mountain summits or any other natural feature, and still less is it a limit marked by race or language. A glance at the map shows its salient characteristic—the piece of the Austrian Tyrol, from forty to sixty miles wide, which is thrust southward toward the great plain of Lombardy and Venetia, and toward the four provincial capitals, Brescia, Verona, Vicenza, and Belluno. The Trentino—as it is called, after the very ancient city of Trent, once the chief town of Tyrol, now a market centre dignified by many towers and poverty-stricken palaces and castles—is thoroughly Italian; but it still gathers much of its importance, as it has done ever since Roman times, from the fact that the best and oldest road from Germany and West Austria over the Alps runs through it to Verona. For nearly half a century one of the grandest of mountain railways has followed this olden track of conquest and pilgrimage, from Innsbruck over the Brenner Pass, through Botzen, and down the Adige Valley. More recently a branch line has been built which runs from Trent southeastward to Padua and Venice.

It is not only the Italian resistance to Austrian aggression and tyranny that has made this doorway into the lowlands about the Po a vast battlefield. From the Middle Ages onward France and Austria constantly fought out their quarrels here. In 1796, Napoleon, after routing Marshal Wurmser at Lonato and Castiglione, small towns to the south of the Lake of Garda, drove him up the Adige Valley to Trent, and then round the side track already named, the Brenta Valley, by Bassano back to Mantua. In 1848 the Piedmontese Army advanced upon the famous quadrilateral of fortresses, then Austrian, covering the entry —Mantua and Peschiera on the Mincio, Verona and Legnago on the Adige. Charles Albert was far from being another Napoleon; and the three days' battle of Custoza, when four weary and ill-found Italian brigades held out against Radetzky's five army corps, did not serve to turn the tide of the national fortunes. That year saw the first appearance of Garibaldi as a military leader and the accession of the present Austrian Emperor; and it is strange now to recall that in the war of 1859, when Lombardy was liberated by the French and Sardinian Armies, this same Francis Joseph was actually in command of the Austrian forces. The battle of Solferino, fought on a front of five leagues, along the hills to the south of Lake Garda, was a terrible butchery, even by the worst of modern standards, for in twelve hours 25,000 of the 300,000 combatants were killed or wounded. In the war of 1866 Garibaldi took a body of volunteers up the Adige; but the treaty which gave Venetia to the new Kingdom of Italy left the Trentino still to be recovered.

The Adige and Brenta Valley roads to Trent and Botzen are, then, clearly marked out for Italian effort in the present juncture; and if the Austrians have the advantage of innumerable defensive positions on the mountain heights, they have the disadvantage of very long and frail lines of supply and reinforcement. It may be supposed that the Alpine regiments, which are in some ways the flower of the Italian Army, will also attempt the lesser approaches to Tyrol from the west, by the Val di Sole and the Valtelline, and from the east from Belluno and Pieve. The Brenner railway, with its twenty-two tunnels and sixty large bridges, is peculiarly vulnerable. With many cities and good railways behind them, and a popular welcome in front, the Italian troops, on the other hand, will face the hill roads, now generally free from snow, with confidence.

Very different are the natural conditions on the only other part of the frontier where the hostile forces can well come to grips. The Alps gradually fall

and break up into separate ridges as we pass east; and beyond Udine there is a flat gap, 50 miles wide, beyond which lies Trieste, with its fine harbor and predominantly Italian population. Further north, where the main line for Vienna passes the border at Pontebba, to penetrate the double barrier of the Carinthian and Styrian Alps, there can be little temptation to adventure on either side. But in the lowlands of Friuli a beginning has been made, the advance at one point, Caporetto, reaching as far as the River Isonzo, while Terzo, Cormons, and other small places have been occupied. If there is to be any large-scale warfare on the Alpine frontier, it must apparently occur either in this gap or in and about the Adige Valley, on the way to Trent.

"Italy's Violation of Faith"

By Dr. von Bethmann-Hollweg, German Imperial Chancellor.

[Speech in the Reichstag, May 28, 1915.]

When I spoke eight days ago there was still a glimpse of hope that Italy's participation in the war could be avoided. That hope proved fallacious. German feeling strove against the belief in the possibility of such a change. Italy has now inscribed in the book of the world's history, in letters of blood which will never fade, her violation of faith.

I believe Macchiavelli once said that a war which is necessary is also just. Viewed from this sober, practical, political standpoint, which leaves out of account all moral considerations, has this war been necessary? Is it not, indeed, directly mad? [Cheers.] Nobody threatened Italy; neither Austria-Hungary nor Germany. Whether the Triple Entente was content with blandishments alone history will show later. [Cheers.] Without a drop of blood flowing, and without the life of a single Italian being endangered, Italy could have secured the long list of concessions which I recently read to the House—territory in Tyrol and on the Isonzo as far as the Italian speech is heard, satisfaction of the national aspirations in Trieste, a free hand in Albania, and the valuable port of Valona.

Why have they not taken it? Do they, perhaps, wish to conquer the German Tyrol? Hands off! [Prolonged cheers.] Did Italy wish to provoke Germany, to whom she owes so much in her upward growth of a great power, and from whom she is not separated by any conflict of interests? We left Rome in no doubt that an Italian attack on Austro-Hungarian troops would also strike the German troops. [Cheers.] Why did Rome refuse so light-heartedly the proposals of Vienna? The Italian manifesto of war, which conceals an uneasy conscience behind vain phrases, does not give us any explanation. They were too shy, perhaps, to say openly what was spread abroad as a pretext by the press and by gossip in the lobbies of the Chamber, namely, that Austria's offer came too late and could not be trusted.

What are the facts? Italian statesmen have no right to measure the trustworthiness of other nations in the same proportion as they measured their own loyalty to a treaty. [Loud cheers.] Germany, by her word, guaranteed that the concessions would be carried through. There was no occasion for distrust. Why too late? On May 4 the Trentino was the same territory as it was in February, and a whole series of concessions had been added to the Trentino of which nobody had thought in the Winter.

It was, perhaps, too late for this reason, that while the Triple Alliance, the existence of which the King and the Government had expressly acknowledged after the outbreak of war, was still alive, Italian statesmen had long before engaged themselves so deeply with the Triple Entente that they could not disentangle themselves. There were indications of fluctuations in the Rome Cab-

inet as far back as December. To have two irons in the fire is always useful. Before this Italy had shown her predilection for extra dances. [Cheers and laughter.] But this is no ballroom. This is a bloody battlefield upon which Germany and Austria-Hungary are fighting for their lives against a world of enemies. The statesmen of Rome have played against their own people the same game as they played against us.

It is true that the Italian-speaking territory on the northern frontier has always been the dream and the desire of every Italian, but the great majority of the Italian people, as well as the majority in Parliament, did not want to know anything of war. According to the observation of the best judge of the situation in Italy, in the first days of May four-fifths of the Senate and two-thirds of the Chamber were against war, and in that majority were the most responsible and important statesmen. But common sense had no say. The mob alone ruled. Under the kindly disposed toleration and with the assistance of the leading statesmen of a Cabinet fed with the gold of the Triple Entente, the mob, under the guidance of unscrupulous war instigators, was roused to a frenzy of blood which threatened the King with revolution and all moderate men with murder if they did not join in the war delirium.

The Italian people were intentionally kept in the dark with regard to the course of the Austrian negotiations and the extent of the Austrian concessions, and so it came about that after the resignation of the Salandra Cabinet nobody could be found who had the courage to undertake the formation of a new Cabinet, and that in the decisive debate no member of the Constitutional Party in the Senate or Chamber even attempted to estimate the value of the far-reaching Austrian concessions. In the frenzy of war honest politicians grew dumb, but when, as the result of military events, (as we hope and desire,) the Italian people become sober again it will recognize how frivolously it was instigated to take part in this world war.

We did everything possible to avoid the alienation of Italy from the Triple Alliance. The ungrateful rôle fell to us of requiring from our loyal ally, Austria, with whose armies our troops share daily wounds, death, and victory, the purchase of the loyalty of the third party to the alliance by the cession of old-inherited territory. That Austria-Hungary went to the utmost limit possible is known. Prince Bülow, who again entered into the active service of the empire, tried by every means, his diplomatic ability, his most thorough knowledge of the Italian situation and of Italian personages, to come to an understanding. Though his work has been in vain the entire people are grateful to him. Also this storm we shall endure. From month to month we grow more intimate with our ally. From the Pilitza to the Bukowina we tenaciously withstood with our Austro-Hungarian comrades for months the gigantic superiority of the enemy. Then we victoriously advanced.

So our new enemies will perish through the spirit of loyalty and the friendship and bravery of the central powers. In this war Turkey is celebrating a brilliant regeneration. The whole German people follow with enthusiasm the different phases of the obstinate, victorious resistance with which the loyal Turkish Army and fleet repulse the attacks of their enemies with heavy blows. Against the living wall of our warriors in the west our enemies up till now have vainly stormed. If in some places fighting fluctuates, if here or there a trench or a village is lost or won, the great attempt of our adversaries to break through, which they announced five months ago, did not succeed, and will not succeed. They will perish through the heroic bravery of our soldiers.

Up till now our enemies have summoned in vain against us all the forces of the world and a gigantic coalition of brave soldiers. We will not despise our enemies, as our adversaries like to do. At the moment when the mob in English towns is dancing around the stake at which the property of defenseless Germans is burning, the English Government dared to publish a document, with

the evidence of unnamed witnesses, on the alleged cruelties in Belgium, which are of so monstrous a character that only mad brains could believe them. But while the English press does not permit itself to be deprived of news, the terror of the censorship reigns in Paris. No casualty lists appear, and no German or Austrian communiqués may be printed. Severely wounded invalids are kept away from their relations, and real fear of the truth appears to be the motive of the Government.

Thus it comes about, according to trustworthy observation, that there is no knowledge of the heavy defeats which the Russians have sustained, and the belief continues in the Russian "steam-roller" advancing on Berlin, which is "perishing from starvation and misery," and confidence exists in the great offensive in the west, which for months has not progressed. If the Governments of hostile States believe that by the deception of the people and by unchaining blind hatred they can shift the blame for the crime of this war and postpone the day of awakening, we, relying on our good conscience, a just cause, and a victorious sword, will not allow ourselves to be forced by a hair's breadth from the path which we have always recognized as right. Amid this confusion of minds on the other side, the German people goes on its own way, calm and sure.

Not in hatred do we wage this war, but in anger—[loud cheers]—in holy anger. [Renewed cheers from all parts of the House.] The greater the danger we have to confront, surrounded on all sides by enemies, the more deeply does the love of home grip our hearts, the more must we care for our children and grandchildren, and the more must we endure until we have conquered and have secured every possible real guarantee and assurance that no enemy alone or combined will dare again a trial of arms. [Loud cheers.] The more wildly the storm rages around us the more firmly must we build our own house. For this consciousness of united strength, unshaken courage, and boundless devotion, which inspire the whole people, and for the loyal co-operation which you, gentlemen, from the first day have given to the Fatherland, I bring you, as the representatives of the entire people, the warm thanks of the Emperor.

In the mutual confidence that we are all united we will conquer, despite a world of enemies. [Loud and prolonged applause.]

Why Italy Went to War

By Signor Salandra, Italian Premier

[Speech in the Roman Capitol on June 2, 1915.]

I address myself to Italy and to the civilized world in order to show not by violent words, [cheers,] but by exact facts and documents, how the fury of our enemies has vainly attempted to diminish the high moral and political dignity of the cause which our arms will make prevail. I shall speak with the calm of which the King of Italy has given a noble example, [loud cheers, and shouts of "Long live the King!"] when he called his land and sea forces to arms. I shall speak with the respect due to my position and to the place in which I speak. I can afford to ignore the insults written in Imperial, Royal, and Archducal proclamations. Since I speak from the Capitol, and represent in this solemn hour the people and the Government of Italy, I, a modest citizen, feel that I am far nobler than the head of the house of the Habsburgs. [Loud cheers.]

The commonplace statesmen who, in rash frivolity of mind and mistaken in all their calculations, set fire last July to the whole of Europe and even to their own hearths and homes, have now noticed their fresh colossal mistake, and in the Parliaments of Budapest and Berlin have poured forth brutal invective of Italy and

her Government with the obvious design of securing the forgiveness of their fellow-citizens and intoxicating them with cruel visions of hatred and blood. ["Bravo!"] The German Chancellor said he was imbued not with hatred, but with anger, and he spoke the truth, because he reasoned badly, as is usually the case in fits of rage. ["Hear, hear!" and laughter.] I could not, even if I chose, imitate their language. An atavistic throwback to primitive barbarism is more difficult for us who have twenty centuries behind us more than they have. ["Hear, hear!"]

The fundamental thesis of the statesmen of Central Europe is to be found in the words "treason and surprise on the part of Italy toward her faithful allies." It would be easy to ask if he has any right to speak of alliance and respect for treaties who, representing with infinitely less genius, but with equal moral indifference, the tradition of Frederick the Great and Bismarck proclaimed that necessity knows no law, and consented to his country trampling under foot and burying at the bottom of the ocean all the documents and all the customs of civilization and international law. [Cheers.] But that would be too easy an argument. Let us examine, on the contrary, positively and calmly, if our former allies are entitled to say that they were betrayed and surprised by us.

Our aspirations had long been known, as was also our judgment on the act of criminal madness by which they shook the world and robbed the alliance itself of its closest raison d'etre. The Green Book prepared by Baron Sonnino, with whom it is the pride of my life to stand united in entire harmony in this solemn hour after thirty years of friendship—[prolonged cheers and shouts of "Long live Sonnino!"]—shows the long, difficult, and useless negotiations that took place between December and May. But it is not true, as has been asserted without a shadow of foundation, that the Ministry reconstituted last November made a change in the direction of our international policy. The Italian Government, whose policy has never changed, severely condemned, at the very moment when it learned of it, the aggression of Austria against Serbia, and foresaw the consequences of that aggression, consequences which had not been foreseen by those who had premeditated the stroke with such lack of conscience.

As proof of this statement, Signor Salandra read the following telegram sent by the Marquis di San Giuliano to the Duke of Avarna (Italian Minister in Vienna) on July 25 last:

"Salandra, von Flotow, and myself have had a long conversation. Salandra and I emphatically pointed out to von Flotow that Austria had no right, according to the spirit of the treaty of the Triple Alliance, to make a démarche like that made in Belgrade without coming to an agreement beforehand with her allies."

In effect, [continued Signor Salandra,] Austria, in consequence of the terms in which her note was couched, and in consequence of the things demanded, which, while of little effect against the Pan-Serbian danger, were profoundly offensive to Serbia, and indirectly so to Russia, had clearly shown that she wished to provoke war. Hence we declared to von Flotow that, in consequence of this procedure on the part of Austria and in consequence of the defensive and conservative character of the Triple Alliance Treaty, Italy was under no obligation to assist Austria if, as the result of this démarche, she found herself at war with Russia, because any European war would in such an event be the consequence of the act of provocation and aggression committed by Austria.

The Italian Government on July 27 and 28 emphasized in clear and unmistakable language to Berlin and Vienna the question of the cession of the Italian provinces subject to Austria, and we declared that if we did not obtain adequate compensation the Triple Alliance would have been irreparably broken. [Loud and prolonged cheers.] Impartial history will say that Austria, having found Italy in July, 1913, and in October, 1913, hostile to her intentions of aggression against Serbia, attempted last Summer, in agree-

ment with Germany, the method of surprise and the fait accompli.

The horrible crime of Serajevo was exploited as a pretext a month after it happened—this was proved by the refusal of Austria to accept the very extensive offers of Serbia—nor at the moment of the general conflagration would Austria have been satisfied with the unconditional acceptance of the ultimatum. Count Berchtold on July 31 declared to the Duke of Avarna that, if there had been a possibility of mediation being exercised, it could not have interrupted hostilities, which had already begun with Serbia. This was the mediation for which Great Britain and Italy were working. In any case, Count Berchtold was not disposed to accept mediation tending to weaken the conditions indicated in the Austrian note, which, naturally, would have been increased at the end of the war.

If, moreover, Serbia had decided meanwhile to accept the aforementioned note in its entirety, declaring herself ready to agree to the conditions imposed on her, that would not have persuaded Austria to cease hostilities. It is not true, as Count Tisza declared, that Austria did not undertake to make territorial acquisitions to the detriment of Serbia, who, moreover, by accepting all the conditions imposed upon her, would have become a subject State. The Austrian Ambassador, Herr Merey von Kapos-Mere, on July 30, stated to the Marquis di San Giuliano that Austria could not make a binding declaration on this subject, because she could not foresee whether, during the war, she might not be obliged, against her will, to keep Serbian territory. [Sensation.]

On July 29 Count Berchtold stated to the Duke of Avarna that he was not inclined to enter into any engagement concerning the eventual conduct of Austria in the case of a conflict with Serbia.

Where is, then, the treason, the iniquity, the surprise, if, after nine months of vain efforts to reach an honorable understanding which recognized in equitable measure our rights and our liberties, we resumed liberty of action? The truth is that Austria and Germany believed until the last days that they had to deal with an Italy weak, blustering, but not acting, capable of trying blackmail, but not enforcing by arms her good right, with an Italy which could be paralyzed by spending a few millions, and which by dealings which she could not avow was placing herself between the country and the Government. [Very loud cheers.]

I will not deny the benefits of the alliance; benefits, however, not one-sided, but accruing to all the contracting parties, and perhaps not more to us than to the others. The continued suspicions and the aggressive intentions of Austria against Italy are notorious and are authentically proved. The Chief of the General Staff, Baron Conrad von Hoetzendorf, always maintained that war against Italy was inevitable, either on the question of the irredentist provinces or from jealousy, that Italy intended to aggrandize herself as soon as she was prepared, and meanwhile opposed everything that Austria wished to undertake in the Balkans, and consequently it was necessary to humiliate her in order that Austria might have her hands free, and he deplored that Italy had not been attacked in 1907. Even the Austrian Minister of Foreign Affairs recognized that in the military party the opinion was prevalent that Italy must be suppressed by war because from the Kingdom of Italy came the attractive force of the Italian provinces of the empire, and consequently by a victory over the kingdom and its politicai annihilation all hope for the irredentists would cease.

We see now on the basis of documents how our allies aided us in the Lybian undertaking. The operations brilliantly begun by the Duke of the Abruzzi against the Turkish torpedo boats encountered at Preveza were stopped by Austria in a sudden and absolute manner. Count Aehrenthal on Oct. 1 informed our Ambassador at Vienna that our operations had made a painful impression upon him and that he could not allow them to be continued. It was urgently necessary, he said, to put an end to them and to give

orders to prevent them from being renewed, either in Adriatic or in Ionian waters. The following day the German Ambassador at Vienna, in a still more threatening manner, confidentially informed our Ambassador that Count Aehrenthal had requested him to telegraph to his Government to give the Italian Government to understand that if it continued its naval operations in the Adriatic and in the Ionian Seas it would have to deal directly with Austria-Hungary. [Murmurs.]

And it was not only in the Adriatic and in the Ionian Seas that Austria paralyzed our actions. On Nov. 5 Count Aehrenthal informed the Duke of Avarna that he had learned that Italian warships had been reported off Saloniki, where they had used electric searchlights—[laughter]—and declared that our action on the Ottoman coasts of European Turkey, as well as on the Aegean Islands, could not have been allowed either by Austria-Hungary or by Germany, because it was contrary to the Triple Alliance Treaty.

In March, 1912, Count Berchtold, who had in the meantime succeeded Count Aehrenthal, declared to the German Ambassador in Vienna that, in regard to our operations against the coasts of European Turkey and the Aegean Islands, he adhered to the point of view of Count Aehrenthal, according to which these operations were considered by the Austro-Hungarian Government contrary to the engagement entered into by us by Article VII. of the Triple Alliance Treaty. As for our operations against the Dardanelles, he considered it opposed, first, to the promise made by us not to proceed to any act which might endanger the status quo in the Balkans, and, secondly, to the spirit of the same treaty, which was based on the maintenance of the status quo.

Afterward, when our squadron at the entrance to the Dardanelles was bombarded by Fort Kumkalessi and replied, damaging that fort, Count Berchtold complained of what had happened, considering it contrary to the promises we had made, and declared that if the Italian Government desired to resume its liberty of action, the Austro-Hungarian Government could have done the same. [Murmurs.] He added that he could not have allowed us to undertake in the future similar operations or operations in any way opposed to this point of view. In the same way our projected occupation of Chios was prevented. It is superfluous to remark how many lives of Italian soldiers and how many millions were sacrificed through the persistent vetoing of our actions against Turkey, who knew that she was protected by our allies against all attacks on her vital parts. [Cheers.]

We were bitterly reproached for not having accepted the offers made toward the end of May, but were these offers made in good faith? [Laughter and cheers.] Certain documents indicate that they were not. Francis Joseph said that Italy was regarding the patrimony of his house with greedy eyes. Herr von Bethmann-Hollweg said that the aim of these concessions was to purchase our neutrality, and, therefore, gentlemen, you may applaud us for not having accepted them. [Loud cheers.] Moreover, these concessions, even in their last and belated edition, in no way responded to the objectives of Italian policy, which are, first, the defense of Italianism, the greatest of our duties; secondly, a secure military frontier, replacing that which was imposed upon us in 1866, by which all the gates of Italy are open to our adversaries; thirdly, a strategical situation in the Adriatic less dangerous and unfortunate than that which we have, and of which you have seen the effects in the last few days. All these essential advantages were substantially denied us.

To our minimum demand for the granting of independence to Trieste the reply was to offer Trieste administrative autonomy. Also the question of fulfilling the promises was very important. We were told not to doubt that they would be fulfilled, because we should have Germany's guarantee, but if at the end of the war Germany had not been able to keep it, what would our position have been? And in any case, after this agreement, the Triple Alliance would have been renewed, but in much less favorable condi-

tions, for there would have been one sovereign State and two subject States, [Murmurs.]

On the day when one of the clauses of the treaty was not fulfilled, or on the day when the municipal autonomy of Trieste was violated by an imperial decree or by a lieutenant's orders, to whom should we have addressed ourselves? To our common superior—to Germany? [Laughter.] I do not wish to speak of Germany to you without admiration and respect. I am the Italian Prime Minister, not the German Chancellor, and I do not lose my head. [Loud cheers.] But with all respect for the learned, powerful, and great Germany, an admirable example of organization and resistance, in the name of Italy I declare for no subjection and no protectorate over any one. [Cheers.] The dream of a universal hegemony is shattered. The world has risen. The peace and civilization of future humanity must be founded on respect for existing national autonomies. [Loud cheers.] Among these Germany will have to sit as an equal, and not as a master. [Loud cheers.]

But a more remarkable example of the unmeasured pride with which the directors of German policy regard other nations is given in the picture which Herr von Bethmann-Hollweg drew of the Italian political world.

Signor Salandra here read the portion of the German Chancellor's speech to which he referred, and added:

I do not know if it was the intention of this man, blinded by rage, personally to insult my colleagues and me. If that was the case, I should not mention it. We are men whose life you know, men who have served the State to an advanced age, men of spotless renown—[loud cheers]—men who have given the lives of their children for their country. [Loud cheers.]

The information on which this judgment was based is attributed by the German Chancellor to him whom he calls the best judge of Italian affairs. Perhaps he alludes to Prince Bülow, with the brotherly desire to shoulder responsibilities upon him. Now, I do not wish you to entertain an erroneous idea of Prince Bülow's intentions. I believe that he had sympathies for Italy, and did all he could to bring about an agreement. But how great and how numerous were the mistakes he made in translating his good intentions into action! He thought that Italy could be diverted from her path by a few millions ill-spent and by the influence of a few persons who have lost touch with the soul of the nation—[loud cheers]—by contact, attempted, but, I hope, not accomplished, with certain politicians. [Loud cheers.]

The effect was the contrary. An immense outburst of indignation was kindled throughout Italy, and not among the populace, but among the noblest and most educated classes and among all the youth of the country, which is ready to shed its blood for the nation. This outburst of indignation was kindled as the result of the suspicion that a foreign Ambassador was interfering between the Italian Government, the Parliament, and the country. [Loud cheers.] In the blaze thus kindled internal discussions melted away, and the whole nation was joined in a wonderful moral union, which will prove our greatest source of strength in the severe struggle which faces us, and which must lead us by our own virtue, and not by benevolent concessions from others, to the accomplishment of the highest destinies of the country. [Loud and prolonged cheers.]

Britain's Cabinet and Munitions

A Coalition Ministry with Lloyd George in a New Office

The formation of a British coalition Cabinet was announced on May 25, 1915, with the creation of a new office of Minister of Munitions, to which Lloyd George was transferred from the Chancellorship of the Exchequer. Below is given the official list of the new Ministers and their offices. In the third column are indicated the same offices as held under the late Liberal Administration. The eight members of the Opposition included in the new Cabinet are indicated by an asterisk:

	Coalition Cabinet.	Late Liberal Cabinet.
Prime Minister	Mr. Asquith	Mr. Asquith.
Minister without portfolio	Lord Lansdowne*	——
Lord Chancellor	Sir S. Buckmaster	Lord Haldane.
President of Council	Lord Crewe	Lord Beauchamp.
Lord Privy Seal	Lord Curzon*	Lord Crewe.
Chancellor of the Exchequer	Mr. McKenna	Mr. Lloyd George.
Home Secretary	Sir J. Simon	Mr. McKenna.
Foreign Minister	Sir E. Grey	Sir E. Grey.
Colonial Secretary	Mr. Bonar Law*	Mr. Harcourt.
India Office	Mr. Chamberlain*	Lord Crewe.
War Office	Lord Kitchener	Lord Kitchener.
Minister of Munitions (new)	Mr. Lloyd George	——
Admiralty	Mr. Balfour*	Mr. Churchill.
Board of Trade	Mr. Runciman	Mr. Runciman.
Local Government Board	Mr. Long*	Mr. H. Samuel.
Duchy of Lancaster	Mr. Churchill	Hon. E. Montagu.
Irish Secretary	Mr. Birrell	Mr. Birrell.
Scottish Office	Mr. McKinnon Wood	Mr. McKinnon Wood.
Agriculture	Lord Selborne*	Lord Lucas.
Works Office	Mr. Harcourt	Lord Emmott.
Education Board	Mr. A. Henderson	Mr. J. A. Pease.
Attorney General	Sir E. Carson*	Sir John Simon.

The reconstruction of the Liberal Ministry that had ruled the British Empire for ten years was announced by Prime Minister Asquith in the following statement in the House of Commons on May 19:

I cannot say more at the moment than that steps are in contemplation which involve a reconstruction of the Government on a broader personal and political basis. Nothing is yet definitely arranged, but to avoid any possible misapprehension I wish here and now—as the House is to adjourn—to make clear to every one three things:

First, that any change that takes place will not affect the offices of the head of the Government or of the Foreign Secretary. [Cheers.] They will continue to be held as they are now. [Renewed cheers.]

The second is, there is absolutely no change of any kind in contemplation in the policy of the country in regard to the continued prosecution of the war with all possible energy, and by means of every available resource. [Loud cheers.]

The third and the last point—one of great importance, not only to my friends behind me, but also of importance no doubt to the Opposition—is this: Any reconstruction that may be made will be for the purpose of the war alone, and is not to be taken in any quarter as any reason for indicating anything in the nature of surrender or compromise on the part of any person or body of persons of their several political purposes and ideals.

That is really as far as I can go at the moment. Nothing definite has yet taken place. When and if an arrangement of

this kind should become an accomplished fact the House will have the fullest opportunity of expressing itself, if it so desires, upon it. [Cheers.]

Mr. Bonar Law, leader of the Opposition, rose immediately after the Prime Minister and said:

I think it only necessary to say on behalf of my friends and myself that at the stage which this has reached our sole consideration in taking into account what further steps should be taken will be what is the best method of finishing the war successfully, and we shall leave out of our minds absolutely all considerations, political or otherwise, beyond the war; while, of course, if such an arrangement should take place, it is obvious our convictions on other subjects will remain unchanged, and will be settled when this danger is over.

CAUSES OF THE CHANGE.

At least four causes which were regarded as contributing to bring about a coalition Ministry, or War Government, are tersely outlined by A. P. Nicholson, Parliamentary correspondent of The London Daily News, as follows:

First—The quarrel between Mr. Churchill and Lord Fisher at the Admiralty, a conflict which began with the undertaking of the Dardanelles expedition. Mr. Churchill carried the War Council on this, and it was undertaken before the Cabinet were informed. The Cabinet were committed to it by the movement of ships before they had any formal notification. Lord Fisher, for his part, considered that the enterprise should not have been begun unless it was supported by land forces, but he also was committed to it. Mr. Churchill was counting on the support of Greek forces on land, a calculation which was not justified by the event.

Lately the quarrel between Lord Fisher and Mr. Churchill proved to be irreconcilable, and Lord Fisher sent in his resignation at the week-end. It is now hoped that he will withdraw his resignation, and the possibility of Mr. Churchill replacing Lord Crewe at the India Office or taking another office is being discussed.

Second—The Cabinet have not been kept informed by Lord Kitchener as to the supplies of high explosive shells sent out to our troops at the front. It is the fact that huge supplies of shells have been and are being sent out, but the proportion of shrapnel is greater than the proportion of high explosive shells, and the army command require that the proportion of high explosive shells should be greater. The fact that the Cabinet have been to some extent in the dark of late on this matter accounts for some apparent discrepancies in recent Ministerial statements.

Third—The Opposition leaders were in possession of the facts as to the high explosive shells, and threatened a debate in the House of Commons, in which their statements should be proved. Such a debate would have gravely undermined the authority of the Government, and, coupled with the tendered resignation of Lord Fisher, and the consequent disappearance either of the First Sea Lord or Mr. Churchill, would in all human probability have led to the disastrous downfall of the King's Government in the midst of the national peril of this war, with consequences most lamentable.

Fourth—There have been on both sides some leading statesmen in favor of a coalition Ministry for the prosecution of the war. They are few, but influential. They perceived that the curious circumstances that had arisen offered a brilliant opportunity to achieve a coalition, and they seized the opportunity. It should certainly be assumed that they were actuated by national motives, since their action may have averted the downfall of one of the greatest Governments of modern times in a time of national peril.

Lloyd George's Appeal to Labor

In a speech at Manchester on June 4, and again on June 5, before the employers and workmen of Lancashire, the new Minister of Munitions announced his policy of discontinuing the methods of red tape that had hindered the mobilization of labor for the production of arms and ammunition. His speech at Lancashire appears below in full.

I have come here not for speech but for business, and I shall only indulge in speech to the extent that speaking is the essential preliminary to business. I placed yesterday before a meeting in Manchester my general views of the position, and I have very little to add to what I then said. But I have come here to appeal for the assistance of the men of Liverpool and the surrounding districts.

The situation is a serious one. It is as grave a situation as this country has ever been confronted with. You need have no special knowledge in order to ascertain that yourselves. A careful, intelligent perusal of the published dispatches in the newspapers must have caused you to come to the conclusion that this country is engaging one of the most formidable enemies that it has ever waged war against.

The issues are great, the perils are great, and nothing can pull us through but the united effort of every man in the British Empire. If you look at what our brave fellows are doing at the front you can see the perils there facing them, the trials, the privations, and they are doing it without flinching. ["Hear, hear!"] Never in the history of this country have our men shown greater courage and endurance than they have during this war. They have done all you can expect of mortal man.

We who are comfortable at home, free from privations, free from danger, let us, each of us, do his part as nobly as those heroes of ours are doing it at the front. [Cheers.] It would be horrible for us to think that those who fall fall through our neglect. It would be a still more ghastly reflection to think that those who fell have given their lives in vain through any slackness or selfishness on the part of any one of us in this land.

Yesterday we had a very important gathering of the employers and the representatives of labor in the great engineering firms in Manchester and other parts of this great county. The response made to our appeal was gratifying. Every man there showed a disposition to do all in his power to assist the country to pull through its difficulties triumphantly, and I feel perfectly certain that the same ready response will be given to the same appeal which I am now about to make to the men of Liverpool and the area surrounding it.

What makes Germany a formidable enemy is not merely its preparation for war, it is not merely its organization, potent as that is, but it is the spirit of every class and section of its population. You have only got to read the papers to see that as far as they are concerned they are all of them subordinating everything to the one great national purpose of winning victory for their Fatherland. That is the least we can do in this country for our land. [Cheers.]

I never doubted where ultimate victory would lie, never for a moment. Nor have I ever underestimated the difficulties. But although I have never doubted where victory would rest, all the same I know that victory will come the sooner for recognizing the difficulties there are.

You cannot remove difficulties without looking at them, and you cannot look at difficulties without seeing them, and that is why the business of a Minister is to point them out, and then to appeal to every section of the community to assist the Government in overcoming the obstacles in the way.

Now we want especially the help of those who can contribute to the increase of the munitions, the equipment, and the material of war. We want the help of employers, we want the help of the workers. We want employers and workmen to feel their responsibility in this

matter. It is my intention to utilize as much as I possibly can the business brains of the community. I hope to get their assistance. Some of them will be at my elbow in London to advise, to counsel, to guide, to inform and instruct and to direct, but I want the help of the business brains in the localities.

This is no time for the usual methods of doing business with the Government. ["Hear, hear!"] I am assuming that Governments in the past have done their business in the most perfect way. This is not a time for the usual roundabout methods of Government business. ["Hear, hear!"]

We have got to trust business men in the localities to organize for us, to undertake the business in the particular locality on our behalf. We want to suspend during the war not merely trade-union regulations, but some Government regulations, too. [" Hear, hear!"]

We want rifles, we want guns, we want shells, fuses, chemicals, and explosives. There is one thing we want less of than usual, and that is red tape. It takes such a long time to unwind—[laughter]—and we can't spare the time. Therefore, the first thing I am going to ask you to do is to organize for yourselves in this locality, and in every other locality, the engineering resources, for the purpose of assisting the Government. You know best what you can do. I know the resourcefulness of the engineers of this country, I know, as the Lord Mayor has already pointed out, their adaptability. I want you to come together and form your own committee of management. Having done that, organize among yourselves the engineering resources of the locality, with a view to producing the greatest result in the way of helping our gallant forces at the front.

That involves a good deal more confidence and trust than usual. We have no time to go through the same processes of examination, of bargaining, as you get usually in the matter of Government contracts. [" Hear, hear!"]

Whatever is done has got to be done with promptitude. That involves our trusting to the integrity, to the loyalty, to the patriotism of the business men to do their best for us in these localities, and do it on fair terms. That is the first thing I have got to say to the business men of the community. I want you to regard this as your business as well as ours. This is not a Government entering into negotiations with you. You are the Government, you have got an interest in this concern, it is your concern, just as much as it is ours, and I want you to help us.

This is a business for all of us, and we want every business man in the community to give his very best to help the old country through in the great emergency and crisis. [Cheers.] That means that you will, as soon as you possibly can, get your committee of management, and, through that committee of management, organize your district for the purpose of producing such material of war, or such other component parts of any particular material of war, you can help us to produce.

I would make the same appeal to labor. I want them also to feel that this is their business. Should Germany win, God help labor! [" Hear, hear!"] It will come out of it worst of all. The victory of Germany will be the victory of the worst form of autocracy that this world has seen for many a century. There is no section of the community has anything like the interest in the overthrow of this military caste which labor has—["Hear, hear!"]—and the more they realize that, difficulties will vanish, obstacles will go, and bickerings and slackness. We have to get to work as one man to help to win a triumph for democratic free government against the autocratic systems of Germany and Austria. [Cheers.]

Now, I should like to say one or two words beyond what I said yesterday on this particular aspect of the business. I have had the privilege, both yesterday and today, of meeting some of the leading representatives of labor in Manchester and Liverpool. And let me say this: As far as the official representatives of organized labor are concerned, we have

had nothing but help. The difficulty has been when you get beyond.

I am not saying a word about trade-union regulations during a period of peace. I have no doubt they were essential safeguards to the protection of labor against what otherwise might have been a serious interference with their rights and with their prospects. But as I have already pointed out to you, Government regulations have to be suspended during the period of the war because they are inapplicable in a time of urgency. The same thing applies to many trade-union regulations and practices. ["Hear, hear!"]

The first I should like to call attention to are those rules which had been set up for very good reasons to make it difficult for purely unsullied men to claim the position and rights of men who have had a training—that is true in every profession.

I happen, my Lord Mayor, to belong to about the strictest trade union in the world—[laughter]—the most jealous trade union in the world. If any unskilled man—and by an unskilled man we mean a man who has not paid our fees—if any man of that sort, however brainy he was, tried to come in and interfere with our business, well, we would soon settle him. [Laughter.] But if during the period of the war there were any particular use for lawyers—[laughter]—if you find that upon lawyers depended the success of the war, and it requires a good deal of imagination; even my Celtic imagination will hardly attain to the exalted height—[more laughter]—but if that were possible for a moment, do you suppose that even the Incorporated Law Society, the greatest and narrowest of all trade unions, could stand in the way of bringing in outside help in order to enable us to get through our work?

Well, now, the same thing applies here. If all the skilled engineers in this country were turned on to produce what is required, if you brought back from the front every engineer who had been recruited, if you worked them to the utmost limits of human endurance, you have not got enough labor even then to produce all we are going to ask you to produce during the next few months. Therefore, we must appeal to the patriotism of the unions of this country to relax these particular rules, in order to eke out, as it were, the skill, to make it go as far as it possibly can go, in order to enable us to turn out the necessary munitions of war to win a real and a speedy triumph for our country in this great struggle.

Now, the same thing applies to the work of women in the factories. There is a good deal of work now done by men, and men only, in this country which is done in France at the present moment in shell factories by women. Why is that? They have not enough men to go round. The men are working as hard as they can, for as long hours as they possibly can support, but in spite of that they would not turn out a sufficient number of shells and other material of war without doling out a good part of the work to women in those factories. Well, now, if there are any trade-union regulations to prevent the possibility of that being done, I hope during the period of war these will be suspended. [" Hear, hear!"]

Now, I am coming to another thing—and I am here to talk quite frankly—it is very much better to do so. [" Hear, hear! "] There must be no deliberate slowing down of work. I have had two or three very painful cases put before me. One was from an arsenal upon which we were absolutely dependent for the material of war. There was a very skilled workman there who worked very hard and who earned a good deal of money. He was doing his duty by the State. He was not merely warned that if he repeated that offense he would be driven out, I am not quite sure that he was not actually driven out.

The same thing happened in another factory. Now, in the period of war this is really intolerable. [" Hear, hear! "] We cannot do with it. We cannot afford it, I say again. There may be reasons, there might be very good reasons, that a policy of that sort should be adopted in the period of peace. I am expressing no opinions about that. I am simply stating the case of this particular emergency,

and I am sure that the only thing in this emergency is that everybody should put forward all his strength in order to help the country through. [Cheers.]

Therefore, I do hope that whatever regulation, whatever practice, whatever custom there may be in existence at the present moment which interferes in the slightest degree in the increase of war material, will be suspended during the period of war.

We have given our undertaking as a Government, and that undertaking has been inherited by a new Government. That is that those safeguards which have been established by trade-union action prior to the war will be restored exactly to the position they were when the war is over, in so far as the action of the Government is concerned. We can only ask for a suspension of these regulations during the period of the war, then afterward the same process of discussion will go on between capital and labor as has gone on, I have no doubt, during the last fifty or one hundred years.

Those are two or three of the things which I wanted to put. The lives of our men at the front depend upon the amount of war material we are able to equip them with, success depends upon it, the lives of men depend upon it. Everybody ought to do his best. There is no room for slackers. ["Hear, hear!"] I don't want to get rid of the slackers, I only want to get rid of their slackness—[laughter and cheers]—and we really must.

In this war every country is demanding as a matter of right—not as a matter of appeal—as a matter of right from every one of the citizens, that he should do his best—[cheers]—and that is one of the problems with which we have to deal in this country. It ought to be established as a duty, as one of the essential duties of citizenship, that every man should put his whole strength into helping the country through. [Cheers.] And I don't believe any section of the community would object to it, if it were made a legal right and duty expected of every one. [Cheers.]

I don't know that I have anything further that I want specially to say to you, because I want to get to business as quickly as possible. Sir Frederick Donaldson of Woolwich Arsenal and Sir Percy Girouard are here to answer any question you may put to them on the business of the meeting. They can inform you on the technical side in a way that I can't pretend to. I can only ask you to help us. I know that appeal to you won't be in vain.

We are engaged in the greatest struggle this country has ever been precipitated into. It is no fault of ours. ["Hear, hear!"] We sought peace, we asked for peace, we avoided all the paths that led to war, but we should have forever been dishonored if we had shirked the conflict when it came. [Cheers.]

Harried into it, we are there to champion the deepest, the highest, the greatest interest ever committed to the charge of any nation. Let us equip ourselves in such a way that Great Britain through the war will be still great, and when the war is over it will be a Greater Britain than ever. [Cheers.]

Balkan Neutrality—As Seen By the Balkans

Inspired Press Opinions from the Capitals of Greece, Bulgaria, and Rumania

THE GREEK VIEW.

From the Embros, an independent daily of Athens, of May 23, 1915.

In what degree the Triple Entente would have respected the rights of Greece had we entered the war before Italy's intervention is demonstrated by the conduct of the Allies toward Serbia. The whole of the Adriatic is now an Italian sea, by virtue of a mutual agreement between the Entente powers and Italy, and only the slightest hope of obtaining Durazzo and Cattero is left to Serbia.

Greece therefore must congratulate herself for holding back and watchfully awaiting developments. It is generally admitted that the European war will last long and that the new ally will not give a decisive turn to its final conclusion. Those, therefore, who have their swords sharpened will be always in time to join. In a struggle that has such a wide field of adventures those who will intervene later will be more welcome than those who have already joined and offered all the strength they possessed. And, lastly, if this war will not show in the end a single victor, then the interests of each one of the participants will be settled by a European congress, where, again, those who will have preserved untouched their forces will be the real victors. * * * Greece is not going to be neutral for a long time; meanwhile she must husband her resources and her strength up to the day when events themselves will force her to enter the war, whether she likes it or not.

A PLEA FOR WAR.

From the Patris, Mr. Venizelos's organ, of Athens, of May 14.

We say in one word that the dangers that threaten us as long as we are neutral are immensely greater than those which we might incur in joining in the war. Greece cannot accept a comparison with Bulgaria and Rumania. Bulgaria, by remaining neutral, is sure to receive the Enos-Midia line, and in case of cooperating with the entente powers she may also be sure of getting Dobrudja and Serbian Macedonia. Rumania, on the other hand, if neutral will take a slice of Transylvania, and if she sides with the Allies in the war, may obtain the whole of Bukowina. But Greece has no alternative. She must by political necessity act in common with the Triple Entente. Of course, by so doing she runs certain risks, but we defy the Government [of Mr. Gounaris] to prove that the dangers threatening Greece are less in the case of a protracted neutrality than in the case of her joining in the war.

GREECE AFTER ITALY'S INTERVENTION.

From the Athenae, the Ministerial paper, of May 25.

Italy has entered the war on the Allies' side, because in the territorial negotiations England and France outbid Austria and Germany. And now does any one imagine that the Triple Entente would hesitate to sacrifice Hellenic interests in favor of Italy even if Greece had been the first to indorse their cause? But have we not seen how the Serbian national aspirations have been sacrificed by the Entente in its effort to secure the cooperation of Italy? And has not the Entente sacrificed Greek interests when Italy was occupying Vallona? Was that a token of sympathy with Greek interests? And did ever the Triple Entente say to Greece that they would not allow

The shaded portion of the map shows how, if Rumania and Bulgaria join the Allies in the field, Germany and Austria-Hungary will be almost entirely surrounded by enemies, the only considerable outlet then remaining being over the Dutch frontier.

Italy to impose her rule on Greek countries and Greek populations? And the twelve Islands of the Aegean, the Dodekanisos—have they not been shown to Italy as a present and reward for her co-operation whether or not Greece joined the Entente?

How could Greece, in such circumstances, abandon her neutrality and risk everything for the Allies?

BULGARIAN VIEWS.

FAVORING NEUTRALITY.

From Narodni Prava, the mouthpiece of the Liberal Party and the Premier of Bulgaria, Mr. B. Radoslavoff, April 1, 1915.

In his statement to the Sobranjie (the Bulgarian Parliament) the Prime Minister yesterday categorically said that those wishing to march with either side

of the belligerents are free to do so, if they are courageous enough and if they are aware of their duties to the interests of the country. * * * The Parliamentary majority and the nation at large are satisfied with the policy of the Government, which consists in preserving a strict neutrality and the peace of the country and in developing meanwhile the patriotic and military spirit of the nation, in order that we may be ready when the time comes to act for the interests of the fatherland.

OPPOSING NEUTRALITY.

From Mir, organ of the Nationalists and of ex-Premier I. Gueshoff, April 26, 1915.

Greece is hoping to profit from the present situation without any sacrifices, or with as few as possible, and Venizelos fell because the Greek people did not wish to give the Allies the assistance he promised them. In order to explain and justify their stand, the Greeks found an argument in the Bulgarian danger. * * * "Do you want us to prove that we are not willing to play the game of Germany? Here are the proofs: We are ready to shield Serbia against any possible attack from Bulgaria and to help you, not against Turkey but against Bulgaria"—that is what the Greeks said and wrote to the Entente powers. And the chief newspapers of the Allies are full of articles trying to prove that the Bulgarians, under the guidance of Germany and Austria, are endangering the Balkan situation. According to what we learn, Germany is straining every nerve to incite an armed conflict between Greece and Bulgaria. In this way Germany hopes to guarantee Turkey against any possible attack from Bulgaria, and thus promote her own interests. To this fact we most earnestly call the attention of the Bulgarian people.

OPPOSING GREECE, SERBIA, AND RUSSIA.

From the Nationalist Kambana of Sofia, May 4, 1915.

Greece and Serbia are, first of all, threatened by Bulgaria, and they both know that they must step out of Bulgarian Macedonia. The struggle for Macedonia does not date from yesterday or today; this is an age-long struggle, which will end only when Bulgaria shall have assured her frontier, when Greece shall return to her peninsula, and when Serbia shall be entirely wiped off the map of the Balkans. Aside from the Greeks and Serbs, Bulgaria constitutes a danger also for Russia, inasmuch as we do not want to be the bridge for any further Russian expansion. Russian diplomacy has done everything in its power to alienate Bulgarian sympathy and to make us unfriendly to Rumania and Turkey; but Russia is today severely punished for her misdeeds. Russia, Serbia, and Greece are finding themselves in a pretty hard position, and are looking for our help. But we must not hurry. Every day that passes weakens our enemies, and the future of Bulgaria becomes daily brighter.

THE RUMANIAN VIEW.

A PRO-GERMAN OPINION.

From the Moldava of Bucharest, organ of the Conservative Party, of April 1, 1915.

For a long time public opinion in Rumania has been lulled into believing that we shall take Transylvania, but not a word has been said about Bessarabia. We do not know why our political predecessors wanted to create a strong barrier in the face of Russia, behind which live, condemned to perpetual isolation, 3,000,000 Rumanians. That territory which lies between the Rivers Pruth and Bug contains a population of more than 5,000,000, of which 3,500,000 are Moldavians; it comprises, also, the mouth of the Danube, fertile lands, an extended shore, and the City of Odessa itself. The budget of that part of Bessarabia which lies between the Rivers Pruth and Dniester amounts to 250,000,000 lei, ($50,000,000,) or nearly as much as half of the entire budget of Rumania. But this wealth is not used for the benefit of the country which produces it. There are neither schools nor highways nor hospitals in Bessarabria. Ignorance and misery are the sole companions of that population, every national sentiment of

which is smothered under the sway of Russian absolutism.

We in Rumania are ignorant of all these facts because our education is such as to make us ignore such vital issues. But only because we do not know ought we forsake Bessarabia? * * * Or is it that the national ideal of Rumania is to live at the mercy of Russia, by abandoning old Moldavia?

FOR A BALKAN UNION.

From Le Journal des Balkans of the Liberal T. Jonescu, of March 13, 1915.

It is of the utmost importance that the Balkan States get together—quite apart from the present circumstances—for their own vital benefit. No matter what the outcome of the present war will be, the duty of the Balkan States is to act in unison, for mutual support and for the preservation of their future.

Under whatever form constituted, the alliance of the Balkan States is essential to the existence of the countries of Southeastern Europe.

To begin with, a Balkan congress must be called together, which should deal principally with the question of organizing a common network of communication, both on rail and water, strictly Balkan in character, which would contribute to a specific political purpose, and at the same time assure to the Balkan countries the monopoly of East Indian trade.

IN CASE OF WAR.

From the Government organ, Indépendance Roumaine, of May 18, 1915.

It is most essential that, should neutral countries decide to enter the European war, their first duty should be that of asking beforehand explicit and definite guarantees from the powers that solicit their assistance. Without such guarantees not one of the Balkan States would be willing to enter the war, because there is not a statesman who in like circumstances would plunge his country into an action which, on the face of it, is only an adventurous enterprise.

Portsmouth Bells

[From Punch.]

A LAZY sea came washing in
Right through the Harbor mouth,
Where gray and silent, half asleep,
The lords of all the oceans keep,
West, East, and North and South.
The Summer sun spun cloth of gold
Upon the twinkling sea,
And little t.b.d.'s lay close,
Stern near to stern and nose to nose,
And slumbered peacefully.
Oh, bells of Portsmouth Town,
Oh, bells of Portsmouth Town,
You rang of peace upon the seas
Before the leaves turned brown.

A grayish sea goes sweeping in
Beyond the boom today;
The Harbor is a cold, clear space,
For far beyond the Solent's race
The gray-flanked cruisers play.
For it's oh! the long, long night up North,
The sudden twilit day,
Where Portsmouth men cruise up and down,
And all alone in Portsmouth Town
Are women left to pray.
Oh, bells of Portsmouth Town,
Oh, bells of Portsmouth Town,
What will ye ring when once again
The green leaves turn to brown?

The dotted line shows the route of the Emden's survivors.

The Wanderers of the Emden

Odyssey of the German Raider's Survivors Told by Captain Muecke, Their Leader

By Emil Ludwig

Special Correspondent of the Berliner Tageblatt.

EL ULA, (via Damascus,) May 7, 11:40 P. M., (Dispatches to the Berliner Tageblatt.)—The Emden caravan arrived here tonight. In advance, Captain Mücke. We were sitting in high expectation when suddenly some Arabs burst in upon us, calling out "They're here!" A small caravan climbed down from the hills; I ran to meet it. A big, blonde fellow had already dismounted, and laughed heartily at my welcome. Completely rigged out in full tropical garb and with an involuntarily full beard and the bluest of seamen's eyes, he stood beside his white camel.

"Bath or Rhine wine?" was my first question.

"Rhine wine," the decided answer.

Then we sat down together in the station master's room, and without more ado Mücke began to narrate his Robinson Crusade by water and land. Between times he opened letters. "Have I the Cross?" he suddenly exclaimed, as he found newspapers that brought him the news that he had been decorated with the Iron Cross, First Class, a Bavarian and a Saxon order. He laughed, got red in the face, and was happy as a child over Christmas presents. "It's really too much," he said, "but I am most pleased over the Saxon order; my father also wore it." In between he asked questions about Captain Müller's fate, about the Carpathians and the Dardanelles, and then threw in scraps about the Emden and the Ayesha. Presently another caravan was reported. "I must ride out to meet my men," he said, and we approached a big caravan. Thirty Bedouins, with the Turkish flag at the head of the column; then, all mixed up, sturdy German blond sailors in disguise, with fez or turban, all on camels, among them dusky, melancholy looking Arabs. "Children!" their Captain called out to them, "you've all got the Cross, and you, Gyssing, have a Bavarian order to boot." "Hurrah!" resounded through the red desert. The German flag was raised. Handshaking all around.

"Children, here is Paradise; come, here flows champagne! And here, these are real railroad tracks!"

"How soon do you want to travel?" a Turkish Major asked.

"In three hours, as quick as possible, through night and day," Captain Mücke replied. Even before he had reported his safe arrival to his parents at home, he files a telegraphic request for a new command before the enemy. Never have I seen so much modesty alongside so much glory as among these fifty Emden men.

"Have you papers here?" one of them asks.

"A heap."

"How is it with Germany?" comes a voice from the crowd.

That's what they all want to know. The men bathe, and then look happily at the special train in the desert.

THE SURVIVORS.

TABUK, (via Damascus,) May 8, noon.—They're still asleep. Last night the joy lasted a long while. But I couldn't help admiring the discipline, which did not break down even on that well-deserved joy day. Earnestness, the basic characteristic of the soldier, lay under all their merriment. As the engine was reported to be ready to start, Mücke called out: "All abroad! Youngsters, only once in

my life do I command a railroad train." Then he and the officers sat down among the sailors. At every station they made jokes, because they were real stations that followed one another automatically and without the danger of adventures!

But all have only one wish—to get quickly back to Germany. Mücke wants to shorten all the festivities in his honor; he longs for nothing more than a command in the North Sea. I go down the aisle of the cars and watch them sleeping —comrades held together by the bonds of nine months on seas and desert, and I think how young they all are. None of them over 30, and their commander only 33. Of the officers, only Lieutenant von Gyssing was on the Emden. Wellman joined the party at Padang, Dr. Lang and Lieutnant Gerdts were taken over from the steamer Choising. This steamer of the North German Lloyd, the third and last ship to carry the expeditionary corps of the Emden, took over the men and provisions on Dec. 16, and on the same evening the Ayesha was sunk. On Jan. 9 they left this ship, too, before Hodeida, in the hope of being able to take the overland route through Arabia. After the loss of two months, on March 17, they again had to take a small sailboat of 75 feet length and beat about the Red Sea amid new adventures. All are in good health and spirits; they're astonished, however, and laugh, because they see themselves featured as heroes in the papers.

CRUISE OF THE EMDEN.

OASIS OF MAAN, 620 Kilometers South of Damascus, May 9.—As we ride through Arabia, Mücke and Lieutenant Gyssing, the only returning Emden officers, narrate:

"We on the Emden had no idea where we were going, as on Aug. 11, 1914, we separated from the cruiser squadron, escorted only by the coaler Markomannia. Under way, the Emden picked up three officers from German steamers. That was a piece of luck, for afterward we needed many officers for the capturing and sinking of steamers, or manning them when we took them with us. On Sept. 10 the first boat came in sight. We stop her. She proves to be a Greek tramp, chartered from England. On the next day we met the Indus, bound for Bombay, all fitted up as a troop transport, but still without troops. That was the first one we sunk. The crew we took aboard the Markomannia. 'What's the name of your ship?' the officers asked us. 'Emden! Impossible. Why, the Emden was sunk long ago in battle with the Ascold!'

"Then we sank the Lovat, a troop transport ship, and took the Kabinga along with us. One gets used quickly to new forms of activity. After a few days capturing ships became a habit. Of the twenty-three which we captured, most of them stopped after our first signal. When they didn't, we fired a blank shot. Then they all stopped. Only one, the Clan Mattesen, waited for a real shot across the bow before giving up its many automobiles and locomotives to the seas. The officers were mostly very polite and let down rope ladders for us. After a few hours they'd be on board with us. We ourselves never set foot in their cabins, nor took charge of them. The officers often acted on their own initiative and signaled to us the nature of their cargo; then the Commandant decided as to whether to sink the ship or take it with us. Of the cargo, we always took everything we could use, particularly provisions. Many of the English officers and sailors made good use of the hours of transfer to drink up the supply of whisky instead of sacrificing it to the waves. I heard that one Captain was lying in tears at the enforced separation from his beloved ship, but on investigation found that he was merely dead drunk. But much worse was the open betrayal which many practiced toward their brother Captains, whom they probably regarded as rivals. 'Haven't you met the Kilo yet? If you keep on your course two hours longer, you must overhaul her,' one Captain said to me of his own accord. To other tips from other Captains we owed many of our prizes. I am prepared to give their names," Captain Mücke added.

"The Captain of one ship once called

out cheerily: 'Thank God, I've been captured!' He had received expense money for the trip to Australia, and was now saved half the journey!

"We had mostly quiet weather, so that communication with captured ships was easy. They were mostly dynamited, or else shot close to the water line. The sinking process took longer or shorter, according to where they were struck and the nature of the cargo. Mostly the ships keeled over on their sides till the water flowed down the smokestacks, a last puff of smoke came out, and then they were gone. Many, however, went down sharply bow first, the stern rising high in the air.

"On the Kabinga the Captain had his wife and youngster with him. He was inclined at first to be disagreeable. 'What are you going to do with us? Shall we be set out in boats and left to our fate?' he asked. Afterward he grew confidential, like all the Captains, called us 'Old Chap,' gave the Lieutenant a nice new oilskin, and as we finally let the Kabinga go wrote us a letter of thanks, and his wife asked for an Emden armband and a button. They all gave us three cheers as they steamed away. 'Come to Calcutta some time!' was the last thing the Captain said, 'and catch the pilots so that those [unprintable seaman's epithet] fellows will feel something of the war, too.'

"A few days later, by Calcutta, we made one of our richest hauls, the Diplomat, chock full of tea—we sunk $2,500,000 worth. On the same day the Trabbotch, too, which steered right straight toward us, literally into our arms.

"But now we wanted to beat it out of the Bay of Bengal, because we had learned from the papers that the Emden was being keenly searched for. By Rangoon we encountered a Norwegian tramp, which, for a cash consideration, took over all the rest of our prisoners of war. Later on another neutral ship rejected a similar request and betrayed us to the Japanese into the bargain. On Sept. 23 we reached Madras and steered straight for the harbor. We stopped still 3,000 yards before the city. Then we shot up the oil tanks. Three or four burned up and illuminated the city. They answered. Several of the papers asserted that we left with lights out. On the contrary, we showed our lights so as to seem to indicate that we were going northward; only later did we put them out, turn around, and steer southward. As we left we could see the fire burning brightly in the night, and even by daylight, ninety sea miles away, we could still see the smoke from the burning oil tanks. Two days later we navigated around Ceylon, and could see the lights of Colombo. On the same evening we gathered in two more steamers, the King Lund and Tyweric. The latter was particularly good to us, for it brought us the very latest evening papers from Colombo, which it had only left two hours before.

"Everything went well, the only trouble was that our prize, the Markomannia, didn't have much coal left. We said one evening in the mess: 'The only thing lacking now is a nice steamer with 500 tons of nice Cardiff coal.' The next evening we got her, the Burresk, brand-new, from England on her maiden voyage, bound for Hongkong. Then followed in order the Riberia, Foyle, Grand Ponrabbel, Benmore, Troiens, Exfort, Grycefale, Sankt Eckbert, Chilkana. Most of them were sunk; the coal ships were kept. The Eckbert was let go with a load of passengers and captured crews. We also sent the Markomannia away because it hadn't any more coal. She was later captured by the English together with all the prize papers about their own captured ships. All this happened before Oct. 20; then we sailed southward, to Deogazia, southwest of Colombo. South of Lakadiven on Deogazia some Englishmen came on board, solitary farmers who were in touch with the world only every three months through schooners. They knew nothing about the war, took us for an English man-of-war, and asked us to repair their motor boat for them. We kept still and invited them to dinner in our officers' mess. Presently they stood still in front of the portrait of the Kaiser, quite astounded. 'This is a German ship!' We continued to keep

still. 'Why is your ship so dirty?' they asked. We shrugged our shoulders. 'Will you take some letters for us?' they asked. 'Sorry, impossible; we don't know what port we'll run into.' Then they left our ship, but about the war we told them not a single word.

"Now we went toward Miniko, where we sank two ships more. The Captain of one of them said to us: 'Why don't you try your luck around north of Miniko? There's lots of ships there now?' On the next day we found three steamers to the north, one of them with much desired Cardiff coal. From English papers on captured ships we learned that we were being hotly pursued. The stokers also told us a lot. Our pursuers evidently must also have a convenient base. Penang was the tip given us. There we had hopes of finding two French cruisers.

"One night we started for Penang. [A graphic narrative of this raid on Penang from the special correspondent of THE NEW YORK TIMES, who was ashore there, appeared in THE NEW YORK TIMES CURRENT HISTORY of March, 1915.] On Oct. 28 we raised our very practicable fourth smokestack—Mücke's own invention. As a result, we were taken for English or French. The harbor of Penang lies in a channel difficult of access. There was nothing doing by night, we had to do it at daybreak. At high speed, without smoke, with lights out, we steered into the mouth of the channel. A torpedo boat on guard slept well. We steamed past its small light. Inside lay a dark silhouette; that must be a warship! But it wasn't the French cruiser we were looking for. We recognized the silhouette—dead sure; that was the Russian cruiser Jemtchug. There it lay, there it slept like a rat. No watch to be seen. They made it easy for us. Because of the narrowness of the harbor we had to keep close; we fired the first torpedo at 400 yards. Then to be sure things livened up a bit on the sleeping warship. At the same time we took the crew quarters under fire, five shells at a time. There was a flash of flame on board, then a kind of burning aureole. After the fourth shell, the flame burned high. The first torpedo had struck the ship too deep because we were too close to it, a second torpedo which we fired off from the other side didn't make the same mistake. After twenty seconds there was absolutely not a trace of the ship to be seen. The enemy had fired off only about six shots.

"But now another ship, which we couldn't see, was firing. That was the French d'Ibreville, toward which we now turned at once. A few minutes later, an incoming torpedo destroyer was reported. He mustn't find us in that narrow harbor, otherwise we were finished! But it proved to be a false alarm; only a small merchant steamer that looked like a destroyer, and which at once showed the merchant flag and steered for shore. Shortly afterward a second one was reported. This time it proved to be the French torpedo boat Mousquet. It comes straight toward us. That's always remained a mystery to me, for it must have heard the shooting. An officer whom we fished up afterward explained to me that they had only recognized we were a German warship when they were quite close to us. The Frenchman behaved well, accepted battle and fought on, but was polished off by us with three broadsides. The whole fight with both ships lasted half an hour. The commander of the torpedo boat lost both legs by the first broadside. When he saw that part of his crew were leaping overboard, he cried out: 'Tie me fast; I will not survive after seeing Frenchmen desert their ship!' As a matter of fact, he went down with his ship as a brave Captain, lashed fast to the mast. Then we fished up thirty heavily wounded; three died at once. We sewed a Tricolor, (the French flag), wound them in it and buried them at sea, with seamen's honors, three salvos. That was my only sea fight. The second one I did not take part in."

Mücke, who had been recounting his lively narrative, partly like an officer, partly like an artist, and not trying to eliminate the flavor of adventure, now takes on quite another tone as he comes to tell of the end of the Emden:

"On Nov. 9 I left the Emden in order

to destroy the wireless plant on the Cocos Island. I had fifty men, four machine guns, about thirty rifles. Just as we were about to destroy the apparatus it reported, 'Careful; Emden near.' The work of destruction went smoothly. The wireless operators said: 'Thank God! It's been like being under arrest day and night lately.' Presently the Emden signaled to us, 'Hurry up.' I pack up, but simultaneously wails the Emden's siren. I hurry up to the bridge, see the flag 'Anna' go up. That means 'Weigh anchor.' We ran like mad into our boat, but already the Emden's pennant goes up, the battle flag is raised, they fire from starboard.

"The enemy is concealed by the island and therefore not to be seen, but I see the shells strike the water. To follow and catch the Emden is out of the question; she's going twenty knots, I only four with my steam pinnace. Therefore, I turn back to land, raise the flag, declare German laws of war in force, seize all arms, set up my machine guns on shore in order to guard against a hostile landing. Then I run again in order to observe the fight. From the splash of the shells it looked as if the enemy had fifteen-centimeter guns, bigger, therefore, than the Emden's. He fired rapidly, but poorly. It was the Australian cruiser Sydney."

"Have you heard?" Mücke suddenly asked in between, "if anything has happened to the Sydney? At the Dardanelles maybe?" And his hatred of the Emden's "hangman" is visible for a second in his blue eyes. Then he continues:

"According to the accounts of the Englishmen who saw the first part of the engagement from shore, the Emden was cut off rapidly. Her forward smokestack lay across the ship. She went over to circular fighting and to torpedo firing, but already burned fiercely aft. Behind the mainmast several shells struck home; we saw the high flame. Whether circular fighting or a running fight now followed, I don't know, because I again had to look to my land defenses. Later I looked on from the roof of a house. Now the Emden again stood out to sea about 4,000 to 5,000 yards, still burning. As she again turned toward the enemy, the forward mast was shot away. On the enemy no outward damage was apparent, but columns of smoke showed where shots had struck home. Then the Emden took a northerly course, likewise the enemy, and I had to stand there helpless gritting my teeth and thinking: 'Damn it; the Emden is burning and you aren't on board!' An Englishman who had also climbed up to the roof of the house, approached me, greeted me politely, and asked: 'Captain, would you like to have a game of tennis with us?'

"The ships, still fighting, disappeared beyond the horizon. I thought that an unlucky outcome for the Emden was possible, also a landing by the enemy on Keeling Island, at least for the purpose of landing the wounded and taking on provisions. As, according to the statements of the Englishmen, there were other ships in the neighborhood, I saw myself faced with the certainty of having soon to surrender because of a lack of ammunition. But for no price did I and my men want to get into English imprisonment. As I was thinking about all this, the masts again appear on the horizon, the Emden steaming easterly, but very much slower. All at once the enemy, at high speed, shoots by, apparently quite close to the Emden. A high, white waterspout showed among the black smoke of the enemy. That was a torpedo. I see how the two opponents withdrew, the distance growing greater between them; how they separate, till they disappear in the darkness. The fight had lasted ten hours.

"I had made up my mind to leave the island as quick as possible. The Emden was gone; the danger for us growing. In the harbor I had noticed a three-master, the schooner Ayesha. Mr. Ross, the owner of the ship and of the island, had warned me that the boat was leaky, but I found it quite a seaworthy tub. Now quickly provisions were taken on board for eight weeks, water for four The Englishmen very kindly showed us the best water and gave us clothing and utensils. They declared this was their thanks for our 'moderation' and 'gen-

erosity.' Then they collected the autographs of our men, photographed them and gave three cheers as our last boat put off. It was evening, nearly dark. We sailed away. After a short address, amid three hurrahs, I raised the German war flag on 'S. M. S. Ayesha.'"

NARRATIVE CONTINUED.

DAMASCUS, May 10.—"The Ayesha proved to be a really splendid ship," Mücke continued, and whenever he happens to speak of this sailing ship he grows warmer. One notices the passion for sailing which this seaman has, for he was trained on a sailing ship and had won many prizes in the regattas at Kiel. "But we had hardly any instruments," he narrated, "we had only one sextant and two chronometers on board, but a chronometer journal was lacking. Luckily I found an old 'Indian Ocean Directory' of 1882 on board; its information went back to the year 1780.

"At first we had to overhaul all the tackle, for I didn't trust to peace, and we had left the English Captain back on the island. I had said: 'We are going to East Africa.' Therefore I sailed at first westward, then northward. There followed the monsoons, but then also long periods of dead calm. Then we scolded! Only two neutral ports came seriously under consideration: Batavia and Padang. At Keeling I cautiously asked about Tsing-tao, of which I had naturally thought first, and so quite by chance learned that it had fallen. Now I decided for Padang, because I knew I would be more apt to meet the Emden there, also because there was a German Consul there, because my schooner was unknown there, and because I hoped to find German ships there and learn some news. 'It'll take you six to eight days to reach Batavia,' a Captain had told me at Keeling. Now we needed eighteen days to reach Padang, the weather was so rottenly still.

"We had an excellent cook on board; he had deserted from the French Foreign Legion. But with water we had to go sparingly, each man received three glasses daily. When it rained, all possible receptacles were placed on deck and the main sail was spread over the cabin roof to catch the rain. The whole crew went about naked, in order to spare our wash, for the clothing from Keeling was soon in rags. Toothbrushes were long ago out of sight. One razor made the rounds of the crew. The entire ship had one precious comb.

"As at length we came in the neighborhood of Padang, on Nov. 26, a ship appeared for the first time and looked after our name. But the name had been painted over, because it was the former English name. As I think, 'You're rid of the fellew,' the ship comes again in the evening, comes within a hundred yards of us. I send all men below deck. I promenade the deck as the solitary skipper. Through Morse signals the stranger betrayed its identity. It was the Hollandish torpedo boat Lyn. I asked by signals, first in English, then twice in German: 'Why do you follow me?' No answer. The next morning I find myself in Hollandish waters, so I raise pennant and war flag. Now the Lyn came at top speed past us. As it passes, I have my men line up on deck, and give a greeting. The greeting is answered. Then, before the harbor at Padang, I went aboard the Lyn in my well and carefully preserved uniform and declared my intentions. The commandant opined that I could run into the harbor, but whether I might come out again was doubtful."

"On the South Coast," interjected Lieutenant Wellman, who at that time lay with a German ship before Padang and only later joined the landing corps of the Emden, "we suddenly saw a three-master arrive. Great excitement aboard our German ship, for the schooner carried the German war flag. We thought she came from New Guinea and at once made all boats clear, on the Kleist, Rheinland, and Choising, for we were all on the search for the Emden. When we heard that the schooner carried the landing corps, not a man of us would believe it."

"They wanted to treat me as a prize!" Mücke now continued. "I said, 'I am a man of war,' and pointed to my four

machine guns. The harbor authorities demanded a certification for pennant and war flag, also papers to prove that I was the commander of this warship. I answered, for that I was only responsible to my superior officers. Now they advised me the most insistently to allow ourselves to be interned peacefully. They said it wasn't at all pleasant in the neighborhood. We'd fall into the hands of the Japanese or the English. As a matter of fact, we had again had great luck. On the day before a Japanese warship had cruised around here. Naturally, I rejected all the well-meant and kindly advice, and did this in presence of my Lieutenants. I demanded provisions, water, sails, tackle, and clothing. They replied we could take on board everything which we formerly had on board, but nothing which would mean an increase in our naval strength. First thing, I wanted to improve our wardrobe, for I had only one sock, a pair of shoes, and one clean shirt, which had become rather seedy. My comrades had even less. But the Master of the Port declined to let us have not only charts, but also clothing and toothbrushes, on the ground that these would be an increase of armament. Nobody could come aboard, nobody could leave the ship without permission. I requested that the Consul be allowed to come aboard. This Consul, Herr Schild, as also the Brothers Bäumer, gave us assistance in the friendliest fashion. From the German steamers boats could come alongside and talk with us. Finally we were allowed to have German papers. They were, to be sure, from August. Until March we saw no more papers.

"Hardly had we been towed out again after twenty-four hours, on the evening of the 28th, when a searchlight appeared before us. I think: 'Better interned than prisoner.' I put out all lights and withdrew to the shelter of the island. But they were Hollanders and didn't do anything to us. Then for two weeks more we drifted around, lying still for days. The weather was alternately still, rainy and blowy. At length a ship comes in sight—a freighter. It sees us and makes a big curve around us. I make everything hastily 'clear for battle.' Then one of our officers recognizes her for the Choising. She shows the German flag. I send up light rockets, although it was broad day, and go with all sails set that were still setable, toward her. The Choising is a coaster, from Hongkong for Siam. It was at Singapore when the war broke out, then went to Batavia, was chartered loaded with coal for the Emden, and had put into Padang in need, because the coal in the hold had caught fire. There we had met her.

"Great was our joy now. I had all my men come on deck and line up for review. The fellows hadn't a rag on. Thus, in Nature's garb, we gave three cheers for the German flag on the Choising. The men on the Choising told us afterward 'we couldn't make out what that meant, those stark naked fellows all cheering!' The sea was too high, and we had to wait two days before we could board the Choising on Dec. 16. We took very little with us; the schooner was taken in tow. In the afternoon we sunk the Ayesha and we were all very sad. The good old Ayesha had served us faithfully for six weeks. The log showed that we had made 1,709 sea miles under sail since leaving Keeling. She wasn't at all rotten and unseaworthy, as they had told me, but nice and white and dry inside. I had grown fond of the ship, on which I could practice my old sailing manoeuvres. The only trouble was that the sails would go to pieces every now and then because they were so old.

"But anyway she went down quite properly, didn't she?" Mücke turned to the officer. "We had bored a hole in her; she filled slowly and then all of a sudden plump disappeared! That was the saddest day of the whole month. We gave her three cheers, and my next yacht at Kiel will be named Ayesha, that's sure.

"To the Captain of the Choising I had said, when I hailed him: 'I do not know what will happen to the ship. The war situation may make it necessary for me to strand it.' He did not want to undertake the responsibility. I proposed that we work together, and I would take the responsibility. Then we traveled together

for three weeks, from Padang to Hodeida. The Choising was some ninety meters long and had a speed of nine miles, though sometimes only four. If she had not accidentally arrived I had intended to cruise high along the west coast of Sumatra to the region of the northern monsoon. I came about six degrees north, then over Aden to the Arabian coast. In the Red Sea the northeastern monsoon, which here blows southeast, could bring us to Djidda. I had heard in Padang that Turkey is allied with us, so we would be able to get safely through Arabia to Germany.

"I next waited for information through ships, but the Choising did not know anything definite, either. By way of the Luchs, the Königsberg, and Kormoran the reports were uncertain. Besides, according to newspapers at Aden, the Arabs were said to have fought with the English. Therein there seemed to be offered an opportunity near at hand to damage the enemy. I therefore sailed with the Choising in the direction of Aden. Lieutenant Cordts of the Choising had heard that the Arabian railway now already went almost to Hodeida, near the Perim Strait. The ship's surgeon there, Docounlang, found confirmation of this in Meyer's traveling handbook. This railway could not have been taken over by the Englishmen, who always dreamed of it. By doing this they would have further and completely wrought up the Mohammedans by making more difficult the journey to Mecca. Best of all, we thought, we'll simply step into the express train and whizz nicely away to the North Sea. Certainly there would be safe journeying homeward through Arabia. To be sure, we hadn't maps of the Red Sea; but it was the shortest way to the foe, whether in Aden or in Germany.

"Therefore, courage! Adenwards!

"On the 7th of January, between 9 and 10 o'clock in the evening, we sneaked through the Strait of Perim. That lay swarming full of Englishmen. We steered along the African coast, close past an English cable layer. That is my prettiest delight—how the Englishmen will be vexed when they learn that we have passed smoothly by Perim. On the net evening we saw on the coast a few lights upon the water. We thought that must be the pier of Hodeida. But when we measured the distance by night, 3,000 meters, I began to think that must be something else. At dawn I made out two masts and four smokestacks; that was an enemy ship, and, what is more, an armored French cruiser. I therefore ordered the Choising to put to sea, and to return at night.

"The next day and night the same; then we put out four boats—these we pulled to shore at sunrise under the eyes of the unsuspecting Frenchmen. The sea reeds were thick. A few Arabs came close to us; then there ensued a difficult negotiation with the Arabian Coast Guards. For we did not even know whether Hodeida was in English or French hands. We waved to them, laid aside our arms, and made signs to them. The Arabs, gathering together, begin to rub two fingers together; that means 'We are friends.' We thought that meant 'We are going to rub against you and are hostile.' I therefore said: 'Boom-boom!' and pointed to the warship. At all events, I set up my machine guns and made preparations for a skirmish. But, thank God! one of the Arabs understood the word 'Germans'; that was good.

"Soon a hundred Arabs came and helped us, and as we marched into Hodeida the Turkish soldiers, who had been called out against us, saluted us as allies and friends. To be sure, there was not a trace of a railway, but we were received very well, and they assured us we could get through by land. Therefore, I gave red-star signals at night, telling the Choising to sail away, since the enemy was near by. Inquiries and determination concerning a safe journey by land proceeded. I also heard that in the interior, about six days' journey away, there was healthy highland where our fever invalids could recuperate. I therefore determined to journey next to Sana. On the Kaiser's birthday we held a great parade in common with the Turkish troops—all this under the noses of the

Frenchmen. On the same day we marched away from Hodeida to the highland."

A PATH OF TRIUMPH.

DAMASCUS, May 10.—The Arabian railway was today transformed into a German Via Triumpharis—military receptions, flowers, flags at the stations, and a feast in the great rug-carpeted tent. Then once more straight through the desert and in the midst of 1,000 curious glances stood these cheerful and serious men and youths, unembarrassed, friendly, plain; amid them always the tallest, Mücke, who conceals his impatience to get to Germany behind every courteous phrase. The German builder of the railway, the German Consul, the German bank director, and officials came riding to meet them. Finally they had garlanded the machine, decked with the Turkish and the Emden's flag. Thus the German train rode into this splendid green and white oasis, into the old city of Arabian fairy tales, Arabian weapons, Arabian powers, all of which are no more fantastic than the adventures which the fifty homecomers told on the journey.

The Wali was waiting and the commanding General; militia by hundreds stood in rows, presenting arms with white gloves; music played in march time they well knew; softly howling Dervishes with their high hats stood in orderly traditional rows and played their wild flute notes, and the long man and his blond, young officers, all in their fantastic Arab headdress, the aghal, came out first; they came with their guns in their right hands.

Now Mücke gave orders to the landing corps of S. M. S. Emden. They marched in rhythmic step. The Turkish company took the Germans into its midst. saw them marching in the dazzling sunlight, these blue-eyed youths of yesteryear, now dressed in khaki and fez, many of them yellow from the malaria from which they had recovered; and as, amid the applause of the Turkish soldiers, they marched into the seraglio I could understand the amazement of the crowd. I have seen men of spirit and men of determination and courage, but I have found few at the same time so modest, so uncorruptible by fame, as these German soldiers. Can there be a greater temptation to lead young officers astray than that of being gazed at with admiration as strange adventurers celebrated as heroes, received as Princes? But not a face changed its expression. If German heroes often lack the handsome intoxication, they are, therefore, shielded also against the seductions of fame. Grateful and well trained they quietly refused the words of praise; and surrounded by the roar of applause, they thought only of their bath for today and their return home for tomorrow.

In the great hall Mücke sat in the centre, between the wall and the Commander, then the officers, and around them the forty-four mates, superior mates, sailors, firemen. At one pillar stood the color bearer with his flag. They took dainty coffee cups into their big hands, and told one another that the Turks were very good to them. None of them wishes to extend the feasts that are everywhere being prepared for them. All want to return to Germany; and when I saw them march away, the German men beneath the Arabian sun, I saw fame and achievement like shadows floating over them. I was seized by pity for those who were at the goal, whose great hour was the way to the goal, and they knew it not. Behind the little comfort company there floated three figures—the three German soldiers whose bodies lie mouldering in the desert.

A FIGHT WITH BEDOUINS.

Damascus, May 11.

Concerning his further experiences, Lieut. Capt. von Mücke told this story:

"Two months after our arrival at Hodeida we again put to sea. The time spent in the highlands of Sana passed in lengthy inquiries and discussions that finally resulted in our foregoing the journey by land through Arabia, for religious reasons. But the time was not altogether lost. The men who were sick

with malaria had, for the most part, recuperated in the highland air.

"The Turkish Government placed at our disposal two 'sambuks' (sailing ships) of about twenty-five tons, fifteen meters long and four meters wide. But, in fear of English spies, we sailed from Jebaua, ten miles north of Hodeida. That was on March 14. At first we sailed at a considerable distance apart, so that we would not both go to pot if an English gunboat caught us. Therefore, we always had to sail in coastal water. That is full of coral reefs, however."

"The Commander," Lieutenant Gerdts said, "had charge of the first sambuk; I of the second, which was the larger of the two, for we had four sick men aboard. At first everything went nicely for three days. For the most part I could see the sails of the first ship ahead of men. On the third day I received orders to draw nearer and to remain in the vicinity of the first boat, because its pilot was sailing less skillfully than mine. Suddenly, in the twilight, I felt a shock, then another, and still another. The water poured in rapidly. I had run upon the reef of a small island, where the smaller sambuk was able barely to pass because it had a foot less draught than mine. Soon my ship was quite full, listed over, and all of us—twenty-eight men—had to sit on the uptilted edge of the boat. The little island lies at Jesirat Marka, 200 miles north of Jebaua. To be sure, an Arab boat lay near by, but they did not know us. Nobody could help us. If the Commander had not changed the order a few hours before and asked us to sail up closer, we would probably have drowned on this coral reef—certainly would have died of thirst. Moreover, the waters thereabouts are full of sharks, and the evening was so squally that our stranded boat was raised and banged with every wave. We could scarcely move, and the other boat was nowhere in sight. And now it grew dark. At this stage I began to build a raft of spars and old pieces of wood, that might at all events keep us afloat.

"But soon the first boat came into sight again. The commander turned about and sent over his little canoe; in this and in our own canoe, in which two men could sit at each trip, we first transferred the sick. Now the Arabs began to help us. But just then the tropical helmet of our doctor suddenly appeared above the water in which he was standing up to his ears. Thereupon the Arabs withdrew; we were Christians, and they did not know that we were friends. Now the other sambuk was so near that we could have swam to it in half an hour, but the seas were too high. At each trip a good swimmer trailed along, hanging to the painter of the canoe. When it became altogether dark we could not see the boat any more, for over there they were prevented by the wind from keeping any light burning. My men asked 'In what direction shall we swim?' I answered: 'Swim in the direction of this or that star; that must be about the direction of the boat.' Finally a torch flared up over there—one of the torches that were still left from the Emden. But we had suffered considerably through submersion. One sailor cried out: 'Oh, pshaw! it's all up with us now; that's a searchlight.' The man who held out best was Lieutenant Schmidt, who later lost his life. About 10 o'clock we were all safe aboard, but one of our typhus patients, Seaman Keil, wore himself out completely by the exertion; he died a week later. On the next morning we went over again to the wreck in order to seek the weapons that had fallen into the water. You see, the Arabs dive so well; they fetched up a considerable lot—both machine guns, all but ten of the rifles, though these were, to be sure, all full of water. Later they frequently failed to go off when they were used in firing.

"Now we numbered, together with the Arabs, seventy men on the little boat, until evening. Then we anchored before Konfida, and met Sami Bey, who is still with us. He had shown himself useful even before in the service of the Turkish Government, and has done good service as guide in the last two months. He is an active man, thoroughly familiar with the country. He procured for us a larger boat, of fifty-four tons, and he himself,

with his wife, sailed alongside on the little sambuk. We sailed from the 20th to the 24th unmolested to Lith. There Sami Bey announced that three English ships were cruising about in order to intercept us. I therefore advised traveling a bit overland. I disliked leaving the sea a second time, but it had to be done."

"Lith is, to be sure, nothing but this," said Mücke, with a sweeping gesture toward the desert through which we were traveling, "and therefore it was very difficult to get up a caravan at once. We remained aboard ship so long. We marched away on the 28th. We had only a vague suspicion that the English might have agents here also. We could travel only at night, and when we slept or camped around a spring, there was only a tent for the sick men. Two days' march from Jeddah, the Turkish Government, as soon as it is received news about us, sent us sixteen good camels.

"Suddenly, on the night of April 1, things became uneasy. I was riding at the head of the column. All our shooting implements were cleared for action, because there was danger of an attack by Bedouins, whom the English here had bribed. When it began to grow a bit light, I already thought: 'We're through for today'; for we were tired—had been riding eighteen hours. Suddenly I saw a line flash up before me, and shots whizzed over our heads. Down from the camels! Form a fighting line! You know how quickly it becomes daylight here. The whole space around the desert hillock was occupied. Now, up with your bayonets! Rush 'em! * * * They fled, but returned again, this time from all sides. Several of the gendarmes that had been given us as an escort are wounded; the machine gun operator, Rademacher, falls, killed by a shot through his heart; another is wounded; Lieutenant Schmidt, in the rear guard, is mortally wounded—he has received a bullet in his chest and abdomen.

"Suddenly they waved white cloths. The Sheik, to whom a part of our camels belonged, went over to them to negotiate, then Sami Bey and his wife. In the interim we quickly built a sort of wagon barricade, a circular camp of camel saddles, rice and coffee sacks, all of which we filled with sand. We had no shovels, and had to dig with our bayonets, plates, and hands. The whole barricade had a diameter of about fifty meters. Behind it we dug trenches, which we deepened even during the skirmish. The camels inside had to lie down, and thus served very well as cover for the rear of the trenches. Then an inner wall was constructed, behind which we carried the sick men. In the very centre we buried two jars of water, to guard us against thirst. In addition we had ten petroleum cans full of water; all told, a supply for four days. Late in the evening Sami's wife came back from the futile negotiations, alone. She had unveiled for the first and only time on this day of the skirmish, had distributed cartridges, and had conducted herself faultlessly.

"Soon we were able to ascertain the number of the enemy. There were about 300 men; we numbered fifty, with twenty-nine guns. In the night, Lieutenant Schmidt died. We had to dig his grave with our hands and with our bayonets, and to eliminate every trace above it, in order to protect the body. Rademacher had been buried immediately after the skirmish, both of them silently, with all honors.

"The wounded had a hard time of it. We had lost our medicine chest in the wreck; we had only little packages of bandages for skirmishes; but no probing instrument, no scissors were at hand. On the next day our men came up with thick tongues, feverish, and crying 'Water! water!' But each one received only a little cupful three times a day. If our water supply was exhausted, we would have to sally from our camp and fight our way through. Then we should have gone to pot under superior numbers. The Arab gendarmes simply cut the throats of those camels that had been wounded by shots, and then drank the yellow water that was contained in the stomachs. Those fellows can stand anything. At night we always dragged out the dead camels that had served as cover, and had been shot. The hyenas came, hunting for dead camels. I shot one of

these, taking it for an enemy in the darkness.

"That continued about three days. On the third day there were new negotiations. Now the Bedouins demanded arms no longer, but only money. This time the negotiations took place across the camp wall. When I declined, the Bedouin said: 'Beaucoup de combat,' (lots of fight.) I replied:

"'Please go to it!'

"We had only a little ammunition left, and very little water. Now it really looked as if we would soon be dispatched. The mood of the men was pretty dismal. Suddenly, at about 10 o'clock in the morning, there bobbed up in the north two riders on camels, waving white cloths. Soon afterward there appeared, coming from the same direction, far back, a long row of camel troops, about a hundred; they draw rapidly near by, ride singing toward us, in a picturesque train. They were the messengers and troops of the Emir of Mecca.

"Sami Bey's wife, it developed, had, in the course of the first negotiations, dispatched an Arab boy to Jeddah. From that place the Governor had telegraphed to the Emir. The latter at once sent camel troops, with his two sons and his personal surgeon; the elder, Abdullah, conducted the negotiations; the surgeon acted as interpreter, in French. Now things proceeded in one-two-three order, and the whole Bedouin band speedily disappeared. From what I learned later, I know definitely that they had been corrupted with bribes by the English. They knew when and where we would pass and they had made all preparations. Now our first act was a rush for water; then we cleared up our camp, but had to harness our camels ourselves, for the camel drivers had fled at the very beginning of the skirmish. More than thirty camels were dead. The saddles did not fit, and my men know how to rig up schooners, but not camels. Much baggage remained lying in the sand for lack of pack animals.

"Then, under the safe protection of Turkish troops, we got to Jeddah. There the authorities and the populace received us very well. From there we proceeded in nineteen days, without mischance, by sailing boat to Elwesh, and under abundant guard with Suleiman Pasha in a five-day caravan journey toward this place, to El Ula, and now we are seated at last in the train and are riding toward Germany—into the war at last!"

"Was not the war you had enough?" I asked.

"Not a bit of it," replied the youngest Lieutenant; "the Emden simply captured ships each time; only a single time, at Penang, was it engaged in battle, and I wasn't present on that occasion. War? No, that is just to begin for us now."

"My task since November," said Mücke, "has been to bring my men as quickly as possible to Germany against the enemy. Now, at last, I can do so."

"And what do you desire for yourself?" I asked.

"For myself," he laughed, and the blue eyes sparkled, "a command in the North Sea."

CAPTAIN MUECKE'S REPORT.

The impressive scene when the intrepid survivors of the Emden crew ended their long and perilous wanderings over the sea and through the desert, and reported once more to their superior naval officer for duty, is described in a dispatch from Constantinople, published in the Berlinger Tageblatt of May 25. The account, written by Dr. Emil Ludwig, the special correspondent whom the paper had sent to meet the Emden men as they emerged from the desert, and filed under date of May 24, reads:

Now the Emden men have at last reached Europe. The many feasts which the German colonies and the Turkish authorities insisted on preparing for the heroes on their way through Asia Minor, in Adana, Tarsus, Bosanti, Konia, and Eskishehir, have improved the condition of the crew, half of whom are still suffering from malaria or its consequences. The officers, to be sure, pressed forward. When the train today drew near to Constantinople, the cordiality and en-

thusiasm waxed to a veritable Whitsuntide fraternizing with the Turks.

The Chief Mayors delivered addresses at every station, or children recited poems amid the Turkish sounds of which only the words "Allaman" (Germans) and "Emden" were intelligible to us. One little child was specially courageous, and recited in German. The flags were wreathed with laurel, and prettily dressed little children brought up to the crew great baskets full of cherries and the first strawberries; but the eyes of the sailors hung more fondly upon beer and tobacco, which they received in large quantities. Even at those stations where the train whizzed past without stopping, Oriental applause floated up to us, and everywhere stood honorary reception committees.

When we at last drew near Haidar-Pasha, the final station of the railroad on the Asiatic side, the railway station seemed to be transformed into a festive hall. Lieut. Capt. von Mücke ordered his men, who had only now transformed themselves again into blue lads, since navy uniforms had been sent to them on the way, to step up, and he led them up to a group of navy officers who, with Admiral Souchon at their head, remained quietly standing.

Then this young "triumphator," who even a moment ago stood amid cheers and a shower of acacia blossoms, bowing and shaking hands on the platform, the man who for fourteen days has been the one man wherever stopped, now steps up in military order to the little Admiral and lowers his sword:

"Beg to report most obediently, Herr Admiral, landing corps of the Emden, 44 men, 4 officers, 1 surgeon."

Admiral Souchon received the announcement just as a daily report. Only then did he press the Lieutenant Captain's hand, bid him welcome, and marched along the front of the company.

No sooner had the column with the Emden flag appeared at the entrance of the station than there burst from 10,000 throats a rousing "Hurrah!" On a torpedo boat that had been waiting for them the crew crossed the Bosporus, in which all ships had decked themselves with flags, and landed on the wide park-like point of the seraglio. There, surrounded by new countless crowds, were the Ministers Enver Pasha and Talaat Bey, the German Ambassador, Freiherr von Wangenheim, and Marshal von der Golz Pasha, the combined navy corps of officers, General Bronsart von Schellendorf, all waiting their arrival.

Amid the strains of the German national anthem, played by the Turkish military band, Lieut. Capt. von Mücke, together with the War Minister, Enver Pasha, paced along the long German and Turkish fronts. Then he led forth his forty-four men and marched, amid new ovations, all through Stamboul, across the great bridge to Galata, to the deck of the steamship General, at the head of his little band, now grown epic, amid the cheers of Byzantium, on which he and his officers had never set foot before—always in the clear blue and sunlight of this war-heavy Whitsuntide day.

But nothing stirred me more deeply on the whole journey than that cold official report of the man who was being celebrated, before his Admiral, and I saw in that lowered swordpoint the symbol of the old and incorruptible Prussian spirit.

Civilization at the Breaking Point

By H. G. Wells.

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THE submarine and aircraft have put a new proposition before the world. It is a proposition that will be stated here as plainly and simply as possible. These two inventions present mankind with a choice of two alternatives, or, to vary the phrase, they mark quite definitely that we are at the parting of two ways; either mankind must succeed within quite a brief period of years now in establishing a world State, a world Government of some sort able to prevent war, or civilization as we know it must break up into a system of warring communities, perpetually on the warpath, perpetually insecure and engaged in undying national vendettas. These consequences have been latent in all the development of scientific warfare that has been going on during the last century; they are inherent in the characteristics of the aircraft and of the submarine for any one to see.

They are so manifestly inherent that even before this war speculative minds had pointed out the direction to which these inventions pointed, but now, after more than three-quarters of a year of war, it is possible to approach this question, no longer as something as yet fantastically outside the experience of mankind, but as something supported by countless witnesses, something which the dullest, least imaginative minds can receive and ponder.

What the submarine and aircraft make manifest and convincing is this point, which argument alone has never been able to hammer into the mass of inattentive minds, that if the human intelligence is applied continuously to the mechanism of war it will steadily develop destructive powers, but that it will fail to develop any corresponding power of decision and settlement, because the development of the former is easy and obvious in comparison with the development of the latter; it will therefore progressively make war more catastrophic and less definitive. It will not make war impossible in the ordinary meaning of the word, the bigger the gun and the viler the lethal implement the more possible does war become, but it will make war "impossible" in the slang use of five or six years ago, in the sense, that is, of its being utterly useless and mischievous, the sense in which Norman Angell employed it and so brought upon himself an avalanche of quite unfair derision. No nation ever embarked upon so fair a prospect of conquest and dominion as the victorious Germans when, after 1871, they decided to continue to give themselves to the development of overwhelming military power. And after exertions unparalleled in the whole history of mankind their net conquests are nothing; they have destroyed enormously and achieved no other single thing, and today they repeat on a colossal scale the adventures of Fort Chabrol and Sidney Street, and are no better than a nation of murderous outcasts besieged by an outraged world.

Now, among many delusions that this war has usefully dispelled is the delusion that there can be a sort of legality about war, that you can make war a little, but not make war altogether, that the civilized world can look forward to a sort of tame war in the future, a war crossed with peace, a lap-dog war that will bark but not bite. War is war; it is the cessation of law and argument, it is outrage, and Germany has demonstrated on the large scale what our British suffragettes learned on a small one, that with every failure to accomplish your end by violent means you are forced to further outrages. Violence has no reserves but further violence. Each failure of the violent is met by the desperate cry, the heroical scream: "We will not be beaten.

THE ARCHDUKE EUGENE

Titular Commander in Chief of the Austrian Forces Operating Against Italy

HIS EXCELLENCY COUNT JOHANN VON BERNSTORFF
German Ambassador to the United States

If you will not give in to us for this much, then see! We will go further." Wars always do go further. Wars always end more savagely than they begin. Even our war in South Africa, certainly the most decently conducted war in all history, got to farm burning and concentration camps. A side that hopes for victory fights with conciliation in its mind. Victory and conciliation recede together. When the German—who is really, one must remember, a human being like the rest of us, at the worst just merely a little worse in his upbringing—when he finds he cannot march gloriously into Paris or Warsaw, then, and only then, does he begin to try to damage Paris and Warsaw with bombs, when he finds he cannot beat the French Army and the British fleet, then, and not till then, does he attack and murder the slumbering civilians of Scarborough and Dunkirk, and lies in wait for and sinks the Lusitania. If war by the rules will not bring success, then harsher measures must be taken; let us suddenly torture and murder our hated enemies with poison gas, let us poison the South African wells, let us ill-treat prisoners and assassinate civilians. Let us abolish the noncombatant and the neutral. These are no peculiar German inquities, though the Germans have brought them to an unparalleled perfection; they are the natural psychological consequences of aggressive war heroically conceived and bitterly thwarted; they are "fierceness"; they are the logical necessary outcome of going to war and being disappointed and getting hit hard and repeatedly. Any military nation in a corner will play the savage, the wildcat at bay, in this fashion, rather than confess itself done. And since the prophetic Bloch has been justified and the long inconclusiveness of modern war, with its intrenchments and entanglements, has been more than completely demonstrated, this is the way that every war in the future is likely to go. Fair and open conquest becoming more and more out of the question, each side will seek to cow, dismay, and subjugate the spirit of the other, and particularly the spirit of the noncombatant masses, by more and more horrible proceedings. "What do you think of that?" said the German officer, with a grin, as he was led prisoner past one of our soldiers, dying in agonies of asphyxiation. To that point war brings men. Probably at the beginning of the war he was quite a decent man. But once he was committed to war the fatal logic of our new resources in science laid hold of him. And war is war.

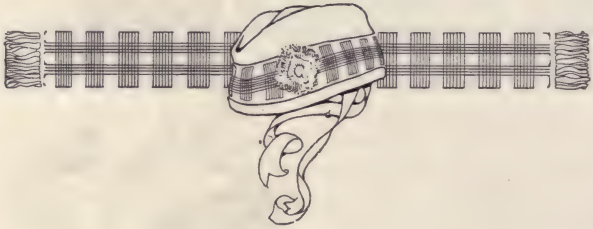
Now there does not appear the slightest hope of any invention that will make war more conclusive or less destructive; there are, however, the clearest prospects in many directions that it may be more destructive and less conclusive. It will be dreadfuller and bitterer; its horrors will be less and less forgivable; it will leave vast sundering floods of hate. The submarine and the aircraft are quite typical of the new order of things. You can sweep a visible fleet off the seas, you can drive an invading army into its own country, but while your enemy has a score of miles of coast line or a thousand square miles of territory left him, you cannot, it seems, keep his aircraft out of your borders, and still less can you keep his submarines out of the sea. You can, of course, make reprisals, but you can not hold him powerless as it was once possible to do. He can work his bloody mischief on your civil life to the very end of the war, and you must set your teeth and stick to your main attack. To that pitch this war has come, and to that pitch every subsequent war will come. The civil life will be treated as a hostage, and as it becomes more and more accessible, as it will do, to the antagonist it will be more and more destroyed. The sinking of the Lusitania is just a sign and a sample of what war now becomes, its rich and ever richer opportunities of unforgettable exasperation. Germany is resolved to hurt and destroy to the utmost, every exasperated militarism will come naturally to such resolves, and only by pain and destruction, by hurting, shaming and damaging Germany to the point of breaking the German spirit can this inflamed and war-mad people be made to relinquish their gigantic aggression upon the world. Germany, that great camp of warriors, must be broken as the Red In-

dians and the Zulus were broken, if civilization is to have another chance, and its breaking cannot be done without unparalleled resentments. War is war, and it is not the Allies who have forced its logic to this bitter end.

Unless this war does help to bring about a lasting peace in the world, it is idle to pretend that it will have been anything else but a monstrous experience of evil. If at the end of it we cannot bring about some worldwide political synthesis, unanimous enough and powerful enough to prohibit further wars by a stupendous array of moral and material force, then all this terrible year of stress and suffering has been no more than a waste of life, and our sons and brothers and friends and allies have died in vain. If we cannot summon enough good-will and wisdom in the world to establish a world alliance and a world congress to control the clash of "legitimate national aspirations" and "conflicting interests" and to abolish all the forensic trickeries of diplomacy, then this will be neither the last war, nor will it be the worst, and men must prepare themselves to face a harsh and terrible future, to harden their spirits against continuing and increasing adversity, and to steel their children to cruelty and danger. Revenge will become the burden of history. That is the price men will pay for clinging to their little separatist cults and monarchies and complete independencies, now. The traffic and wealth of our great and liberal age will diminish, the arts will dwindle and learning fade, science will cease to advance, and the rude and hard will inherit the earth. The Warpath or the World State; that is the choice for mankind.

This lesson of the submarine which destroys much and achieves nothing has ample support in history. There never was so blind a superstition as the belief that progress is inevitable. The world has seen the great civilization of the Western empire give place to the warring chaos of the baronial castles of the ninth and tenth centuries; it has seen the Eastern empire for 500 years decay and retrogress under the militarism of the Turk; it has watched the Red Indians, with rifles in their hands, grimly engage in mutual extermination. Is it still a blind world, doomed to blunder down again from such light and order and hope as we were born to, toward such another millennium of barbaric hates and aimless wars? That is no mere possibility; it is the present probability unless men exert themselves to make it impossible. It is quite conceivable that ours is the last generation for many generations that will go freely about the world, that will have abundance of leisure, and science and free speech and abundant art and much beauty and many varied occupations. We stand about in our old haunts and try to keep on with our old ways of living and speculate when the war will be "over," and when we shall be able to go back to everything just as it was before the war. This war and its consequences will never be "over," and we have not even begun to realize what it has cost us.

The course of human history is downward and very dark, indeed, unless our race can give mind and will now unreservedly in unprecedented abundance to the stern necessities that follow logically from the aircraft bomb and the poison gas and that silent, invisible, unattainable murderer, the submarine.



"Human Beings and Germans"

By Rudyard Kipling.

Addressing 10,000 persons at a recruiting rally in Southport, England, on June 21, 1915, Mr. Kipling spoke as reported in the subjoined cable dispatch to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

THE German went into this war with a mind which had been carefully trained out of the idea of every moral sense or obligation, private, public, or international. He does not recognize the existence of any law, least of all those he has subscribed to himself, in making war against com- and children.

All mankind bears witness today that there is no crime, no cruelty, no abomination that the mind of man can conceive which the German has not perpetrated, is not perpetrating, and will not perpetrate if he is allowed to go on.

These horrors and perversions were not invented by him on the spur of the moment. They were arranged beforehand. Their outlines are laid down in the German war book. They are part of the system in which Germany has been scientifically trained. It is the essence of that system to make such a hell of countries where their armies set foot that any terms she may offer will seem like heaven to the people whose bodies she has defiled and whose minds she has broken of set purpose and intention.

So long as an unbroken Germany exists, so long will life on this planet be intolerable, not only for us and for our allies, but for all humanity.

There are only two divisions in the world today, human beings and Germans, and the German knows it. Human beings have long ago sickened of him and everything connected with him, of all he does, says, thinks, or believes.

From the ends of earth to the ends of the earth they desire nothing more greatly than that this unclean thing should be thrust out from membership and memory of the nations

We have no reason to believe that Germany will break up suddenly and dramatically. She took two generations to prepare herself in every detail and through every fibre of her national being for this war. She is playing for the highest stakes in the world—the dominion of the world. It seems to me that she must either win or bleed to death almost where her lines run today.

Therefore, we and our allies must continue to pass our children through fire to Moloch until Moloch perish.

In Belgium at this hour several million Belgians are making war material or fortifications for their conquerors. They receive enough food to support life, as the German thinks it should be supported, (by the way, I believe the United States of America supplies a large part of that food.) In return they are compelled to work at the point of the bayonet. If they object, they are shot. They have no more property and no more rights than cattle, and they cannot lift a hand to protect the honor of their women.

There has been nothing like the horror of their fate in all history.

If Germany is victorious, every refinement of outrage which is within the compass of the German imagination will be inflicted on us in every aspect of our lives. Realize, too, that if the Allies are beaten there will be no spot on the globe where a soul can escape from the domination of this enemy of mankind.

There has been childish talk that the Western Hemisphere would offer a refuge from oppression. Put that thought from your mind. If the Allies were defeated Germany would not need to send a single battleship over the Atlantic. She would issue an order, and it would be obeyed.

Civilization would be bankrupt, and the

Western world would be taken over with the rest of the wreckage by Germany, the receiver.

So you see that there is no retreat possible. There are no terms and no retreat in this war. It must go forward, and with those men of England, who are eligible for service but who have not yet offered themselves, the decision of war rests.

This is, for us, in truth a war to death against the power of darkness with whom any peace except on our own terms would be more terrible than any war.

Garibaldi's Promise.

By KATHERINE DRAYTON MAYRANT SIMONS, JR.

O Loveland of the Poets,
In the hour of your pain,
Does Garibaldi's promise
To your heroes hold again?

There were fisher lads among them,
In the shirt of peasant red,
And mountaineers from Tyrol,
When Garibaldi said:

"I have no prayer to make you,
For to God alone I kneel!
I have no price to pay you,
For your wage is Austrian steel!

"There is naught of knightly emblem
For the honor of the brave,
And the only land I grant you
Will be length to mark your grave!

"I promise cold and hunger
In the stead of drink and meat!
I promise death, my brothers,
Shall be yours before defeat!"

O Sweetheart of the Nations,
In the hour of your pain,
Does Garibaldi's promise
To Italia hold again?

The Uncivilizable Nation

By Emile Verhaeren.

The Belgian poet whom Maurice Maeterlinck preferred should rank among the Immortals of the French Academy when that honor was bestowed upon himself, has contributed to Les Annales the following account of Germany and the German people. The translation is that appearing on June 11 in The Suffragette of England.

LIFE is not a means; life is an end. That is what we must tell ourselves in order really to live in this world. Hence the obligation to perfect life, to make it high and beautiful, to make a masterpiece of it. Hence too our contempt and hatred for those who wish to tarnish life, either by their thoughts or by their deeds.

Germany behaves as though it were the most backward among nations. And indeed it is in spite of appearances essentially feudal. There is perhaps a German culture, but there is no German *civilization.*

One may be well informed and yet be hardly civilized. A sense of duty to humanity, a sense of pride, a sense of liberty are independent, certainly not of intelligence, but are independent of mere knowledge of accumulated facts.

The German professor is a walking library. He collects, he arranges, he comments. Arrangement and discipline with him take the place of everything else, and they inculcate in him the spirit of dependence and of servility. It is perhaps because he classifies so much that he is so dully submissive. Everything according to his view is an ascending or descending scale. Everything is in its compartment.

How, then, can we be surprised if everything becomes materialized and the mind of each Teuton can lay claim to be nothing more than a sort of stiff and dingy compartment, in a sort of social chessboard.

It has already been said: The German invents almost nothing. He works upon the inventions of other people. In order to invent he would have to possess the spirit of rebellion against that which is. He is incapable of that spirit. He is a being who always accepts.

But as soon as a new discovery has been made by others the German gets hold of it. He examines it patiently. He turns and returns it this way, that way, and every way. He, as it were, criticises it. He thus succeeds in augmenting its power. Moreover, he wishes that it shall serve a practical purpose and be classified accordingly, just as he himself serves and is classified in life.

Never have the Germans opened up a great road in science. They open up only bypaths. Leibnitz and Kant joined their paths to the royal high road of Descartes. Haeckel would hardly have existed if Darwin had not existed. Koch and Behring are dependent upon the labors of Pasteur.

This second-hand science is excellent as a means of attracting mediocre minds. To work, each in his little corner, at solving some secondary question, and to believe one's self a somebody when one is hardly anybody, flatters the universal vanity. All the little provincial universities of Germany can live in the illusion that they are full of learned men—thanks to the German conception of what is learned and serious!

It is a system of regimenting in great barracks of laboratories. It is the absolute negation of the spirit of initiative of spontaneity and it is above all the negation of the spirit of protest and revolt.

If the German people had been truly civilized they would never have maintained silence before the assassination of Belgium. Even among those whose ideas are contrary to the existing political order in Germany, none has risen up against this crime admitted and proclaimed at the beginning of the war in

full Parliament by the Chancellor Bethmann-Hollweg himself. The universal astonishment at such a silence was so great that even today the world has not recovered from it. Apart from Liebknecht the whole of German Social Democracy is dishonored: it is desired to expel the German Socialists from the International Socialist Movement. They excuse themselves; they aggravate their fault. They say:

"We should have been arrested and imprisoned." The world replies:

"Are they then afraid of dying?"

In the German Socialist Party everything has been reduced to method and organized as in the German universities and the German Army.

There were I know not how many Socialist electors; German Socialism was thought to be already triumphant and invincible. People said: "They *are* Germany!"

The German Socialists were held up as an example to all the democracies of the earth.

Those who swore by the German Socialists affirmed that they would devour Kaiserism when it should become necessary. But last August in one hour in the Reichstag it was the German Socialist Party that was devoured!

When recently certain German Socialists visited the *Maison du Peuple* of Brussels they expressed astonishment that the Socialists of Belgium should attach so much importance to the invasion of their country.

"When then binds you to your country?" they asked.

"Honor," was the reply.

"Honor! Honor! that is a very bourgeois ideal," interrupted the Germans.

Yet a true civilization has as its framework precisely honor. Honor is not a bourgeois ideal, but an aristocratic ideal. It was slowly created by the flower of humanity throughout the centuries. When force becomes educated, force opposes itself. It limits and incloses itself. It becomes intelligent and tempered by reserve and by tact. Brutal force thus changes into moral force, power becomes justice.

The more a nation lends itself to such a change, the more it rises from the material plane toward the spiritual plane. The more it enshrines in its institution respect for humanity as a whole, the greater and more civilized it becomes. Such a nation remains faithful to its pledged word; neither interest nor even necessity moves it to commit felony. It loves to protect and not to oppress those who are weaker than itself. It has at heart the work of propagating throughout the world certain principles of social life which certainly are utopian, but are yet beautiful to have before the eyes and in the heart, in order to live not only for the present, but also for the future.

These admirable principles which may never be put wholly into practice, but toward which we must try to grow always nearer, are the expression of the deepest human generosity. They are the radical negation of brutal and primitive force; they incline the world toward a unanimous and serene peace. They have based on faith the infinite perfectibility of conscience. Only a nation of a high degree of civilization can conceive of relations so perfect between human beings and cherish dreams so great.

Germany was never capable of this. The individual German is the least subtle and the least susceptible to education of any in the world.

It has been my lot to take part in certain European capitals in a number of reunions where English, French, Italians, and Germans came together and conversed. They were all, I was assured, distinguished people, of whom their respective nations might be proud. Now, the German was rarely to be seen in an excellent attitude. He was at once embarrassed and arrogant. He lacked refinement. His politeness was clumsy. He was as though afraid of seeming not to know everything. The most eccentric taste seemed to him the best taste. To him to be up to date was to be up to the minute. He would have been wretched if any one in his presence had claimed to be up to the second.

As soon as he had the chance to speak

and got a hearing, he inaugurated, as it were, a course of lectures. Clearness was not at all necessary to him. One rarely understood precisely what he meant. The fastidiousness and subtlety which led others to seek perfection in phrase and thought had little attraction for him. With what heaviness the German diplomat discusses matters at the council table! With what clumsiness the German conqueror plants himself in a conquered country! While France, at the end of half a century, makes herself beloved in Savoy, at Mentone, and at Nice, while in the space of two centuries she assimilates Lille and Dunkirk and Strasburg and Alsace; while England in a few decades unites to her Egypt and the Cape, Germany remains detested in Poland, Schleswig, and in Alsace-Lorraine. Germany is essentially the persona ingrata everywhere it presents itself. It knows only the methods that divide, and not those which unite. Germany makes proclamations that act upon the mind as the frost acts upon plants. Germany knows neither how to attract nor how to charm nor how to civilize, because she has no personal and profound moral force.

Europe under the successive spiritual hegemonies of Athens, Rome, and Paris remained the most admirable centre of human development that has ever been.

Under German hegemony Europe would move toward a sort of gloomy and hard organization under which everything would be impeccable, arranged only because everything would be tyrannized over from above.

For the true Germany—we have today the sad but immovable conviction of this—was never that of Goethe, of Beethoven, nor of Heine. It was that of implacable Landgraves and fierce soldiers.

For thousands of years Germany has let loose its hordes upon Europe; Vandals, Visigoths, Alains, Franks, Herules. Germany continues to do this at the present day. It is Germany's terrible and sinister function.

Only let us not deceive ourselves as to this point in future, Germany is the dangerous nation because it is the uncivilizable nation, because its castles, its fields, and its barracks have remained the inexhausted, and perhaps the inexhaustible, reservoirs of human ferocity.

EMILE VERHAEREN.

Retreat in the Rain.

By O. C. A. CHILD.

Those Uhlans now are working in too near,
Their carbines crackle louder every shot.
I say! our chaps a-plodding in the rear
Are getting it—and most uncommon hot!
It's not much fun retreating in the night,
Through all this mess of rain and reeking slime—
It seems to me this boot's infernal tight!
I must have hurt me when I slipped that time.
Whew! that was close and there's a fellow gone!
I know too well that heavy, sickening thud;
It's bitter hard that we must keep right on
And leave our wounded helpless in the mud.

My foot hurts so that I can hardly see—
I'll have to stop for just a breathing space.
What's that? It's blood!—those fiends have got me now!
It's double time and I can't stand the pace!
I'll use my rifle as a crutch. But, no!
I'll stand and fight; they have me sure as day!
It's death for death—then I will meet it so
And make a Uhlan pay the price I pay.
And here they come! Great God, they're coming fast—
Are almost on me! Ah, I got that one!
Just one more shot—a good one for the last!
Those iron hoofs have crushed me—I am done!

War a Game for Love and Honor

By Jerome K. Jerome

The chivalrous spirit of the present conflict informs this article, which appeared originally in The London Daily News under the title "The Greatest Game of All: The True Spirit of War," and is here reproduced by special permission of Mr. Jerome.

WAR has been described as the greatest of games. I am not going to quarrel with the definition. I am going to accept it. From that point of view there is something to be said for it. As a game it can be respectable; as a business it is contemptible. Wars for profit—for gold mines, for mere extension of territory, for markets—degrade a people. It is like playing cricket for money. A gentleman—man or nation—does not do such things. But war for love—for love of the barren hillside, for love of the tattered flag, for love of the far-off dream—played for a hope, a vision, a faith, with life and death as the stakes! Yes, there is something to be said for it.

Looked at practically, what, after all, does it matter whether Germany or Britannia rules the waves? Our tea and our 'baccy, one takes it, would still be obtainable; one would pay for it in marks instead of shillings. Our sailor men, instead of answering "Aye, aye, Sir," in response to Captain's orders, would learn to grunt "Jawohl." Their wages, their rations would be much the same.

These peaceful Old World villages through which I love to wander with my dogs; these old gray churches round which our dead have crept to rest; these lonely farmsteads in quiet valleys musical with the sound of mother creatures calling to their young; these old men with ruddy faces; these maidens with quiet eyes who give me greeting as we pass by in the winding lanes between the hedgerows; the gentle, patient horses nodding gravely on their homeward way; these tiny cottages behind their trim bright gardens; this lilliputian riot round the schoolhouse door; the little timid things in fur and feather peering anxious, bright-eyed from their hiding places! Suppose the miracle to happen. Suppose the weather-beaten board nailed to the old beech tree warning us in faded lettering as we pass beneath it of the penalties awaiting trespassers were to be superseded by a notice headed "Verboten!" What essential difference would there be—that a wise man need vex his soul concerning? We should no longer call it England. That would be all. The sweep of the hills would not be changed; the path would still wind through the woodland. Yet just for a name we are ready to face ruin and death.

It certainly is not business. A business man would stop to weigh the pros and cons. A German invasion! It would bring what so many of us desire: Conscription, tariff reform. It might even get rid of Lloyd George and the Insurance act. And yet that this thing shall not be, Tory Squire and Laborer Hodge, looking forward to a lifelong wage of twelve-and-six-pence a week, will fight shoulder to shoulder, die together, if need be, in the same ditch. Just for a symbol, a faith we call England—I should say Britain.

Can we explain it even to ourselves? Thousands of Germans come over to England to live. They prosper among us, take their pleasures with us, adapt themselves to our English ways, and learn to prefer them. Thousands of Englishmen make their homes in German cities; find German ways of living, if anything, suit them better. Suddenly there arises the question, shall English ways of life or German ways of life prevail: English or German culture—which shall it be? And the English who have lived contentedly in Germany for years

hasten back to fight for England, and the desire of every German in England is to break up his pleasant home among us and fight to bring all Europe into German ways of thinking.

Clearly the definition is a right one. It is just a game.

Just as all life is a game; joy and sorrow the zest of it, suffering the strength-giving worth of it. Till Death rings his bell, and the game is over—for the present. What have we learned from it? What have we gained from it? Have we played it to our souls' salvation, learning from it courage, manhood? Or has it broken us, teaching us mean fear and hate?

I quote from the letter of a young cavalry officer writing from the trenches:

> Although I can't pretend to like this nightmare, I cannot help realizing that it is doing something for those of us who are going through it that we otherwise would have missed; it brings out either the best or worst in a man. It makes character.

He speaks of a little black dog. They are living in two feet of water, he and his men. The German lines are a hundred yards off; wounds, disease, and death are around them. They are worried about this wretched little dog. He has, it seems, lost his people, and is not to be comforted. It is a curious picture. One sees the straggling line of grimy, mud-stained men. They are there to kill; their own life hangs on a thread. A nightmare of blood and dust and horror, and in the midst of it, growing there as if the soil suited it, this flower of pity for a little fellow-creature.

I quote from another letter:

> I can assure you there is none of that insensate hatred that one hears about out here. We are out to kill, and kill we do at every opportunity. But when it is all over the splendid universal soldier spirit comes over all the men. Just to give you some idea of what I mean, the other night four German snipers were shot on our wire. The next night our men went out and brought one in who was near and getatable and buried him. They did it with just the same reverence and sadness as they do our own dear fellows. I went to look at the grave next morning, and one of the most uncouth-looking men in my company had placed a cross at the head of the grave, and had written on it:
>
> Here lies a German,
> We don't know his name,
> He died bravely fighting
> For his Fatherland.
>
> And under that "Got mitt uns," (sic,) that being the highest effort of all the men at German.

"Got mitt uns." One has the idea that He is—when the game is played in that spirit. God with us both, shaping brotherhood out of enmity.

Bernard Shaw in a moment of inspiration thinks that some way will have to be found enabling England and Germany to live together peaceably for the future. It is an idea that may possibly have occurred to others. Well, perhaps this is the way. Shaw would not approve of it. But then there is so much in human nature that Shaw does not approve of. There are times when one is compelled to a great pity for Shaw. He seems to have got into the wrong world. He is for ever thanking God that he is not as we other men—we Englishmen and Germans, mere publicans and sinners. It is a difficult world to understand, I admit, my dear Shaw, full of inconsistencies and contradictions. Perhaps there is a meaning in it somewhere that you have missed.

Perhaps we have got to fight one another before we understand one another. In the old Norse mythology Love is the wife of Strife; when we come to consider the nature of man, not such an odd union as it appears.

So long as the law runs that in sorrow woman shall bring forth her child; so long as the ground shall yield to the sons of Adam thorns also and thistles, so long will there be strife between man and man. So long, when the last word has been spoken and has failed, will there be war between the nations. The only hope of civilization is to treat it as a game. You cannot enforce a law without a policeman. You can only appeal to a man's honor—to his sporting instincts.

The mistake Germany is making is in not treating war as a game. To do so would be weakness and frivolity. War must be ruthless, must be frightful. It

is not to be bound down by laws human or Divine. And even then she is not logical. Two German officers interned in Holland are released on parole. Taking their country at her word, they hasten back to rejoin their regiments. The German Staff is shocked, sends them back to be imprisoned.

So there really are rules to the game. An officer and gentleman may not lie. If a Sub-Lieutenant may not lie for the sake of his country, then what argument gives the right to the German Government to tear up its treaties, to the German Military Staff to disregard its Ambassador's signature to The Hague Convention?

Come, shade of Bismarck, and your disciples in Germany and other countries, (including a few in my own,) make up your mind. To be ruthless and frightful in a half-hearted, nervous, vacillating fashion is ridiculous. You have either got to go back to the beginning of things, and make war a battle of wild beasts, or you have got to go forward and make it a game—a grim game, I grant you, but one that the nations can play at and shake hands afterward. We have tried the ruthless and frightful method. We used to slaughter the entire population. To shoot a selected few is to court a maximum of contempt for a minimum of advantage. We used to lay waste the land. We did not content ourselves with knocking down a church spire and burning a library. We left not one stone upon another. We sowed salt where the cities had been. We tortured our prisoners before the ramparts. We did not "leave them their eyes to weep with"; we burned them out with hot irons; surely a much swifter means of striking terror! Why not return to these methods? They sound most effective.

They were not effective. God's chosen people — according to themselves — did not annihilate the Philistines, not even with the help of the Ark of the Covenant. The Philistines tightened their belts and acquitted themselves like men. Today the heathen rules in Canaan. Where Mohammed failed the shade of Bismarck is not likely to succeed. Poland is still a sore in European politics. The whole force of the Vatican could not suppress a handful of reformers. All the bloodthirsty edicts of the Revolution could not annihilate a few thousand aristocrats. These things cannot be done. War finishes nothing, it only interrupts. A nation cannot be killed; it can only die. This war is not going to be the end of all things either for Germany or for us. Germany can be beaten to her knees, as she beat France to her knees in 1870; as more than once before that France has beaten her. Later on we have all got to live together in peace, for a while.

Come, gentlemen, let us make an honorable contest of it, that shall leave as little of bitterness behind it as may be. Let us see if we cannot make a fine game of it that we shall be all the better for having played out to the end. From which we shall all come back home cleaner minded, clearer seeing, made kinder to one another by suffering. Come, gentlemen, you believe that God has called upon you to spread German culture through the lands. You are ready to die for your faith. And we believe God has a use for the thing called England. Well, let us fight it out. There seems no other way. You for St. Michael and we for St. George; and God be with us both.

But do not let us lose our common humanity in the struggle. That were the worst defeat of all—the only defeat that would really matter, that would really be lasting.

Let us call it a game. After all, what else is it? We have been playing it since the dawn of creation; and it has settled nothing—but the names of things. Its victories, its defeats! Time wipes them off the slate, with a smile.

I quote from a letter written by the officer who boarded the Emden. He speaks of the German officers: "A thoroughly nice fellow"—"also a good fellow." The order is given that there be no cheering from the Sydney when entering the harbor with her prisoners. Eng-

lish sailormen have fought with German sailormen; have killed a good many of them. It is over. No crowing, gentlemen—over fellow-sailormen. Our writer discusses the fight generally with Captain von Muller. "We agreed it was our job to knock one another out. But there was no malice in it."

We shall do better to regard war as a game—a game to be played for love, for honor, without hatred, without malice. So only shall we profit by it.

THE BELGIAN WAR MOTHERS

By Charlotte Porter

I.

The Dominant Voice, shrieking:
Rancor unspeakable, white-hot wrath
Spring in your furrow, rise in your path!
Harvest you vengeance from Belgian dust,
Ye who have turnèd love unto lust!

Subdominant Voices, murmuring:
Month of Mary, may ye breed
Vengers out of the August seed!
Nourish'd hate of father-foe—
Grow, ye War-babes, grow, grow!

II.

The Dominant Voice:
Anger implacable, brand with fire,
Sear out the soul of the bestial sire!
Impotent render the insolent boor—
Dead to the love and the life to endure!

Subdominant Voices:
Month of Mary, ye shall breed
Vengers out of the August seed,
Cradled hate of father-foe—
Grow, ye War-babes, grow, grow!

III.

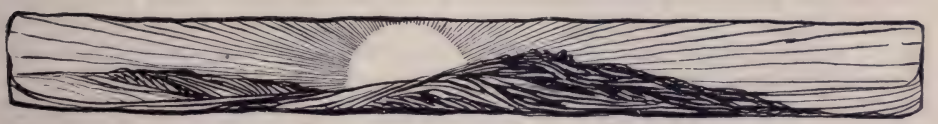
The Dominant Voice:
Miracle-May-month, fathered in death,
Bred in corruption to breathe new breath
Into foul body-dregs, breathe thy life
Into the hate-sired babes of strife!

Subdominant Voices:
Month of Mary, ye shall feed
Saviours from the Judas-deed—
Gods of life to quell that woe.
Grow, ye War-babes, grow, grow!

IV.

The Dominant Voice:
Ruin the arrogant hate of love!
Ruin the haters, God above!
Bless Thou their harvest to quell their sin—
Honor the sinned-against, God within!

All Voices:
Warring nations, bleed, bleed,
But to let the leaders lead!
Springs to come from Falls to go,
Love's lords, Life's lords, show, show!



How England Prevented an Understanding With Germany

By Dr. Th. Schiemann.

The writings of Professor Schiemann of the University of Berlin, who is also the leading editorial writer of the Kreuz Zeitung, are regarded as inspired by the Kaiser's Government, and in some degree by the Kaiser himself. Dr. Schiemann is often spoken of as an intimate personal friend of the Kaiser. The subjoined article was, in the original, sent by Dr. Schiemann to Professor John Bates Clark of the Carnegie Endowemnt for International Peace, with the special request that it be translated and forwarded for publication in THE NEW YORK TIMES CURRENT HISTORY.

AFTER the great crisis of the first world war, which terminated in the Congress of Vienna, the relations of England to the German States were fairly good. People lived in the protecting shade of the great alliance; England was busy digesting the enormous prey which it had seized at the expense of all the other powers that had taken part in the war; Continental Europe was endeavoring, as best it could, to heal the wounds and sores which had remained behind as mementos of oppressive but, despite all, glorious years. France recuperated most rapidly; by the Treaties of Paris there had been recovered from it only part of the abundant harvest which it had gathered in consequence of the victories and the coercive policy of Napoleon; the national soil was still fertile and the national consciousness was still imbued with the "gloire" which the Corsican General, with the help of his own and of foreign troops, had won for the French name. The great disturbances of world peace that marked the years 1830, 1854, and 1870 were attributable to an incessant pursuit of new "gloire," to which all other aims were subordinate. Parallel with this French striving for new "gloire" was England's endeavor to keep the Continent in a feverish condition; this was the policy of Lord Palmerston, and with it was combined a hysterical fear of attack on the part of possible enemies that were thought to exist in Russia, and especially in France. At the same time an arrogant challenge was constantly held forth to all the nations of the earth, and an almost uninterrupted war was carried on against the small States adjoining England's colonies in Asia and Africa. Between the years 1856 and 1900 England waged no less than thirty-four such wars, and by so doing acquired 4,000,000 square miles of land and 57,000,000 subjects. In Europe after the year 1815 England, for the most part, kept peace; the Crimean war, which was a coalition war, constitutes an exception, and it was not England's fault that Prussia, too, was not drawn into that war, which concerned a specifically English interest. At that time English threats were quite as numerous as they were in the year 1863, when The Daily News declared King William I. an outlaw, and The Daily Mail proclaimed for him the fate of Charles I. The cause of this, however, was that in London it was looked upon as an interference with English interests that Bismarck, by his attitude during the Polish insurrection, had prevented the effectuation of a coalition directed against Russia. During the war of 1864 over Schleswig-Holstein the threats were renewed, and even then we began to hear the watchwords with which public opinion in England for a decade has been mobilized against us: A Germany organized on a military basis, and with a fleet at its command besides, indicates that the goal of that State's policy, even more than in the case of France, is world rule. At that time, too, however, France and Russia were regarded by English war makers as the country's real

enemies, and this conviction, rather than ideal considerations of any kind whatsoever, accounts for the fact that in the years 1870 and 1871 English policy followed a neutral course. England wished to see France weakened, had not foreseen Germany's great success, and had reserved for future opportunities the settlement of accounts with Russia, its very annoying rival in Asia.

In other respects, however, Bismarck was by no means satisfied with the way in which England pursued its policy of "neutrality." He had expected, at least, that the English would condemn the war, begun, as it was, in such a criminal manner, and not that they would carry on with France a flourishing trade in weapons. "It is a surprising fact, pregnant with warning," he wrote in May, 1874, "that Mr. Gladstone succeeded so easily in holding the country to an attitude directly opposed to the traditional hostility of the English masses toward France." He had all the more reason to expect a different attitude in view of the fact that, as was well known in England, it had been out of regard for England that Bismarck in December, 1870, had refused an offer of peace from Thiers, which rested on the condition that Belgium should be united to France under the rule of King Leopold. After the battle of Sedan Lord Odo Russell and Disraeli aroused the fears of the English people over the possibility of a German invasion; but Bismarck, nevertheless, was thinking of an English-German alliance, which, on account of the blood relationship of the two dynasties, was by no means impracticable, and which to Queen Victoria would have seemed a natural combination. Subsequently, in the years 1873 and 1874, Bismarck negotiated with Lord Odo Russell in Berlin regarding a German-English alliance, and through Münster he also took up the matter with Disraeli, who denied very emphatically that he had French sympathies. Nothing, he said, was more incorrect. The two peoples, he alleged further, who alone could proceed hand in hand, and who must become more and more cognizant of that fact, were Germany and England. The power of France, he added, was on the wane, a fact regarding which the demoralization of the empire, the decrease of population, and the course of recent events left no room for doubt. Notwithstanding Disraeli's views, however, the alliance with England, as is well known, was never formed. The most serious obstacle was created by the fact that party government in England rendered binding obligations extraordinarily difficult. Then came all sorts of pinpricks, as, for instance, Derby's advocacy in the year 1875 of Gortchakoff's famous rescue campaign. But despite all Bismarck held fast to the idea of bringing about closer relations with England, and the formation of the alliance with Austria-Hungary confirmed him in that purpose. "We shall have to adjust our attitude more and more," he wrote to Schweinitz in March, 1880, "with the object of increasing the security of our relations with Austria and England." It was this political desire that prompted him to reject a Russian proposal to unite the four Eastern powers in a common protest against England's isolated procedure in connection with the occupation of Egypt. He wished to prevent England from being humiliated by a prearranged coalition. A letter from Bismarck to Salisbury (July 8, 1885) has been preserved, which is very characteristic of this friendly attitude of German policy. "As to politics," he writes, "I have not the slightest doubt that the traditional friendly relations between the two dynasties, as well as between the two nations, will give sufficient security for settling every existing or arising question in a conciliatory way."

With respect to the question of the Egyptian loan that was being discussed at that time, as well as with respect to the burning Afghan question, Bismarck adhered tenaciously to this policy, and later on, too, he was determined to spin the threads further. In the latter part of the Autumn of 1887 an exchange of letters again took place between Lord Salisbury and Prince Bismarck, wherein the latter gave expression to the idea

that Austria and England were the natural allies of Germany. If they were opposed to an alliance it would be necessary for Germany to alter its policy entirely and to think about establishing more intimate relations with Russia. This, properly considered, was an invitation to enter into negotiations regarding an alliance treaty. But Salisbury, who hoped for a conflict of the Continental powers which would insure England's position of power for another generation, answered evasively, and Bismarck justly regarded his reply as a rejection. But such a conflict did not arise. The menacing danger brought about by Alexander III. was overcome by the publication of the German-Austrian treaty of alliance. Even then, however, Bismarck did not give up the idea of bringing about closer relations with England. In December, 1888, he wrote: "The promotion of common feeling with England is primo loco to be encouraged." If Bismarck had left behind a political testament this sentence would in all probability be contained in it. Such was also the attitude which our Emperor has consistently maintained from his accession to the throne until the outbreak of the present war. He was a favorite of the old Queen, and the treaty signed on July 1, 1890, whereby we obtained possession of Heligoland by relinquishing our claims to Witu and Zanzibar, was an outward sign of an honest endeavor on the part of both nations to bring about closer mutual relations. The mutual limitation of spheres of interest in East and West Africa in the year 1893, and the friendly adjustment of the conflict which Article III. of the British Agreement with the Congo Free State of the year 1894 had threatened to bring about, might be considered additional symptoms of this general disposition or tendency.

The year 1896, however, brought disturbances; the telegram which Emperor William on Jan. 5 sent to President Kruger, after the predatory invasion of Dr. Jameson had been fortunately repelled, was received very unfavorably in England, and led to demonstrations on the part of the British fleet, which, although they had a very provocative character, remained finally without lasting effect. The impression was created, however, that public opinion in England was very easily excited; it saw itself disturbed in the execution of a thoroughly considered political plan, and, as it were, caught in flagranti. But the fact that there were still deeper reasons for a gradually increasing mistrust of Germany is brought to light by Wilson's book, published in 1896, which, under the title "Made in Germany," developed a program of battle against Germany's rapidly growing economic power. Since then all steps taken by Germany in the pursuit of its internal as well as its external policy have been viewed with extraordinary disapprobation on the part of England. The adoption of our Naval bill by the Reichstag on March 28, 1898, the foundation of the Naval League two days later, the new East-Asiatic policy of Germany, which in the leasing of Kiao-Chau was exemplified in a manner not at all to the liking of the English politicians, the Emperor's trip to the Orient, which led to friendly relations between Turkey and Germany—all this was looked upon with the more displeasure in view of the fact that Emperor William in the Summer of 1895 had emphatically rejected a plan, proposed to him by Lord Salisbury, to divide up Turkey. In August, 1898, nevertheless, when the Fashoda crisis had strained the relations of England and France to the utmost, and when, at the same time, English-Russian relations were becoming critical in the Far East, an understanding between Germany and England, which might perhaps have the character of an alliance, seemed to be quite possible. Secretary of State von Bülow and the English Ambassador, Sir Frank Lascelles, took up the matter very earnestly, but it was impossible to secure from England the assurance that the entire English Government and Parliament would sanction an alliance. Russia warded off the menacing danger of a war with England by means of the well-known proposal which on May 18, 1899,

led to the holding of the Disarmament Conference in The Hague, and Delcassé on Jan. 20, 1899, began, with reference to the Fashoda affair, the policy of retreat, which excluded France from the Nile territory. Then came England's war against the Boers. It is well known how the German Government during this war scrupulously maintained its neutrality (not according to the English method) despite the fact that all the sympathies of the German people were with the Boers in their struggle for freedom. It is not so well known, on the other hand, that the Imperial Government rejected a Russian proposal to form an alliance against England. That, too, was a service for which England has not thanked us. Of the tragedy in South Africa it has retained in mind only one incident, the so-called "Kruger Message," which it regarded as an interference with its right to do violence to a weaker power, figuratively speaking, as a slap in the face.

In the course of the war the old Queen died, and Edward VII. entered upon his fateful reign. Emperor William had gone over to London to attend the funeral of his grandmother, and Prince Henry had accompanied him, so that the dynastic relationship was made most conspicuous. After that the political relations of the two States seemed about to shape themselves most propitiously. Of the fact that the Anglo-Japanese Alliance, concluded on Jan. 30, 1902, was directed against Russia, there was never for a moment any doubt; indeed it was Japan, not England, which took the initiative in bringing it about. On the other hand, the co-operation of English and German war vessels in adjusting the difficulties which both powers had with Venezuela was in complete harmony with the political wishes and convictions of Emperor William, who, like Bismarck at an earlier date, was of the opinion that the interests of the two nations could readily be reconciled. But in England that co-operation resulted in an excited anti-German campaign on the part of the press. The Times, The National Review, The Daily News, The Daily Telegraph, The Daily Express, and other newspapers vehemently attacked the Government for acting conjointly with us, and there can be no doubt that in so doing they gave expression, not to the ideas of the Balfour Ministry, but to the sentiments which, as was well known in those journalistic circles, were held by King Edward. Balfour, in an address which he delivered in Liverpool on Feb. 13, 1903, had opposed with great emphasis the arousing of English public opinion against Germany. "We wish," he said, "to bear in mind an old ideal, namely, that all the nations which stand in the front ranks of civilization should learn to work together in the interest of the whole, and that nothing any longer stands in the way of the realization of this high ideal save those national bitternesses, jealousies, and hostilities. * * * As far as Venezuela is concerned, that is passing over * * * but with respect to the future it fills me with anxiety when I think how easy it is to stir up the fire of international jealousy, and how hard it is to quench it." It was all the harder in view of the fact that the King, from the very beginning of his reign, adhered tenaciously to the political idea of using the old French revanche notion as the cardinal point of English policy.

In April, 1903, the King began a series of political trips to Portugal, Spain, France, and Austria, while Berlin, very strangely, was not visited by him. Each one of these visits resulted in political agreements, into which Vienna alone declined to enter, and which, after a return visit on the part of Loubet, at that time President of the French Republic, and after a surprising visit in Paris on the part of certain members of the English Parliament, led to the significant English-French agreement of April 8, 1904, a treaty which culminated in the balancing of Morocco against Egypt and made it possible for the English Government, as soon as it chose, to regulate the Morocco question in such a way that it would necessarily bring about a conflict between France and isolated Germany. The ally of King Edward was the French Minister of Foreign Affairs, Delcassé, who, on the basis of the agreements

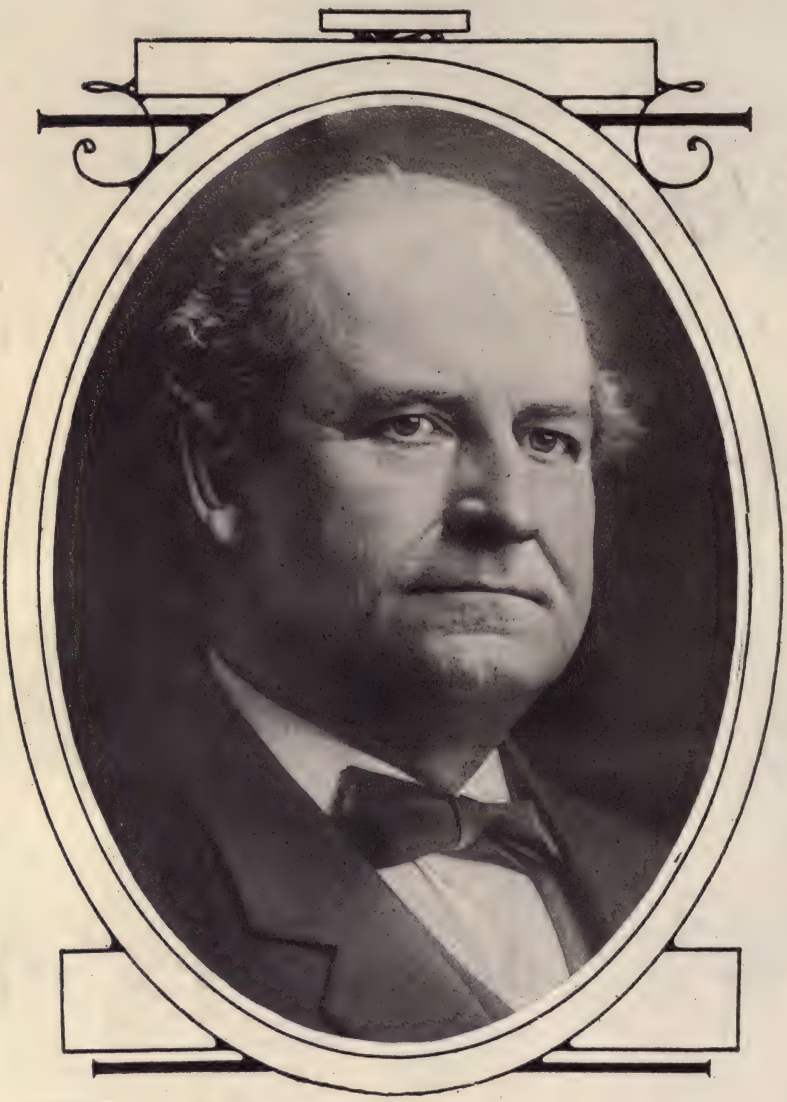
made with England, had likewise concluded treaties with Spain and Italy, which, as he confidently assumed, insured the pénétration pacifique, i. e., the conquest, unhindered by Europe, of Morocco. How this plan presently fell through and how Delcassé was overthrown shall not be related here; on the other hand, attention should be called to the intimidating efforts to which England resorted for the purpose of exerting pressure upon Germany. The first effort of this nature took the form of an address delivered on Feb. 3, 1905, by Arthur Lee, a Civil Lord of the English Admiralty, who threatened the German fleet with destruction; the second effort came after Emperor William had landed in Tangier on March 31 and after Delcassé had been overthrown, and took the form of an appearance of an English fleet before Swinemünde, on which occasion it was officially asserted that the resolution had been adopted back in May, that is, at a time when the intrigues of Delcassé were culminating and when a war between Germany and France seemed likely to break out at any time. For even after Delcassé's overthrow England did not give up the game as lost; it declined to take part in a conference regarding Morocco and considered in all seriousness the question of an invasion. England's naval superiority was so great that the success of such an invasion could not seem doubtful, and in London it was thought that they could even do without the support of France. These plans were finally given up; for some time it was not known very well in London what decisions had been reached in the meeting between the Czar and Emperor William at Bjorkö, and there was a feeling of uncertainty. Accordingly, England also sent delegates to the conference at Algeciras, wherein we were obliged to deal solely, except for the Austrian delegates, with friends of the English-French combination.

The result, therefore, could only be a vague understanding, wherein was concealed the germ of subsequent conflicts. The first consequence, nevertheless, was a relaxation of German-English relations. In December, 1905, a Liberal Ministry had taken the helm, and the idea was conceived of diverting Germany by other means from the pursuit of a "world policy." Sir Edward Grey championed the contention that more intimate relations between England and Germany were, to be sure, desirable, but could only be effected if we swallowed France's Morocco policy unflinchingly, like bitter medicine. For this event Mr. Haldane, the new Minister of War, proposed an understanding between us similar to that which England had reached with France. This constituted the preliminary step toward an endeavor to effect more intimate relations, an endeavor which at first had a non-official character. German Burgomasters visited the City of London and were cordially received by King Edward himself. This was followed, in August, 1906, by a meeting between the King and his imperial nephew, in Homburg vor der Höhe, which, as was to be expected, passed off in a satisfactory manner. It should, nevertheless, be recalled to mind that the King expressed himself very ironically on the subject of The Hague Conference, which, he asserted, was a humbug. And Sir Charles Hardinge, who entered into negotiations with Secretary of State von Tschirschky, also voiced the opinion that the conference should offer no opportunity for serious interference with England's naval policy. On this point English and German views concurred, though from different motives. In the following September the English Minister of War, Mr. Haldane, was our guest. He came for the purpose of studying German military organization, and every conceivable courtesy was extended to him. In the addresses which he delivered after his return to England he referred many times to his sojourn in Berlin. He also made the assertion that the relations of England to France were closer and more intimate than ever before, that to Russia they were friendly, and that to Germany they were better than they recently had been. We now know—a fact which the Liberté also divulged at that time—that an English-French military convention had then been signed with reference to future possibil-

H. I. M. NICHOLAS II.

Czar of All the Russias, and the Grand Duke Alexis Nicholaievitch, the Heir Apparent

(Photo from Underwood & Underwood)



THE HON. WILLIAM JENNINGS BRYAN
Formerly Secretary of State of the United States
(Photo from Bain News Agency)

ities. This fact was immediately denied, but it was merely a question of word quibbling. No convention, to be sure, was actually signed by the Government, but the "inner circle" of the Cabinet undoubtedly agreed that "conversations" between the military authorities of the two nations should take place, and these military conversations were held regularly, just as if a secret alliance existed, until the outbreak of the present war. Parallel with these political preparations were efforts that stood in sharp contrast to the irritating activities carried on without interruption by the above-mentioned anti-German press, which we embrace under the name "Pearson and Harmsworth Press." In England, as well as in Germany, societies were organized with the object of mitigating and, if possible, entirely abolishing the differences and antagonisms which existed between the two nations; these were the so-called "Friendship Committees." In England the Duke of Argyll and Lord Avebury were at the head of such a committee, and a visit made to London by representatives of our press initiated a well-meant movement which found enthusiastic representatives on both sides. English and German clergymen traveled back and forth between England and Germany, representatives of the English press paid a return visit to Germany, English and German workingmen's representatives endeavored to cement feelings of friendship by making personal observations and acquaintances, and in a similar way representatives of the Parliamentary groups of both countries thought and acted, while the leaders of science were working together at congresses held in Berlin and London. In this way were formed a number of valuable personal relations which led to political friendships and resulted in a conscious co-operation toward an honest English-German understanding.

These efforts continued until shortly before the month of August, 1914. One may safely say, moreover, that nobody has interceded more zealously and more constantly for English-German friendship and co-operation and for the removal of the difficulties that are ever cropping up anew than our Emperor. The enthusiasm with which Emperor William was always received in England on occasion of his numerous visits, especially in November and December, 1907, again in 1910, when he went to London to attend the funeral of Edward VII., and again in 1911, when he visited King George, would be absolutely inconceivable hypocrisy, which we regard as out of the question, had it not been the spontaneous expression of popular sentiment. Official English policy, however, followed other channels. As early as the year 1907 Sir Edward Grey had succeeded in securing from Russia an agreement which united England and Russia in co-operation at the expense of Persia, but which, indirectly, also affected German interests, the injury to which was later happily warded off by the Treaty of Potsdam. It soon became evident, moreover, that England, in concluding the agreement relating to Persia, was in reality less concerned about protecting its Asiatic interests than it was about including Russia in that coalition by means of which it expected to put a stop to the "world policy" of Germany and to check the further development of the German fleet. This became very distinctly evident on June 9, 1908, when a meeting took place at Reval between Edward VII. and Nicholas II. At that time it was agreed and decided between Hardinge and Iswolski, not officially, but in an oral exchange of views, that Russia would be ready to proceed hand in hand with England in European affairs (i. e., in the policy directed against Germany) as soon as it had sufficiently recovered from the after-effects of the war with Japan and the revolution. It was thought that this regeneration of Russia's military power would take six or eight years. The scope of this agreement is very obvious. Whereas Germany, during the persistent danger of a war with France over Morocco, had hitherto considered it highly probable that England would maintain a neutral attitude, it was obliged, as soon as England drew nearer to the Dual Alliance, to figure at all events upon a malevolent neutrality and very likely indeed upon open

hostility. Sir Edward Grey, to be sure, who had not yet escaped from the anxiety with which English friends of peace were following the King's trip to Russia, in order to cover up his game, on July 7 had declared in the lower house, in reply to a question directed to the Government, that the visit of the King by no means had any diplomatic significance which might lead to an alliance or to an agreement or to any kind of a convention; no negotiations were being entered into, he asserted, for the purpose of concluding a treaty or a convention with Russia, nor would any such treaty or convention be concluded during the King's visit. But he went on to say that the visit would have some political effect, and it was very true that political effect was desired. "We wish that the visit shall exert a beneficent influence upon the mutual relations of both empires." Public opinion in England allowed itself to be satisfied with this equivocal, oracular statement. In other countries, however, a keener insight was displayed. THE NEW YORK TIMES judged the situation correctly when it said: "It is always a mistake to force a warm friend, who is at the same time a business friend, a blood relative, out of intimate and useful friendship into bitter antagonism, and this mistake, according to the judgment of all non-partisan observers of contemporary history, has been committed by King Edward." When Edward VII. acceded to the throne, it went on to say, England was a warm friend of Germany and of the German Emperor, who had given numerous proofs of his friendship, and was not only willing but anxious to become England's ally; now, however, the guns of the two nations were, so to speak, pointed at each other.

Such, indeed, was the actual case; a determined malevolence on the part of the King, the English statesmen, and that newspaper trust organized by Pearson and Harmsworth, began to mobilize Europe against Germany, and to incense, by means of cable and telegraph, the judgment of the world against our Emperor and against the German policy. No means seemed too infamous if it served this purpose. Over a private letter which Emperor William had sent to Admiral Lord Tweedmouth for the purpose of checking false rumors that were maliciously being spread abroad regarding our naval policy, The Times made a terrible fuss in order to disseminate the notion that Emperor William was interfering with the internal policy of Great Britain with a view to injuring English military power. The excitement of public opinion in England was then utilized by the press for the purpose of creating a sentiment in favor of a concentration of the British fleet in the North Sea. That, however, was certainly done at the instigation of the Government, which was fond of attributing resolutions it had already adopted to the pressure of public opinion throughout the country. The naval manoeuvres which in July, 1908, were carried out in the North Sea, close to our coastline, were participated in by a combination of the canal fleet and the so-called home fleet, and they bore a very provocative and demonstrative character. At this time, moreover, appeared that widely read book by Percival A. Hislam, entitled "The Admiralty of the Atlantic," the expositions of which culminated in the statement that a war between England and Germany was unavoidable, and that the sooner it broke out the shorter it would be and the less money and blood it would cost. All this, however, is rendered easily intelligible by the fact that the Balkan crisis, in consequence of the annexation of Bosnia and Herzegovina, had at that time assumed a very dangerous aspect, and was threatening to bring on a war between Austria and Russia and perhaps a world war, wherein England expected to gain its own particular ends. It was therefore a severe disappointment to English statesmen that Nicholas II., despite the vociferous protests of the Serbs, and despite the decidedly warlike attitude of the Russian people on March 25, 1909, recognized the annexation. The disappointment was all the more severe for the reason that shortly before that time, despite the still menacing conflict over Casablanca, the Morocco difficulties be-

tween Germany and France were also settled. On Feb. 9, 1909, the day on which King Edward made his first visit in Berlin, a German-French agreement regarding Morocco was signed, and in the latter part of May the Casablanca conflict was also adjusted by arbitration to the tolerable satisfaction of both contestants.

It is not too much to say that King Edward, in so far as he was able, did his best to bring about another outcome, and in England this was generally recognized. "There must be a definitive stopping of the King's interference in foreign politics," declared Mr. Sidebotham, M. P., in the Reform Club at Manchester during this crisis. His words were loudly approved by his hearers, but his voice, as well as the voice of other men in favor of establishing good relations with Germany, was drowned without effect under the influence of the panic which from the end of the year 1908 until well on into the Summer of 1909 kept all England in a state of excitement. Watchwords denoting the necessity of taking immediate action against the German fleet, as they were published in The Standard, The Morning Post, and in the great monthly periodicals, The Nineteenth Century, the Fortnightly Review, and The National Review, were echoed in the negotiations of Parliament, and they dominated the Maritime Law Conference held in London. The naval manoeuvres of July, 1909, brought together all three English fleets, and the plan was conceived of summoning the fleets of the larger colonies. A meeting of newspaper publishers, called in London, was designed to carry on propaganda for these ideas, and the Imperial Defense Conference, also held in London, proposed that England should be supported by its large colonies, though, to be sure, with certain reservations. In order to weaken the impression which Russia's recognition of the annexation of Bosnia and Herzegovina had created, the Czar visited the English fleet at Spithead, and for the same reason, probably, the Russian Army manoeuvres in the Fall were considered a rehearsal of the measures that would be adopted to check the advance of an enemy toward St. Petersburg. Finally, on Oct. 23, agreements were made in Racconigi between Iswolski, who was accompanying the Czar on a new trip abroad, and Tittoni, which agreements were to make it possible for Russia, as a Russian newspaper put it, "to liberate itself from the necessity of friendly relations with Germany."

During this excitement in the political atmosphere the Imperial Chancellor, von Bethmann-Hollweg, endeavored to bring about a turn for the better by effecting an understanding with England, in whose attitude he correctly recognized the real cause of the political insecurity. At this point attention must be called to the fundamental difficulty with which all negotiations at that time, and subsequently, were confronted, and necessarily confronted. In Germany it was seen very clearly from the start that the probability of a combined French-Russian attack, for which influential political groups in St. Petersburg, as well as in Paris, were working, was very slight, so long as England's entrance into this anti-German combination could be left out of consideration. What we hoped to insure, therefore, was England's neutrality in the event of war, inasmuch as a German-English alliance, which might have definitely insured world peace, could not be effected. In order to win England over to the idea of neutrality, the Imperial Chancellor declared his willingness to decrease the rate at which our war vessels were being constructed. Both nations, moreover, were to give assurances that neither intended to attack the other, nor actually would make an attack. A second clause in the German proposal formulated the neutrality obligation. These negotiations continued until the Autumn of the year 1909, and were accompanied by the threatening chorus of the English anti-German press: "German dreadnoughts must not be built." [Black and White—"The Writing on the Wall."] The positive refusal on the part of Germany to abandon the naval program adopted by the Reichstag, and the fixed idea designedly fostered by the British Government that we were cherishing the intention of attacking France,

gave England a pretext for rejecting the German efforts to effect an understanding between the two countries. But it is impossible to believe in the honesty of these arguments, which were recently defended, in dialectic perversion of the truth, by Sir Edward Cook in an article entitled "How Britain Strove for Peace." England's aggressive tendency is clearly shown by its above-mentioned agreements with France and Russia, which are today publici juris. Regarding that point there was no self-deception in those English circles which did not belong to the conspiracy; Edward Dicey, one of the most eminent of English publicists, expressed it in point-blank form in February, 1910, when he wrote in The Empire Review: "If England and Germany are friends, the peace of Europe is assured; but if the two nations fall apart, it will be a very unfortunate day for humanity." At that time, when Delcassé tendencies were again asserting themselves in France and a new political storm was brewing in the Balkan countries, King Edward died, on May 6. The hope could now be cherished, the leader of the anti-German policy of England being gone, that the moment had come when it would be possible to effect an understanding.

Dicey again began to argue for peace, the English-German Friendship Committee, the Albert Committee, the Archbishop of Canterbury, The Manchester Guardian, and The Economist advocated this idea, and Prime Minister Asquith found it profitable under these circumstances to strike the note of peace in a report which he submitted to the lower house regarding the frustrated German-English negotiations. But he included in this report false and disquieting statements regarding the German fleet. Herr von Bethmann-Hollweg replied to these statements in the Reichstag, and this led to the resumption of negotiations regarding a permanent political agreement on the basis of the existing German naval program, provided we would decrease our rate of building war vessels, as we had already offered to do. It soon became evident, however, with what little sincerity these negotiations were entered into on the part of England. With the direct encouragement of England, which renewed its promises regarding its attitude in the event of war, France, in the latter part of April, and in outright violation of the treaty, began its advance again Fez; and at the same time, as if it was desired that no doubt should arise regarding the solidarity of England and France, The Fleet Annual published an illustration representing the German high sea fleet under full steam, and under it were printed the words "The Enemy." As a sign of our disapproval of the French violation of the treaty we sent the Panther to Agadir, and in place of German-English negotiations German-French negotiations were commenced. Meanwhile England, cherishing the hope that a German-French war would now break out with certainty, armed itself against us in August and September with might and main. This fact was placed beyond all doubt by the well-known disclosures of Captain Faber, (before his electors in Andover.) The Times said later on that the year 1911 had brought three German-English crises, the first in the third week of July, the second in the week ending on Aug. 19, (that was the time of the enormous and very disillusioning labor strikes,) and the third in September. It is amazing that Sir Edward Cook dared to assert under these circumstances that Great Britain had facilitated the conclusion of the French-German Morocco agreement, which was ratified on March 12, 1912. In the "Open Letter on Foreign Policy," which on Nov. 24, 1911, was submitted to the members of the English Parliament, and was signed with the initials E. D. M. and F. W. H., (which is to be resolved into Edmund D. Morel and Francis W. Hirst,) it is expressly stated by these esteemed and honorable politicians:

"Our attitude was determined exclusively by the ostensible interests of France, which were directly opposed to the interests of British commerce and of British enterprise. * * * From this it follows that alliances, nay, even political agreements, with Continental powers, which may coerce us to take steps that are, at a given moment, harmful to our national interests, should be avoided."

Sir Edward Grey took pains to conceal these facts from the lower house and passed lightly over the disclosures of Faber—when the Imperial Chancellor vigorously opposed him—with skillful legerdemain. In the upper house Grey's policy also met with severe criticism, and from his declarations, as well as from those of Lloyd George made at the same time, only one conclusion could be drawn —that official England was determined to remain steadfast in the form of its political co-operation with France and Russia. Precisely to this was to be attributed the insecurity of the European situation. It has not become publicly known but has been reliably ascertained that the English Naval Attaché in Rome at that time pointed out that England, in the event of a war, which he expected to come, would have to occupy either Belgium or Copenhagen. That, he added, was very brutal, to be sure, but at the same time was rendered necessary by historic developments and by circumstances.

In view of all this we cannot deceive ourselves into believing that the mission which brought Lord Haldane to Berlin in February, 1912, had any other purpose than that of satisfying the voices in England which were calling with ever-increasing vigor for an understanding with Germany. The proposals which he submitted to us, after a discussion with Sir Edward Grey, were formulated by the English Cabinet as follows: "Inasmuch as both powers naturally wish to maintain relations of peace and friendship with each other, England declares that it will neither make an unprovoked attack upon Germany, nor support any other power in making such an attack. To attack Germany is neither the direct nor the indirect object of any treaty, understanding, or combination to which England is now a party, nor will England make itself a party to anything that has such an object." This carefully excogitated statement embraced in its Machiavellian wording neither those "oral conversations" at Reval nor the "innocent discussions" engaged in by the English and French General Staffs—discussions which were always revived on occasion of every political crisis. It was only natural, therefore, that we, since these relations between the General Staffs of the powers belonging to the Entente were no secret to us, demanded greater security and a declaration of neutrality on the part of England before consenting to enter into any general understanding.

This was all the more necessary in view of the fact that Poincaré, the French President, while the negotiations, commenced by Haldane, between Berlin and London were being carried on, had undertaken, in August, 1912, that trip to St. Petersburg, from which he brought beck to France the system of three years' compulsory military service; and at the same time Hartwig, the Russian Ambassador in Belgrade, organized that Balkan Conference, the purpose of which was, first, to break the backbone of Turkey, and, secondly, to serve as a tool for the overthrow of Austria. The introduction and adoption of the German military program made it evident to all the world that we had recognized correctly, and betimes, the dangers which threatened the peace of the world, and in particular the peace of Germany. Furthermore, in a conversation with Prince Lichnowski, Lord Haldane said in so many words that England, in the event of a general war, would have to place itself on the side of France "in order to prevent Germany from becoming too powerful." We must not neglect to mention that during this critical year, as well as in the year 1913, negotiations were again entered into regarding the carrying out of the treaty concluded between England and Germany in the days of Caprivi with respect to an economic penetration of the Portuguese colonies in East and West Africa. The refusal of Sir Edward Grey to give these negotiations the secure form of a treaty, which could be laid before the English Parliament and the German Reichstag, here again shows that he was desirous of effecting only the appearance of an understanding. Both he and France were resolved to postpone their action against

Germany until Russia, which was preparing itself with prodigious exertion, had finished its preparations, which in August, 1913, were critically inspected by General Joffre, and among which is to be included the construction of railways to run through Poland to the Austrian and Prussian frontiers. This consideration also accounts for England's attitude during the Balkan confusion of 1912 and 1913. At the London Conference we were able to co-operate with Sir Edward Grey in settling the great difficulties brought about by the war of the Balkan nations against Turkey, and subsequently their war inter se and the overthrow of Bulgaria. Under the impression created by this political co-operation the peace party in England also seemed to gain ground. On Feb. 18, 1913, Charles Trevelyan, M. P., paid me a visit and assured me with great positiveness that England would under no circumstances wage war. A Ministry which undertook to make preparations for war, he said, would at once be deposed. An inclination to bring about an understanding with Germany, he added, prevailed in all industrial circles. My impression that such was actually the case was confirmed during a sojourn in London in the months of March and April, 1914. On occasion of a political supper à deux with Lord Haldane the latter gave expression to the view that the present grouping of the powers offered the best guarantee of peace, that Sir Edward Grey was holding Russia in check and we were holding Austria-Hungary in check, in saying which he emphasized the fact that England had implicit confidence in the German Imperial Chancellor. I replied, saying that in consequence of the existing combination Paris and St. Petersburg would certainly count upon England's help in the event of a war, and would thus bring on the war. We then discussed the situation between England and Germany, and remarked how the present plan, adopted by both Governments, of fortifying both sides of the North Sea was detrimental to the real interests of both. The following letter, which I received from Lord Haldane in Berlin on April 17, is an echo of this conversation:

"It was a great pleasure to see you and have had the full and unreserved talk we had together. My ambition is, like yours, to bring Germany into relations of ever closer intimacy and friendship. Our two countries have a common work to do for the world as well as for themselves, and each of them can bring to bear on this work special endowments and qualities. May the co-operation, which I believe to be now beginning, become closer and closer. Of this I am sure, the more wide and unselfish the nations and the groups questions make her supreme purposes of their policies, the more will friction disappear and the sooner will the relations that are normal and healthy reappear. Something of this good work has now come into existence between our two peoples. We must see to it that the chance of growth is given." *

It is difficult to believe in the sincerity of the sentiments here expressed, when we consider that Lord Haldane belonged to the inner circle of the Cabinet and therefore must have known the secret chess-moves of Grey's policy. Furthermore, he did not resign, as did three other members of the Cabinet—Lord Morley, Burns, and Charles Trevelyan—when, on Aug. 4, Sir Edward's false game was shown up and when treaties grew out of those "conversations" and alliances out of those ententes, which had until then existed under counterfeit names. Even as late as June 13 Sir Edward Grey denied that he had entered into any binding obligations. Six weeks after that, however, England confronted Germany with the fait accompli of a life-and-death struggle. Grey had consciously uttered a falsehood before Parliament, and, as was ascertained from a Russian source, had not only accepted a Russian proposal to conclude a naval agreement, but had expressly given his approval that the deliberations regarding the effectuation of

*This passage from a letter of Lord Haldane is quoted in the original English by Professor Schiemann and is here copied verbatim.—TRANSLATOR.

this agreement should be participated in by the Naval Staffs of both countries. In so doing he expressly counted upon a war between the Triple Alliance and the Triple Entente, and upon the complete alliance of England. England, at the proper time, was to send merchantmen to Russian ports on the Baltic Sea for the purpose of landing Russian troops in Pomerania, and to send as many ships to the Mediterranean Sea as seemed necessary to insure the ascendency of France. With the help of French money it was intended to overthrow the Ministry of Rodoslawow in Bulgaria and, with the assistance of the Russophile, Malinow, to win over that country to the combination, which was to attack Austria in the rear. All this, which took place before the assassination of Franz Ferdinand, was the political plan of battle adopted by the conspiring powers, which subsequently found an excuse for their behavior in the alleged coercion of Serbia. The hypocrisy with which the intrigue was carried out is without precedent. The palm rests, probably, on the friendly visit of the English squadron, under Admiral Beatty, in Kiel. Two days after the assassination of the Archduke the squadron started on its way home, through the Emperor William Canal, for the purpose of joining the concentration of the entire English fleet, which lay, ready for war, off Spithead. That England afterward made common cause with Russia and France for the murderers of the Archduke, and with moral indignation rose against the satisfaction demanded of Serbia by Austria, is all part of the system of the frivolous use of any pretext which might bring England closer to its longed-for goal—the deposition of Germany from her position in the world. Such was England's rôle in the preparation of this wantonly prearranged war.

Germany Free!

By BEATRICE BARRY.

Deeds that have startled the civilized world
Blot her escutcheon, brand her with shame;
But though the German flag there be unfurled,
Do Germans know what is done in their name?
If not, the final accounting may see—
Germany free!

Germany, free from the canker of self—
Free from the lusting for prestige and power;
Purged of her passion for place and for pelf—
Shall she not rise to great heights in that hour?
God speed its coming, for fain would we see—
Germany free!

Free from the militant few who have ruled
Seventy millions with sabre of steel;
Free from the doctrine in which they are schooled—
"Might shall prevail!" All the rancor we feel
Strikes at that dogma, from which we would see—
Germany free!

Much in her national life we admire,
Much we recoil from, or needs must dispute;
Germany needs her baptism of fire,
But you will find us the first to salute—
(God speed the "Day" the awakening shall be)
Germany FREE!

Chronology of the War

Showing Progress of Campaigns on All Fronts and Collateral Events from April 30, 1915, Up to and Including June 15, 1915.

CAMPAIGN IN EASTERN EUROPE

May 1—Germans advance in their invasion of the Russian Baltic provinces, a Russian force retreating toward Mitau; fighting is being renewed along the East Prussian frontier and in Central Poland; Russians gain ground in their campaign for the Uzsok Pass; Germans defeat Russians near Szawle, in Kovno; Austrians repulse Russian attacks against the heights of the Orawa and Opor Valleys.

May 2—A great battle is developing in the plain of Rawa, Central Poland; Russians are taking the offensive; Austrians have opened an offensive in the region of Ciezkowice.

May 3—German and Austrian armies, under General von Mackensen, win a victory in West Galicia, breaking the Russian centre for miles, and gaining ground across practically the whole western tip of Galicia, from near the Hungarian border to the junction of the River Dunajec with the Vistula; the Teutonic allies take 30,000 prisoners, 22 cannon, and 64 machine guns; the Austrians gain ground in the Beskid region, and repulse Russians north of Osmaloda; the German advance in the Russian Baltic provinces continues unchecked along a 100-mile front, extending from the Baltic Sea, near Libau, southeast to the northern tributaries of the River Niemen.

May 4—Russians claim that the Austro-German drive in West Galicia is being checked; Germans hold positions on the right bank of the Dunajec; a fierce battle is raging in the direction of Stry; Germans make further progress in the Russian Baltic provinces.

May 5—Russians are retreating at points along the Galician line from the Vistula to the Carpathians, and are in retreat from positions they occupied on the Hungarian slopes of the Carpathians; the third line of Russian fortifications has been pierced; Austro-German Army captures the town of Gorlice.

May 6—Austro-German armies continue to advance in West Galicia; the northern wing has captured Tarnow; southern wing has crossed the Wisloka River and Russians are retreating east of the Lupkow Pass; Austro-Germans take the last Russian positions on the heights east of the Dunajec and Biala Rivers; Jaslo and Dukla have been taken from the Russians; Russians admit partial retreat in West Galicia.

May 7—Austro-German army is pursuing retreating Russians in West Galicia; Austrians take more prisoners, stores, and guns; in the eastern sector of the Carpathian front Russian attacks are repulsed by Austrians; Russian attacks in Southeast Galicia are repulsed; in Poland there is severe fighting.

May 8—Germans capture Libau, taking 1,600 prisoners, 18 cannon, and much war material; severe fighting continues in West Galicia, where General von Mackensen's army is pursuing the Russians; a Russian division surrounded near Dukla cuts its way through the surrounding troops and gets to the main Russian lines; all the passes in the Beskid Mountains, except Lupkow, are in the hands of Austro-German forces; Russians take the offensive southwest of Mitau.

May 9—Russians are retreating in Galicia along a front of 124 miles, from the Uzsok Pass to the Vistula; Austro-German forces have passed the line of the Uzsok Pass, Komanoza, Krosno, Debica, and Szczucin; in Southeast Galicia violent battles are developing; Austrians are pursuing Russians across the Dniester; Vienna reports that Hungary is now clear of Russians; German advance northeast of Kovno; Russian attacks on German positions on the Pilica are repulsed; Russians make progress southwest of Mitau.

May 10—Russian Embassy at Washington says that the Russians have retreated thirty miles in Galicia, but that only one division has withdrawn from Hungary; the first stage of the battle in West Galicia has been practically concluded; General von Mackensen's army is reforming for a new offensive; Germans have met a severe check west of Mitau.

May 11—Austro-German troops are still advancing in West Galicia; Russians are attacking in East Galicia and along the eastern section of the Carpathians; Russians have success in Bukowina, taking prisoners and guns; Austrians force Russian south wing in Russian Poland to retreat; Austrians repulse Russian attacks near Baligrod; advance Austrian troops have crossed the San near Dvornik.

May 12—Russians state that their counter-offensive has checked the Austro-Germans in West Galicia, while the Germans and Austrians state that their drive continues successfully; Austro-German troops have occupied Brozozow, Dynow, Sanok, and Lisko; there is severe fighting in the central Carpathians and Southeast Galicia, where the Russians are advancing on a forty-mile front; Austrians are repulsed in the direction of the Uzsok Pass and the Stry River.

May 13—Heavy fighting is in progress east of Tarnow; north of the Vistula the Austrians have forced the Nida line; Russians make progress on the right bank of the Dniester; Russians repulse Germans in the region of Shavli.

May 14—Russians break the Austrian line at various places on a ninety-four-mile front, driving the Austrians from Bukowina positions and forcing them over the Pruth River; Russians check the Austro-German advance in Galicia, and are concentrating on the line of the River San, with the object of occupying a shorter front; the advance guards of General Mackensen's armies are before Przemysl; the Teutonic allies are advancing in Russian Poland.

May 15—The Austro-German troops have now driven the Russians completely from Jaroslau, which they hold firmly, as well as all the towns on the west bank of the San River; the Austrian Tenth Army is now before Przemysl, its native stronghold; the rapid advance of the Teutonic allies is endangering the position of the Russians in the Carpathians; credit for the stiff and ceaseless pursuit of the Russians in the great West Galicia drive is being given by the Austrians to Field Marshal Baron Conrad von Hötzendorf, Chief of the Austrian General Staff; the Russian counter-drive to the east continues, and the Czar's armies in Bukowina force back the Austro-German lines for twenty miles.

May 16—Russians continue to withdraw in West Galicia; they are massing at the San River for a stand; in Bukowina and East Galicia the Russian cavalry is pursuing retreating Austrians; the Austrians are retiring behind the Pruth, evacuating strongly fortified positions; Hungarian cavalry has made sacrifices of large bodies to enable the infantry to retreat in good order; in Russian Poland the Teutonic allies continue to push back the Russians; Russians win success against the Germans in the Baltic provinces.

May 17—Austro-German armies continue their advance in West Galicia; Austrians have captured Drohobycz, in Central Galicia, forty miles southwest of Lemberg; fighting is in progress around Przemysl; Russians repulse Germans at Shavli; Russians have made advances on the West Niemen; Russian official statement says that the West Galician defeat has been offset by successes in Bukowina against the Austrians.

May 18—Austro-German troops are bombarding the western forts of Przemysl; the Teutonic allies have a firm foothold on the eastern bank of the San River; Russians are making vigorous attacks on the Germans in South Poland; Russians have driven the Austro-German forces back from the Dniester to the Pruth in East Galicia, and are making strong attacks in Bukowina; heavy fighting is in progress in the Russian Baltic Provinces and along the East Prussian frontier; Austrian official statement declares that 174,000 Russian prisoners, 128 guns, and 368 machine guns have been taken since the beginning of May as a result of the West Galicia drive; unofficial dispatch from Petrograd says Russians have been beaten back on a 200-mile front in West Galicia.

May 19—The Russian lines along the San River are in danger, the Austro-Germans having crossed the river on a wide front; the Russians are attempting to reform their lines north and south of Przemysl; Teutonic Allies occupy Sieniawa; in Bukowina the Russians have broken the extreme Austrian right; it is stated from Petrograd that the Germans and Austrians are using between thirty and forty army corps on a 200-mile front from Opatow, in Poland, to Kolomea, Eastern Galicia.

May 20—Russians are fighting desperately to save the remains of their West Galicia army, now in new positions along the San River; Austro-German forces are attacking with tremendous artillery fire, the shells being followed by a close phalanx of 150,000 men; the Russians hold both banks of the San south of Jaroslau.

May 21—Russians are rallying along the San River; a desperate battle is in progress below Przemysl; Russians are taking a strong offensive in Poland; official Austrian announcements state that Russian prisoners now in Austrian hands, as a result of the recent fighting, are 194,000; the German official announcement says that General Mackensen's army, since May 1, has taken 104,000 prisoners, 72 cannon, and 253 machine guns; official Russian statement says that on four recent days the losses of the Austro-Germans were 10,000 a day, and on seventeen other recent days were much heavier, and adds that the Austro-Germans have used between 2,000,000 and 3,000,000 shells during the recent fighting; Russian reports state that 3,000,000 men, including both sides, are now daily attacking and conuter-attacking along the whole front, from Opatow to Kolomea; the Kaiser is stated to be personally directing operations at Jaroslau.

May 22—Stubborn fighting continues along the San, while severe fighting is in progress in the Russian Baltic Provinces and near

the East Prussian frontier; on the left bank of the lower San the Russians have taken the offensive and captured the villages of Krawce, Biercza, Przyszow, and Kamerale; Russians repulse counter attacks in the direction of Nisko; Germans repulse Russians at Shavli; in Central Galicia the Austrians have gained some ground; east of Czernowitz Austrians repulse Russians; the right wing of the Austrian Army in Bukowina is falling back toward the Carpathians.

May 23—Russians, with strong reinforcements, have crossed the San at the junction of that river with the Vistula, and are advancing southward in an effort to outflank the Germany Army, which crossed the San in the vicinity of Jaroslau; Russians continue their offensive in Bukowina, and in the Opatow region; Germans defeat Russian northern wing near Shavli, and repulse Russian attacks from the Dubysa and Niemen Rivers; Russians are massing strong forces in the vicinity of Warsaw, Ivangrod, and Lublin.

May 24—Russians claim that they have definitely checked the German drive on the upper San River; a Russian movement upon Nisko, and the occupation of Ulanoff, Rudnik, Kraftza, Bourgny, and Shushav to the westward of the upper San, threatens the German position east of the river; General von Mackensen is drawing in his wings to protect his centre from attack; furious German assaults to the south of Przemysl continue without definite result; in the region of Shavli, the Russian troops now occupy a very extended front on the line of the Rivers Visdala, Venta, Dubysa, and Siup.

May 25—General von Mackensen renews his offensive against the Russians north of Przemysl, and takes six fortified villages, 21,000 prisoners, 39 cannon, and 40 machine guns; Austrians are advancing southeast of Przemysl; on the left bank of the upper Vistula, in the Opatow region, Russians repulse attacks and make counter-attacks.

May 26—Between Przemysl and Jaroslau, east of Radymno, Germans force a passage of the San River; Mackensen's army is making progress on both banks of the San in a southeasterly direction; southeast of Przemysl the Austro-German forces are progressing toward strong Russian positions; Russians repulse German attack near Ossowitz.

May 27—Austro-German forces continue to batter at the Russian lines northeast and southeast of Przemysl, and it is reported that they have severed communications between Przemysl and Lemberg; the Germans have forced another crossing of the San, eleven miles north of Przemysl, and are extending by several miles the zone held by them east of the San; Austro-German troops break through the Russian front line southeast of Drohobycz and near Stry, and force the Russians to fall back; Russians repulse attacks on the Upper Vistula; Russians have success in the region of the Dniester marshes.

May 28—Russians throw back the German force which crossed the San River and established itself at Sieniawa, fifty miles north of Przemysl; the Germans have retreated to the west bank of the San, with the loss of twelve guns; further south, between Jarislau and Przemysl, the Austro-German forces gain more ground on both banks of the San; Austrians reach Medyka, eight miles due east of Przemysl, leaving a gap of but twelve miles between the northern and eastern forces which are trying to encircle the fortress.

May 29—Germans and Austrians continue to fight fiercely to encircle Przemysl; in the Russian Baltic provinces heavy fighting is in progress; Russians are sending larger forces to meet the Germans in these provinces.

May 30—Fierce fighting is raging around Przemysl, the Austro-German forces striving to cut off the fortress; the Russians are bringing up huge reinforcements; north of Przemysl the Russians are making some progress, but to the southeast the Austro-German forces are making further headway, now commanding with their artillery the railway between Przemysl and Grodek; Russian attempts to cross the San near Sieniawa fail; in the Russian Baltic provinces German cavalry drives back Russian cavalry southeast of Libau.

May 31—Russians are beginning to assume the offensive at certain points along the San River, where severe fighting continues; near Stry the Austrians take several Russian positions.

June 1—The Serbians are resuming military activity against Austria; Austro-German forces are storming three of the outer forts of Przemysl; north and southeast of Przemysl the Austro-German forces are advancing; they have taken Stry.

June 2—Furious fighting continues around Przemysl; Austro-German troops take two fortifications on the north front of Przemysl; German official report states that during May the Teutonic allies took 863 Russian officers prisoners and 268,869 men, as well as capturing 251 cannon and 576 machine guns.

June 3—Austro-German troops, after a siege of twenty days, capture Przemysl, which has been in Russian possession since March 22, the present conquerors entering after storming the northern forts; Austro-Germans are driving back Russians north of Stry.

June 4—Severe fighting is in progress along the whole Galician front, Austro-Germans seeking to end the Russian campaign in Galicia; Russians are in position

at Medyka Heights, ten miles east of Przemysl; they saved their batteries in evacuating Przemysl and claim to have removed all war material captured from the Austrians.

June 5—Austro-Germans are attempting an encircling movement against Lemberg; they are making progress from the southwest, but their left wing is checked by the Russians on the lower reaches of the San River; Austro-German extreme right in East Galicia and Bukowina is pounded by the Russians.

June 6—Battles over a wide area are in progress in Galicia; Russians are making considerable advances on the lower reaches of the San; southwest of Lemberg the Austro-Germans are advancing.

June 7—Austro-German armies are making progress in attempt to encircle Lemberg; Russians are being pressed back from their line on the San; Teutonic allies cross the Dniester; Germans advance in their invasion of the Baltic provinces of Russia.

June 8—Austro-Germans, having crossed the Dneister south of Lemberg, are assuming the offensive further to the south and are pushing back the Russians between Kolomea and Kalusz in East Galicia.

June 9—Austro-Germans take Stanislau, throwing the Russian left back to the Dniester River; in East Galicia, along the rest of the line, the Russians are holding their own and are counter-attacking.

June 10—Russians take offensive in their Baltic provinces, where they force the Germans to retreat to avoid being cut off; Russians advance again in Galicia; they attack Mackensen's forces, menacing Lemberg and Linsingen's forces on the Dniester; the Austro-German army of Bukowina crosses the Pruth and effects junction with Galician troops.

June 11—Russians win a series of successes against Germans and Austrians in East Galicia; they repulse Mackensen's troops with heavy loss and hurl Linsingen's army back across the Dniester; Russians take 17 guns and 49 machine guns; Germans are developing an offensive north of the Pilitza in Poland; Serbians are marching across Northern Albania toward the port of Durazzo, while Montenegrins are making for the port of Alessio.

June 12—A battle is raging along the Dniester, Austrians making gains on the lower reaches, while the Russians have success further up stream; Russians leave Bukowina, giving up their last positions on the Pruth and retreating across the frontier.

June 13—Austro-Germans commence an attack on the Russians on the River San north of Przemysl, and along the Dniester in Southeast Galicia; Germans are attacking Russian centre on the River Rawka, west of Warsaw; severe fighting continues in the Russian Baltic provinces.

June 14—Mackensen's army attacks Russian positions in Middle Galicia along a forty-three-mile front, and breaks the line, taking 16,000 prisoners; Austrians have successes on the Dniester.

June 15—Austro-Germans are renewing the drive in Galicia and advancing on a wide front; they capture Mosciska, thirty-seven miles from Lemberg, after a week's fight; Russian counter-attacks to protect Lemberg from the south are repulsed.

CAMPAIGN IN WESTERN EUROPE.

May 1—Germans continue the bombardment of Dunkirk with a huge gun or guns, doing considerable damage and killing several persons; Germans make further gains on the west bank of the Ypres Canal; French repulse Germans in the Argonne, near Bagatelle; French take trenches in the Forest of Le Prêtre; French artillery bombards fortifications of Altkirch, in Upper Alsace.

May 2—French have been bombarding for two days the southern fortifications of Metz; British and French attack the new German positions northeast of Ypres, but are beaten back; Germans make progress in the Argonne; German General Staff in Belgium admits a loss of 12,000 dead in the battle of Ypres.

May 3—Germans renew assaults near Ypres, the British lines being pounded north and south of that place, and Germans gain ground southeast of St. Julien; Germans damage French positions in Champagne at Ourchen, Sopain, and Perthes; French repulse an attack in the Forest of Le Prêtre.

May 4—Germans gain more ground northeast of Ypres, and take the villages of Zonnebeke, Zevecote, and Westhoek, and the Forest of Polygonous and Nonnebosschen; French gain in the region of Steenstraete.

May 5—Germans gain ground northeast of Ypres, British losing four positions and being forced to retire; Hill 60 is again menaced by the Germans, who, the British state, have obtained a footing there through the use of gases; French check one German attack near Perthes, and another at Four de Paris; French take two lines of German trenches in the Mortmare Wood; French gain ground on the north bank of the Fecht River, in Alsace.

May 6—Germans make further gains near Ypres, taking two positions from the Allies; British recapture some of the trenches at Hill 60, recently lost; French repulse a German night attack near Steenstraete; Germans repulse French near Flirey; Germans advance west of Combres; Germans take French positions in the Ailly Wood, capturing 2,000 men.

May 7—Germans make more gains near Ypres; there is severe fighting for Hill 60; German artillery checks a French attack

near Steinbrück, in the valley of the Fecht; French repulse German attacks at Frise, west of Peronne, and in Champagne, around the Fort of Beauséjour.

May 8—French capture a German position west of Lens; French check three attacks in the Forest of Le Prêtre; French advance two-thirds of a mile along a mile front on the right bank of the Fecht River; British repulse a daybreak attack near St. Julien; British recapture a further section of recently lost trenches at Hill 60.

May 9—British repulse German attack east of Ypres; British gain ground toward Fromelles, after a vigorous attack on the German line; Germans capture the villages of Fresenburg and Terleranhoek; French make gains north of Arras; south of Carency the French make an advance by which they capture two lines of trenches over a front of 4 1-3 miles; French take the village of La Targette and half of the village of Neuville-St. Vaast.

May 10—The Allies are attacking along a front of twenty-six miles in the direction of Carency and Souchez; Allies repulse German attacks near Ypres; Germans make gains near Nieuport, and renew the bombardment of Dunkirk; French repulse Germans at the Forest of Le Prêtre and at Berry-au-Bac.

May 11—A strong French offensive against the German lines north of Arras is being pushed; the French carry the German trenches guarding the road from Loos to Vermelles; French take a strongly fortified position on Lorette Heights; French make gains at Souchez and Carency; Germans shell the town of Bergues, near Dunkirk; Germans heavily bombard British trenches east of Ypres.

May 12—Severe fighting is now raging over the whole front from Ypres to Arras, the Allies taking the offensive; to the north the British centre has Lille for its objective, while to the south the French centre is aiming at Lens; French repulse counter attacks at Neuville-St. Vaast, and between Carency and Ablain; French make gains in the wood east of Carency, and take three successive lines of trenches bordering the wood to the north of Carency; French take another portion of the village of Carency; French lose some of the ground they captured near Loos; Germans take a hill east of Ypres; Germans bombard Dunkirk.

May 13—The French are in complete possession of Carency, having captured the last German position there; French take large stores of German ammunition, twenty big guns and many machine guns; French also make progress north of Carency, where they have established themselves at Ablain-St. Nazaire; French have also taken all of the Forest of Le Prêtre, although Germans retain positions on the north and south slopes adjacent; Germans are making fierce assaults on the British positions east of Ypres, piercing the line at one point; Belgians repulse an attack on the right bank of the Yser; French now hold the forest at Notre Dame de Lorette.

May 14—French offensive is continued by the capture of German positions southeast of Angres, while they also make progress on the southern and eastern slopes of the Lorette hills, and at Neuville-St. Vaast; British attacks near Ypres are unsuccessful; Germans gain in the direction of Hooge; French artillery levels German trenches in the Valley of the Aisne.

May 15—French continue to advance near Carency; French also gain north of Ypres; they take several trenches in front of Het Sase, and occupy part of Steenstraete; French extend their attack southeast of Notre Dame de Lorette; Germans make progress on the St. Julien-Ypres road against the British; Germans state that they have taken since April 22 in the Ypres region 5,560 unwounded officers and men; artillery fighting is in progress southwest of Lille.

May 16—The first British army breaks the German line over most of a two-mile front northwest of La Bassée, and wins nearly a mile of territory; French repulse a counter-attack at Steenstraete; French make gains north of Arras; lively fighting in Champagne; Germans repulse French at Het Sase; British attack Germans south of Lille.

May 17—British make further advances northwest of La Bassée and carry additional German trenches, all trenches on a two-mile front now being in hands of the British; French and Belgians force Germans to evacuate positions they held west of the Yser Canal; French maintain gains on the east bank; French repulse German counter-attacks on the slopes of Lorette.

May 18—Heavy rains and mists hamper operations in Northern France; the French have consolidated the positions recently occupied by them to the east of the Yser Canal; French make gains near Ablain; an almost constant artillery duel is in progress north of Arras; Germans repulse British south of Neuve Chapelle.

May 19—Germans capture trenches from the French on the heights of Lorette; Germans repulse British attacks near Neuve Chapelle.

May 20—Recent heavy rains have made the ground in Flanders unsuited to infantry attacks and there is a lull, but artillery engagements are in progress; French make advances in Champagne by mining; French take trenches near Bagatelle, in the Argonne; fierce artillery duels between the Meuse and Moselle.

May 21—French drive Germans from the last

of their positions on the heights of Lorette; The French now hold the entire Lorette Hill and the lesser ridges, which the Germans had defended for six months; French repulse German attack to the east of the Yser Canal; Canadians capture a German position to the north of Ypres after the British Guards fail twice.

May 22—British repulse attacks north of La Bassée; French make gains north of Arras; Germans repulse British and French attacks southwest of Neuve Chapelle; German official report states that the Allies, southwest of Lille and in the Argonne, are using mines charged with poisonous gases.

May 23—British advance east of Festubert; French gain ground northeast of Notre Dame de Lorette and near Neuville-St. Vaast; Germans are repulsed east of the Yser Canal.

May 24—Before attacking the British northeast of Ypres, the Germans roll a huge cloud of asphyxiating gas toward them, the volume of fumes being forty feet high along a six-mile front; because of the use of respirators, few British succumb; fighting in progress north of Arras.

May 26—British make further gains in their offensive against La Bassée, and it is officially announced that the net result of their operations in the territory to the west of that town since May 1 is the capture of a total front of more than three miles, along a considerable part of which two lines of German trenches have been taken; in the district north of Arras there is desperate fighting near Angres, the Germans attempting to regain ground lost yesterday.

May 27—French make further gains north of Arras; artillery engagements along the Yser Canal; Belgians repulse two German infantry attacks near Dixmude; artillery duels in the Vosges; French fail in attempt to break German lines between Vermelles and Lorette Hills.

May 28—British make further gains toward La Bassée; fierce fighting occurs north of Arras; French advance in Alsace on the mountain of Schepfenrieth; Germans repulse French attacks southeast of Lorette Ridge.

May 29—The village of Ablain-St. Nazaire, for which fighting has been in progress for three weeks, is now in the hands of the French, the Germans evacuating their last position this morning.

May 30—French gain ground at four points—near Neuville-St. Vaast, on the Yser, at Le Prêtre Forest, and in Alsace at Schnepfenriethkopf; British make small gains at Festubert; Belgian and German artillery are fighting a duel north and south of Dixmude.

May 31—Severe fighting continues in the region north of Arras, Germans acting, for the most part, on the defensive; French gain ground on the road from Souchez to Carency; artillery fighting at the Forest of La Prêtre.

June 1—French gain more ground at Souchez, where violent fighting is in progress, and also gain southeast of Neuville; French lose trenches on the outskirts of Le Prêtre Forest.

June 2—Germans recapture from the French the sugar refinery at Souchez, which has changed hands four times in twenty-four hours; British, by a bayonet charge, take Château Hooge, in the Ypres region; French make further progress north of Arras, taking trenches in "the labyrinth," as the system of intrenchments in that region is termed; Rheims is again bombarded.

June 3—Fierce fighting continues north of Arras; French and Germans still battle for possession of the sugar refinery at Souchez.

June 4—In consequence of the successes in the Galician campaign, the Germans are sending reinforcements to the Western line; Germans retake some of trenches northeast of Givenchy captured by the British; Germans take the village and Château of Hooge; French bombard the southern front of the intrenched camp of Metz.

June 5—French make important gains in the area north of Arras where desperate fighting has so long been in progress; they have taken two-thirds of the village of Neuville-St. Vaast; they advance a quarter of a mile in the northern part of the labyrinth; they hold the sugar refinery at Souchez, where 3,000 Germans have been killed.

June 6—French capture two-thirds of a mile of trenches in a new zone of activity, near Tracy-le-Mont, north of the Aisne; they take more of Neuville-St. Vaast; they capture more trenches in the labyrinth, of which they now hold two-thirds; they gain ground at Souchez; Germans repulse French attacks on the eastern slopes of Lorette.

June 7—French make further gains at Neuville-St. Vaast, and in the labyrinth; near Hebuterne, east of Doullers, two lines of German trenches are carried by the French; French repulse a fierce attack at Tracy-le-Mont, retaining their recent gain; at Vauquois, in Champagne, the French spray flaming liquid on the German trenches, "by way of reprisal," their statement says.

June 8—French advance on a three-quarters of a mile front south of Arras, near Hebuterne, taking two lines of trenches; French make slight gains at Lorette, Neuville-St. Vaast, and in the labyrinth.

June 9—French make gains at Neuville-St Vaast, in the labyrinth, at Hebuterne, and in the Forest of Le Prêtre.

June 10—French hold substantially all their recent gains; artillery fighting is in progress north of Arras and on the heights of the Meuse; Germans take French trenches near Souvain and Les Mesnil, west of the Argonne.

June 11—French are organizing the positions recently won from the Germans north and south of Arras; in the Neuville-St. Vaast positions the French find 800,000 cartridges, three field and fifteen machine guns.

June 12—Germans regain some of the ground they lost at Ecurie, north of Arras; Germans repulse attacks northeast of Ypres, east of Lorette Heights, and in the Souchez district.

June 13—French take a strongly fortified ridge near Souchez and three trenches near Hebuterne; Germans bombard Soissons and the military works around Lunéville.

June 14 — Germans regain some of the trenches at Souchez recently lost; Germans repulse heavy French attacks on both sides of the Lorette Hills and on the Neuville-Rochincourt line.

June 15—Severe fighting continues north and south of Arras, both sides claiming successes.

ITALIAN CAMPAIGN.

May 23—A clash, regarded in Rome as being the first skirmish of the war, occurs between Italian and Austrian troops at Forcellini di Montozzo, in the pass between Pont di Legno and Pejo; an Austrian patrol crosses the frontier, but is driven back over the border by Italian Alpine Chasseurs; Lieut. Gen. Cadorna, Chief of the Italian General Staff, starts for the front.

May 24—Austrian artillery shells Italian outposts on the Adige in front of Rivoli; there are clashes at other points, including a skirmish of border forces in the Isonzo Valley on the eastern frontier; a general forward movement by the Italians begins; Austrians are massing for defense.

May 25—Italians are advancing on a 67-mile front, their line having as extreme points Caporetto on the north and the Gulf of Trieste on the south; in three lines they sweep across the frontier for four miles; Italians occupy Caporetto, the heights between the Idria and Isonzo Rivers, Cormons, Corvignano, and Terzo; Austrians withdraw, destroying bridges and burning houses.

May 26.—Italians occupy Austrian territory all along the fontier from Switzerland to the Adriatic; Italians have seized various towns in the Trentino and forced their way through mountain passes; King Victor Emmanuel has assumed supreme command of the Italian army and navy, and has gone to the front.

May 27—Italian armies make rapid progress in the invasion of Austria, part of the forces having crossed the Isonzo River; another force, which penetrated further north in the Crownland of Goritz and Gradisca, has repaired the railroad beyond Cormons and is marching on Goritz, the capital; sharp fighting has occurred on the Tyrol-Trentino border, where the Austrians are being driven back in advance guard engagements; a battle is raging around Ploken and also west of the Praedil Pass in Austria.
tinues in Austrian territory, the Austrians not making any determined resistance; they are laying waste large areas as they retreat; in the Provinces of Trentino and Friuli the Italians are pushing forward fast; the Austrians fall back in the direction of Trent; Italians are occupying the heights of Monte Baldo, overlooking the Valley of the Adige and commanding the railway from Verona to Trent; Italians have crossed the Venetian Alps, and among the lower spurs of the Dolomites are in touch with the left wing of the Austrian force thrown forward for the defense of Trent; in Carinthia the Italians have taken three passes and fourteen villages.

May 29—A large Italian army is trying to cross the Isonzo River; bayonet fighting is in progress south of Goritz, the Austrians slowly falling back; Italian forces are at Gradisca, eighteen miles from Trieste; Austrians repulse Italians at Caporetto and near Plava; Italians are penetrating from Tonale Pass into the Virmiglio Valley, with an objective north of Trent, in an attempt to place that city between two Italian armies; Italians capture the town of Storo and are bombarding Riva; the headquarters of the Austrian commander, Field Marshal Baron von Hötzendorf, are established at Trent.

May 30—Italian advance in Friuli encounters strong opposition at the Isonzo defenses, where progress is also being impeded because the river is swollen; Italian artillery destroys the fort of Luserna, on the Asiago plateau; in Cadore the Italians take several positions; a battle along the Adige River has been in progress, the Italians taking the village of Pilcante; artillery duels are in progress on the frontier in Tyrol and Trentino; Austrians repulse Italians at Cortina.

May 31—The Italian invasion of the Province of Trent is progressing from the south along the Adige and Chiese Rivers, from the west across the Tonale Pass, and from the east by way of the Lavaronne Plateau; the Italian attack is continuing all along the zigzag frontier, up to the highest point north, where they have occupied the Ampezzo Valley, together with the town of Cortina; Italians now are in possession of Monte Baldo, which dom-

inates Lake Gardo; to the east of Caporetto the Italians make a vain attempt to climb the slopes of the Kern; a great Austrian army is being massed in Tyrol.

June 1—Thirty-seven villages surrounding Cortina in the Ampazzo Valley are in Italian hands; the whole high plateau of Lavarone is in the hands of the Italian force advancing into the Trentino from the east.

June 2—In Friule the Italians are now established firmly on the Monte Nero ridge across the Isonzo River; on the Carnia front an artillery duel is in progress; to check Italians who are advancing from the border northeast of Trent, Austrians are massing troops behind Monte Croce Pass.

June 3—Italians repulse Austrian attempts to dislodge them from the Monte Nero ridge; Austrians repulse Italians at several points on the Tyrolian and Carinthian frontiers.

June 4—It is officially announced that Italian mobilization is complete; in the operations against Rovereto, the Italians occupy Mattassone and Val Morbia in the Val Arsa; Italian artillery silences the forts of Luserna and Spitzverle; on the middle Isonzo fierce fighting is in progress; Italians hold the summit and slopes of Monterno.

June 5—A battle is raging on the western bank of the Isonzo River, in front of Tolmino, the key to the railway and main highway to Trieste; Italians are making steady though slow progress in Southern Tyrol.

June 6—Austrians are making a desperate defense at Tolmino; Italians fail in an attempt to cross the Isonzo River near Sagrado; viewing the situation as a whole, the Italians are making progress along a 150-mile front, smashing Austrian defenses at many points with artillery fire.

June 7—Desperate fighting continues for Tolmino; Italians are making a general advance across the Isonzo River from Caporetto to the sea, a distance of forty miles; Austrians recapture Freikofel.

June 8—Fierce fighting is in progress at the Isonzo River; severe fighting also is going on in the Friulian sector.

June 9—Italians take Monfalcone, sixteen miles northwest of Trieste; a fierce artillery duel is in progress at Tolmino; fighting continues at the Isonzo River.

June 10—Italians are in full possession of Monfalcone; Italians occupy Podestagno, north of Cortina; fighting continues along the Isonzo.

June 11—Italians take Ploeken, imperiling communications to Laibach; fierce fighting is in progress for Goritz, Austrians still holding the city; fighting continues along the Isonzo.

June 12—Italians push their advance almost to Rovereto thirteen miles southwest of Trent, and to Mori, eighteen miles southwest of Trent; Italians are advancing from Monfalcone toward Trieste; at points on the Carinthian frontier Austrians repulse Italians.

June 13—Italian artillery is bombarding the fortifications defending Goritz, capital of the crownland of Goritz and Gradisca, twenty-two miles northwest of Trieste; severe fighting is in progress on Monte Paralba; in the last few days Austrians have brought up 45,000 troops and 64 batteries along the Isonzo River.

June 14—Italians in Carnia occupy Valentina; all the positions captured by Italians in Trentino are held against repeated assaults by Austrians; the Italian Eastern Army is pushing forward along the Gulf of Trieste toward the City of Trieste.

June 15—Italians repulse Austrian attack at Monfalcone.

TURKISH CAMPAIGN.

May 1—French Senegalese troops occupy Yeni Shehr on the Asiatic side of the Dardanelles.

May 2—French troops lose ground on the Asiatic side of the Dardanelles; Allies make further advances on the Gallipoli Peninsula; Allies now hold Gaba Tepe; the Australian contingent has lost heavily.

May 4—Allies repulse Turks and are on the active offensive on Gallipoli; Turks win success near Avi Burnu.

May 5—Turks check attempt of Allies to advance at Sedd-el-Bahr; Turks check Allies near Avi Burnu.

May 6—Russians have defeated a Turkish army corps in the Caucasus, routing it and taking many prisoners; desperate fighting is in progress on the Gallipoli Peninsula, the advance of the Allies being met by stubborn resistance; Allies have captured the heights facing Souain Dere Fort, four miles west of Kilid Bahr.

May 7—Severe fighting at Avi Burnu and at Sedd-el-Bahr, at the latter place the Turks capturing ten British machine guns.

May 10—Russians drive Turks from their positions in the direction of Olti; Russians drive Turks from the South Pass near Tabriz and occupy villages; 8,000 Turkish wounded have arrived at Constantinople from the Dardanelles.

May 13—The Gallipoli coast line is now in Allies' possession.

May 15—Turks repulse Allies near Avi Burnu.

May 16—Allies make progress in hills behind Kilid Bahr and Maidos; Turks have been attacking for three days British positions on the Gallipoli Peninsula, but have been repulsed with heavy loss.

May 18—Counter-attack by Allies near Sedd-el-Bahr is repulsed.

May 19—Turks drive back Allies from their advanced positions near Kara Burun; Allies are being reinforced daily.

May 20—Allies are reported to have occupied Maidos after fierce fighting; French troops have been landed at Sedd-el-Bahr, and are fighting around the Turkish positions at Krithia; British forces which debarked at Gaba Tepe are also directing their action toward Krithia, with the object of surrounding the Turks; the Allies are attacking the fortified position at Atchi Baba.

May 22—Official announcement is made in London that the Allies have gained further ground on the southern end of the Gallipoli Peninsula.

May 23—Turks repulse Allies near Sedd-el-Bahr; it is estimated that the British and French now have 90,000 troops along the Dardanelles.

May 24—Turkish troops attack allied camp near Goritza and capture five sailing vessels with provisions; Italian troops have landed on the Turkish Island of Rhodes in the Aegean Sea; Turks capture two British positions near Kurna, Mesopotamia.

May 25—Allies are advancing steadily on the Gallipoli Peninsula; thousands of Turkish wounded are arriving at Constantinople.

May 27—Allies carry five lines of Turkish trenches by the bayonet; German estimates show that the Allies have lost 30,000 men in killed, wounded, and missing during land operations at the Dardanelles; it is admitted by the British that the Australians have lost heavily.

May 28—The Russian Army in the Caucasus reports further gains in the Van region, including the occupation of Baslan, and announces that in the capture of Van the Russians took twenty-six guns, large stores of war material and provisions, and the Government treasury.

May 29—Turkish forces defending the Gallipoli Peninsula against Allies now number 80,000 men; reinforcements are being sent from Syria; in the Caucasus the Turks are remaining on the defensive.

May 30—An official French statement, reviewing recent operations on the Gallipoli Peninsula, pays tribute to the bravery and coolness of the Turkish troops; Turks take allied trenches at Avi Burnu with the bayonet; Turks make gains at Sedd-el-Bahr.

May 31—Heavy fighting is in progress on the Gallipoli Peninsula, the Turks being driven back at several points; Turks still hold trenches captured from the Allies near Avi Burnu; it is reported from Constantinople that the Turkish casualties thus far are 40,000.

June 1—British repulse a severe attack at Gaba Tepe.

June 2—Heavy fighting continues on Gallipoli Peninsula; all the Turks who recently broke the allied line between Gaba Tepe and Krithia have been either killed or captured.

June 4—A combined general assault on Turkish Gallipoli positions is in progress.

June 6—Official British announcement states that during the last week the Allies have made considerable gains in the southern area of Gallipoli Peninsula; British win a 500-yard strip three miles long; French take trenches; Turks offer spirited resistance, and lose heavily; it is officially announced in London that on the Tigris, Asiatic Turkey, the British have made important gains, and have received the surrender of the Governor of Amara, with 700 soldiers.

June 7—Turks repulse the Allies near Sedd-el-Bahr.

June 9—Allies are landing more troops at Sedd-el-Bahr under cover of the fleet's guns.

June 11—The advance guard of the Allies is fighting near the town of Gallipoli; severe fighting is in progress near Maidos.

June 13—In the Caucasus the Russians are pushing back the Turks in the direction of Olti, on the frontier, and are occupying Turkish positions; a counter-attack by Turks at Zinatcher has been repulsed.

June 14—Reports from Athens declare that the position of the Allies on the Gallipoli Peninsula continues to improve steadily; the Turks still occupy Krithia, and the British are engaging them.

CAMPAIGN IN AFRICA.

May 1—Official statement issued at Cape Town announces that the British have inflicted a defeat on the Germans near Gibeon, German Southwest Africa; British captured a railroad train, transport wagons, two field guns, Maxims, and 200 prisoners.

May 5—British Secretary for the Colonies issues a statement saying that when General Botha, commander of the forces of the Union of South Africa, occupied Swakopmund he discovered that six wells had been poisoned by the Germans with arsenical cattle wash; Botha says the German commander told him he was acting under orders.

May 11—A French column captures the post of Esoka, in the German colony of Kamerun.

May 13—On official statement made public at Cape Town states that Windhoek, capital of German Southwest Africa, was captured yesterday without resistance by Union of South Africa forces under General Botha; German Southwest Africa is declared now to be practically in the hands of the British.

June 11—Garua, an important station on the Benue River, Kamerun, German West Africa, surrenders unconditionally to an Anglo-French force.

LUSITANIA.

May 1—Cunarder Lusitania sails from New York for Liverpool; no passenger bookings are canceled, although discussion is aroused by a newspaper advertisement inserted by the German Embassy at Washington stating that "travelers sailing in the war zone on ships of Great Britain or her allies do so at their own risk."

May 7—Lusitania is sunk ten miles off the Old Head of Kinsale, Ireland, by either one or two torpedoes discharged without warning by a German submarine, stated to be the U-39; the Cunarder is hit about 2:05 P. M., and sinks in about eighteen minutes; 1,154 persons, including many women and children, are drowned, or are killed by explosions, while among the saved are 47 injured passengers; among the dead are 102 Americans; the saved total 764, among whom are 86 Americans; of the saved 462 are passengers and 302 belong to the crew; Captain William T. Turner of the Lusitania is saved by clinging to a bit of wreckage for two hours after remaining on the bridge until his ship sank; the ship was valued at $10,000,000, and the 1,500 tons of cargo, among which were munitions of war, at $735,000; official Washington and the nation generally, as well as other neutral and allied nations, are profoundly stirred by the news; President Wilson receives bulletins at the White House; London is astounded, and there are criticisms of the Admiralty for not having convoyed the Lusitania; panic conditions prevail on the New York Stock Exchange for thirty minutes after the first news is received, but the market closes with a rally.

May 8—Secretary Tumulty, after a conference with President Wilson, states that the Chief Executive "is considering very earnestly, but very calmly, the right course of action to pursue"; Secretary Bryan directs Ambassadors Gerard and Page to make full reports; an official communication issued in Berlin states that the Lusitania "was naturally armed with guns," that "she had large quantities of war material in her cargo," that her owners are responsible for the sinking, and that Germany gave full warning of the danger; the British Government announces that the statement that the Lusitania was armed "is wholly false"; American newspapers strongly condemn the sinking, many referring to it as murder; there is talk of war by many private citizens of the United States; there is rejoicing in Germany, where towns are hung with flags and children in Southern Germany are given a half-holiday, so reports state; Berlin newspapers acclaim the sinking, while hundreds of telegrams of congratulation are received by Admiral von Tirpitz, Minister of Marine; Dr. Bernhard Dernburg, former German Colonial Secretary, in a statement in Cleveland, argues that the sinking was justified.

May 9—Dudley Field Malone, Collector of the Port of New York, makes an official denial that the Lusitania was armed when she sailed; President Wilson has not yet consulted his Cabinet on the situation, but is studying the problem alone; Theodore Roosevelt terms the sinking "an act of simple piracy," and declares we should act at once; survivors criticise the British Admiralty for not supplying a convoy, and also criticise the handling of the Lusitania; newspapers in Vienna rejoice over the torpedoing.

May 10—In a speech at Philadelphia, President Wilson declares that "there is such a thing as a man being too proud to fight; there is such a thing as a nation being so right that it does not need to convince others by force that it is right"; Coroner's jury at Kinsale, which investigated five deaths resulting from the torpedoing of the Lusitania, in returning its verdict charges the Emperor and Government of Germany, and the officers of the submarine, "with the crime of wholesale murder before the tribunal of the civilized world"; a spirit of vengeance is springing up in England; the German Foreign Office sends to the German Embassy at Washington, which communicates it to the State Department, a message of sympathy at the loss of lives, but says the blame rests with England for her "starvation plan" and for her having armed merchantmen; telegrams are pouring in by the hundred to the White House and the Department of State, but the majority advise against the use of force; there is a fifteen-minute panic on the New York Stock Exchange on the rumor of the assassination of President Wilson, prices falling from 4 to 15 points; British exchanges bar German members; the National Security League issues an open letter in New York, declaring that the army, navy, and coast defenses are inadequate, and urging support for a military efficiency program; various State Legislatures pledge their support to President Wilson.

May 11—Secretary Bryan receives an official circular issued by the German Government which declares that there is no intention of attacking, either by submarine or aircraft, neutral ships in the war zone, and that if such attacks occur through mistake damages will be paid; President Wilson is at work on his communication to Berlin; American Line announces it will not hereafter carry contraband of war; Navy League of the United States passes a resolution asking President Wilson to call an extra session of Congress to authorize a bond issue of $500,000,000 for a bigger navy; riots occur all over England, demonstrations being made against Germans and German shops; former President Roosevelt states that the United

States should act promptly and should forbid all commerce with Germany, while former President Taft states that delay can do no harm and that the United States should not hurry into war; President Wilson's Philadelphia speech results in a rise in prices on the New York Stock Exchange; the Committee of Mercy issues a country-wide appeal for help for destitute survivors of the Lusitania; customs guard on German ships at Boston is doubled; Cunard Line cancels intended sailing of the Mauretania from Liverpool; extra police guards are placed over the German ships at Hoboken.

May 12—Postponement is made until tomorrow of the sending of the American note to Germany; German Embassy discontinues its advertisement warning the public not to sail on British or allied ships; anti-alien rioting continues in England; seventy customs men, on orders from Washington, search German ships at Hoboken for explosives, none being found.

May 13—The text of the American note to Germany is made public at Washington; besides the Lusitania, it mentions the Falaba, Cushing, and Gulflight cases; it states that the United States Government expects a disavowal of the acts of the German commanders, reparation for the injuries, and a prevention of such acts in the future; it indicates that submarine warfare should be given up; it refers to the "surprising irregularity" of the German Embassy's advertisement warning Americans to keep off British ships, and states that notice of an unlawful act cannot be an excuse for its commission; it states that Germany will not expect the United States "to omit any word or any act" necessary to maintain American rights.

May 14—The American note to Germany has been delayed in transmission, and is not presented yet; President Wilson and the Cabinet are pleased with the response of the country to the note, which is praised generally by newspapers and public men: damage in anti-German rioting in South Africa is reported from Cape Town to exceed $5,000,000.

May 15—Ambassador Gerard hands the American note to the German Foreign Office; newspapers in England and France praise the note; Dr. Dernburg, who has for months been in the United States as unofficial spokesman for Germany, expresses a desire to go home, this being due, it is understood in Washington, to the criticisms resulting from his defense of the sinking of the Lusitania; German-American newspapers and prominent German-American individuals are going on record as being for the United States as against Germany in event of war.

May 16—New York clergymen from their pulpits praise President Wilson's note to Germany as a powerful instrument for the preservation of peace in this country; the loss of the Lusitania is proving a stimulus to recruiting in Great Britain.

May 17—The American note has not yet been published in Berlin, and most of the newspapers, under confidential orders from the Government, have refrained from comment.

May 18—Statements made by the officers of the British tank steamer Narragansett and of the British steamship Etonian, on arriving at New York and Boston, respectively, show that these ships and a third were prevented from going to the rescue of the Lusitania's passengers by German submarines; a torpedo was fired at the Narragansett.

May 19—Several leading German newspapers join in an attack on the United States, demanding that Germany refuse to yield to the American protest, the text of the note having been made known.

May 30—Full text of the German reply to the American note arrives in Washington and is made public; as to the Cushing and the Gulflight it is declared that the German Government has no intention of attacking neutral vessels by submarine or aircraft, and where it is proved that the attacked ship is not to blame is willing to offer regrets and pay indemnity, it being added that both the cases mentioned are now under investigation, which inquiry can be supplemented by reference to The Hague; as to the Falaba, it is declared that the persons on board were given twenty-three minutes to get off, and it is indicated that the passengers and crew would have had fuller opportunity to leave had the ship not tried to escape and had she not signaled for help by rockets; as to the Lusitania, it is declared she was built as an auxiliary cruiser and so carried on the British navy list, that Germany understands she was armed with cannon, that she carried war material and Canadian troops, while, in addition, the British Admiralty has instructed merchantmen to ram submarines; thus the sinking of the Lusitania was a measure of "justified self-defense"; it is also declared that the Cunard Company is "wantonly guilty" of the deaths, in allowing passengers to embark under the conditions cited; unofficial expressions of opinion from public men at Washington show there is disappointment and dissatisfaction over the note, which is held to be evasive; German Foreign Secretary von Jagow, in an interview given to The Associated Press correspondent in Berlin, declares that the note is not a final one because the German Government considers it essential "to establish a common basis of fact before entering into a discussion of the issues involved."

May 31—American press as a whole finds the German reply unsatisfactory, declar-

ing that it is evasive and fails to meet the issue; London newspapers find the reply to be a "weak evasion"; German-American press as a whole supports the reply; Governors of States and other public men generally agree in condemning the note, but many of them suggest the need for caution; Berlin newspapers hold that the reply is complete.

June 1—President Wilson brings the German note before the Cabinet, which has a long conference.

June 2—A conference is held at the White House between President Wilson and Ambassador von Bernstorff, at the latter's request; Ambassador von Bernstorff arranges to send through the State Department a report to his Government of his talk with the President and of the condition of public opinion in this country; von Bernstorff tells the President that he has been given affidavits that the Lusitania was armed; these affidavits are given to the American Department of State for investigation.

June 3—Ambassador von Bernstorff is arranging to send an emissary, Dr. Anton Meyer-Gerhard, to Berlin to explain the position of the American Government and the state of public opinion; the affidavits that the Lusitania was armed are under official investigation; newspaper investigations throw doubt on their authenticity.

June 5—British Ambassador transmits a note from his Government to the United States Government assuring this country that the Lusitania was unarmed.

June 8—Secretary of State Bryan resigns because he cannot join in the new note to Germany, so he states in a letter to President Wilson, without violating what he deems his duty to the country and without being unfair "to the cause which is nearest my heart, namely, the prevention of war"; President Wilson's letter accepting the resignation expresses "deep regret" and "personal sorrow"; Counselor Robert Lansing is Acting Secretary of State; newspapers generally welcome Mr. Bryan's resignation; the note to Germany is read at a Cabinet meeting and finally decided upon.

June 9—Acting Secretary of State Lansing signs the note to Germany and sends it to Ambassador Gerard; Mr. Bryan's resignation causes interest in England and Germany; Mr. Bryan says that he favors inquiry by an international commission into the points at issue between the United States and Germany, and that Americans should be warned not to travel on belligerent ships; German-American press praises Mr. Bryan.

June 10—President Wilson's answer to the German note is made public at Washington; it "asks for assurances" that Germany will safeguard American lives and American ships; the German Government is assured that it has been misinformed as to the alleged arming of the Lusitania; it is stated that the United States is contending for the rights of humanity, on which principle "the United States must stand"; Mr. Bryan issues a statement to the public, explaining his views; Gustav Stahl, said to be a former German soldier, who made an affidavit that he saw four guns on the Lusitania, is arrested by Federal officers on a charge of perjury.

June 11—The pacific nature of the American note causes satisfaction in Germany; Mr. Bryan issues a statement to German-Americans; Colonel Roosevelt, in a statement, upholds President Wilson.

June 12—Mr. Bryan issues a third statement; some German-American newspapers criticise his statement addressed to German-Americans.

June 13—Newspapers of Germany today contain columns of comment on the last American note, the general tone being milder, the friendly tenor of the note being welcomed.

June 15—Court of inquiry opens in London; Captain Turner swears on the stand that his ship was not armed.

NAVAL RECORD—GENERAL.

May 1—Four British torepdo boat destroyers sink two German torpedo boats in the North Sea, after a fifth British destroyer is sunk by a German submarine; Russian Black Sea fleet bombards Bosporus forts; allied fleet bombards Nagara, on the Dardanelles.

May 3—The ships of the allied fleet are now working in shifts at the bombardment of the Dardanelles, which is maintained twenty-four hours a day; French battleship Henri IV. and British battleship Vengeance are damaged by fire of the forts.

May 4—Bombardment of Turkish forts on the Gulf of Smyrna is resumed by an allied squadron; British warship Agamemnon is damaged by forts at the Dardanelles.

May 6—Heavy bombardment of the Dardanelles is continued by the allied fleet; during the last three days a number of villages and forts have been set on fire by shells; British superdreadnought Queen Elizabeth is taking a prominent part in the bombardment.

May 8—British torpedo boat destroyer Crusader is sunk by a mine off Zeebrugge and the crew taken prisoners by the Germans.

May 9—Russians sink six Turkish transports off the Bosporus and two in the Sea of Marmora.

May 12—Turkish destroyers in the Dardanelles torpedo and sink the British predreadnought Goliath, 500 men being lost; allied fleet bombards the forts at Kilid Bahr, Chanak Kalessi, and Nagara; Ital-

ian steamer Astrea sinks near Taranto, it being believed that she hit a mine.

May 15—Russian Black Sea fleet destroys four Turkish steamers and twenty sailing vessels; the fleet bombards Keffen, Eregli, and Kilimali.

May 16—For three days the allied fleet has been bombarding Turkish troop positions on the Dardanelles; shell fire is stated to have smashed whole trenches filled with Turkish soldiers.

May 17—Parliamentary Secretary of the British Admiralty announces in House of Commons that 460,628 tons of British shipping, other than warships, have been sunk or captured by the German Navy since the beginning of the war; that the number of persons killed in connection with the sinkings is 1,556; that the tonnage of German shipping, not warships, sunk or captured by the British Navy is 314,465, no lives being lost, so far as is known.

May 20—Bombardment of Nagara by the allied fleet continues night and day; British battleship Queen Elizabeth is supporting the allied troops on the Gallipoli Peninsula with the fire of her big guns from the Gulf of Saros; a new bombardment of the Turkish encampments on the Gulf of Smyrna is under way by ships of Allies.

May 24—Small naval units of Austria, especially destroyers and torpedo boats, bombard the Italian portions of the Adriatic coast; they are attacked by Italian torpedo boats and withdraw after a brief cannonade; the value of German and Austrian ships now in Italian ports, which have become prizes of war, is estimated at $20,000,000.

May 25—American steamer Nebraskan, en route from Liverpool to Delaware Breakwater, without cargo, is struck by either a torpedo or a mine forty miles off the south coast of Ireland; the ship is not seriously damaged and starts for Liverpool at reduced speed; Italy declares a blockade of the Austrian and Albanian coasts; allied warships bombard Adalia, Makri, Kakava, and other places along the coast of Asia Minor, destroying Government buildings and public works; Austrian ships sink an Italian destroyer near Barletta.

May 27—Captain Greene of the Nebraskan, which arrives at Liverpool, states that he thinks his ship was hit by a torpedo; the American flag had been hauled down shortly before she was struck, but the ship's name and nationality were plainly painted on her sides; British auxiliary ship Princess Irene is blown to pieces off Sheerness, 321 men being killed; it is presumed that careless handling of explosives caused the disaster.

May 28—Austrians sink an Italian torpedo boat destroyer, while the Italians sink an Austrian submarine. Danish steamer Ely is sunk by a mine off Stockholm, crew being saved.

May 29—Statement from the German Foreign Office is transmitted to Washington through Ambassador Gerard, urging that American shipping circles be again warned against traversing the waters around the British Isles incautiously, and especially that they make their neutral markings on the vessels very plain, and that they light them promptly and sufficiently at night; American naval experts find the facts to indicate that the Nebraskan was torpedoed and not struck by a mine, so Ambassador Page reports to Washington; British Admiralty puts stricter rules in force for navigation in the war zone.

May 30—British Legation at Athens issues a notice that, beginning on June 2, a blockade will be established off the coast of Asia Minor between the Dardanelles and the Strait of Samos.

May 31—An Admiralty statement shows that since the beginning of the war 130 British merchant ships and fishing vessels, with a tonnage of 471,000, have been sunk.

June 2—Two Italian torpedo boats sink two Austrian merchant vessels in the Gulf of Trieste and damage an auxiliary cruiser.

June 4—German transports, torpedo boats, and submarines seek to enter the Gulf of Riga, but sheer off on perceiving the Russian fleet; three German transports are sunk by mines.

June 5—A strong German fleet has appeared in the middle Baltic and has exchanged shots with the Russian fleet near the Gulf of Riga; Winston Churchill, in a speech at Dundee, declares that the British Navy is growing at an amazing rate, and is much stronger, both actually and relatively, than at the beginning of the war; Greek steamer Virginia is blown up by a floating mine while heading for the Gulf of Trieste, her crew being killed.

June 6—Italian warships are destroying cables and lighthouses on the Adriatic; Italian warships bombard the railway between Cattaro and Ragusa, and shell Monfalcone.

June 11—Turkish cruiser Midullu sinks a Russian torpedo boat destroyer in the Black Sea.

June 14—British steamship Arndale sinks from striking a mine in the White Sea.

June 15—Official announcement states that the total loss from all causes in the British Navy up to May 31 was 13,547 officers and men.

NAVAL RECORD—SUBMARINES.

May 1—The Gulflight, an American oil steamer owned by the Gulf Refining Company, is torpedoed off the Scilly Islands, but does not sink, and is towed to an anchorage in Crow Sound, Scilly Islands; the Captain dies of heart failure, and two men jump overboard and are drowned;

she was flying the American flag; French steamer Europe is torpedoed by a German submarine, crew being rescued; British steamer Fulgent is torpedoed by a German submarine; some of the crew are missing; British steamer Edale is sunk by a German submarine off the Scilly Islands, crew being saved; Russian steamer Svorono is sunk by a German submarine off the Blasket Islands, crew being saved; British trawler Colombia is sunk by a German submarine, seventeen of the crew being lost.

May 3—In the last forty-eight hours one Swedish steamer and three Norwegian steamers have been sunk by German submarines; British steamer Minterne is sunk by a German submarine off the Scilly Islands, two of crew being killed.

May 4—Ten British trawlers have been sunk by German submarines in the last forty-eight hours; the submarine which caused the most damage has an iron cross painted on her conning tower.

May 5—Danish steamer Cathay is sunk by a German submarine in the North Sea; passengers and crew saved.

May 6—British steamers Candidate and Centurion are sunk off the Irish coast by German submarines, crews being saved; British schooner Earl of Latham is sunk by a German submarine; two British trawlers are sunk by German submarines.

May 8—British steamer Queen Wilhelmina is sunk by a German submarine in the North Sea, crew being given time to take to the boats.

May 12—British submarine E-14 has penetrated to the Sea of Marmora and has sunk two Turkish gunboats and five Turkish transports.

May 15—German submarine sinks without warning the Danish steamer Martha in Aberdeen Bay, Scotland; crew escapes.

May 19—German submarines sink British steamers Drumcree and Dumfries and British trawler Lucerne; no lives lost.

May 20—French steam trawler is blown to pieces by German submarine near Dartmouth; thirteen of crew killed; British trawlers Chrysolite and Crimond are sunk by German submarines; crews saved.

May 21—German submarine, with thirty-nine shots from her gun, sinks British sailing ship Glenholm off Irish coast; crew saved.

May 22—German submarine sinks Norwegian steamer Minerva; crew saved.

May 23—Repeated reports keep coming from Copenhagen that the German naval authorities admit the loss of seventeen submarines since the opening of the war.

May 24—An allied submarine sinks Turkish gunboat Pelenk-i-Deria.

May 25—British battleship Triumph is sunk in the Dardanelles by a German submarine, going down in seven minutes; 56 men are lost; the Triumph was built in 1904 and cost $4,750,000.

May 26—A British submarine has sunk a Turkish gunboat in the Sea of Marmora within sight of Constantinople.

May 27—German submarine torpedoes and sinks British battleship Majestic off Sedd-el-Bahr; 49 men are lost; Majestic was completed in 1895 and belonged to the oldest type of battleship in commission in British Navy; British Admiralty announces that submarine E-11 has sunk a large Turkish munition ship, while she caused a small storeship to run ashore; also that E-11 entered Constantinople harbor and discharged a torpedo at a transport alongside the arsenal; British steamer Cadeby is sunk off the Scilly Islands by gunfire from a German submarine; crew saved.

May 28—The torpedoing of the American tanker Gulflight is now established in Germany as having been due to a German submarine, the report of the submarine's Captain having been received by the German Admiralty; he reports that when he saw the Gulflight she was being convoyed by two patrol boats, and he concluded she must be British or was carrying contraband; British steamer Spennymoor is sunk by a German submarine off the Orkney Islands, six men being drowned; British steamer Tullochmoor is shelled and sunk by a German submarine, crew being saved; British steamer Glenlee is sunk by a German submarine, crew being saved; Portuguese steamer Cysne is sunk by a German submarine off Cape Finisterre, crew being saved; German submarine U-24 sinks British steamer Ethiope in the English Channel; fifteen of crew are missing.

May 29—British steamer Dixiana is sunk by a German submarine, which is disguised with sails; crew saved.

May 31—Danish steamer Soborg is sunk by a German submarine in the English Channel; crew saved.

June 1—British steamer Saidieh, carrying passengers, is torpedoed without warning in the North Sea by a German submarine and sinks in fifteen minutes; seven of the crew, including a stewardess, are lost; Welsh trawler Victoria is sunk by a German submarine, several of the crew being killed by shell fire.

June 2—British submarine torpedoes a large German transport in the Sea of Marmora; German submarines sink the Norwegian steamer Cubano and the Welsh trawler Hiorld, the crews being saved; Danish schooner Salvador is sunk by a German submarine, crew saved.

June 3—Swedish steamer Lapland is sunk by a German submarine off Scotland, crew being saved; Danish steamer Cyrus is sunk by a German submarine off Scotland, crew being saved; British steamer Iona is sunk by a German submarine, crew being shelled while taking to the

boats and four men being wounded; British fishing steamer Chrysophrasus is sunk by a German submarine, crew being shelled while taking to the boats; Portugal is aroused over recent sinking of two Portuguese ships by German submarines; French steamer Penfeld is sunk by a German submarine, crew saved.

June 4—British trawler Ebenezer is sunk by shell fire from a German submarine, crew escaping; British steamer Inkum is sunk by a German submarine, crew escaping; steam drifter Edna May, trawler Strathbran, sailing ship George and Mary, steam fishing vessels Cortes, Kathleen, and Evening Star, steamer Sunnet Head, trawlers Horace and Economy, all British, have been sunk by German submarines; Russian mine layer is sunk by a submarine near the Gulf of Riga.

June 5—German submarine U-51 arrives at Constantinople from Wilhelmshaven, after a voyage of forty-two days, during which she sunk the British battleships Triumph and Majestic.

June 6—Five more British trawlers have been sunk by German submarines, all the crews being saved.

June 7—The trawler Arctic, bark Sunlight, steamer Star of the West, and the trawler Dromio, all British, have been sunk by German submarines; four of the Arctic's crew were killed by shell fire from the submarine; Russian schooner Afold has been sunk by a German submarine.

June 8—German submarines sink Belgian steamer Menapier, Norwegian steamer Trudvang, Norwegian bark Superb, Norwegian steamer Glittertind, British trawlers Pentland and Saturn; sixteen die on the Menapier.

June 9—British sink a German submarine and capture her crew; First Lord of the Admiralty Balfour states that hereafter submarine crews will be treated like other prisoners of war; German submarine sinks British steamer Lady Salisbury; one of the crew is killed and two are missing; official Austrian statement declares that submarine No. 4 torpedoed and sank a small British cruiser off the Albanian coast; British statement says the ship is now safe in harbor, not seriously damaged.

June 10—British torpedo boats Nos. 10 and 12 are sunk off the east coast of England by a German submarine; twenty-nine seamen are missing; German submarines sink steamers Strathcarron and Erna Boldt, and the trawlers Letty, Tunisian, Castor, Nottingham, Velocity, Cardiff, Qui Vive, and Edward, all British; German submarines sink Russian bark Thomasina, Russian steamer Dania, and Swedish steamer Otago, crews being saved.

June 12—German submarines sink British steamer Leuctra and trawlers James Leyman, Britannia, and Waago, crews being saved.

June 13—German submarine U-35 sinks British bark Crown of India and Norwegian bark Bellglade off Milford Haven, crews escaping; German submarine sinks British trawler Plymouth, crew escaping.

June 14—German submarines sink British steamer Hopemount and French schooner Diamant, crews being saved; German submarine burns the Danish schooner Cocos Merstal, crew being saved.

June 15—German submarine sinks British trawler Argyll, seven of crew being drowned; German submarine sinks Norwegian steamer Duranger; crew saved.

AERIAL RECORD.

May 1—Germans bring down three aeroplanes of the Allies on the western line.

May 2—German aeroplanes bombard towns in Eastern France; twenty incendiary bombs are dropped on Epinal.

May 3—Germans state that they have sunk a British submarine in the North Sea by dropping a bomb on it from an airship; this is denied by the British Admiralty; a German aeroplane is driven off from Dover by gunfire.

May 4—Two Austrian aeroplanes throw incendiary bombs near Mamaligia, in Bessarabia.

May 5—An official French note states that on March 22 French aviators damaged Briey, Conflans, and Metz; that on April 15 French aviators destroyed 150 railroad cars at St. Quentin, twenty-four soldiers being killed; that on April 28 French aviators destroyed a Zeppelin at Friedrichshaven; two Turkish aeroplanes are brought down by shells from the allied fleet at the Dardanelles.

May 7—Three Russian aviators drop bombs on Constantinople.

May 9—British airmen bombard the St. André railway junction near Lille, the canal bridge at Dok, and also Furnes, Herlies, Illies, Marquelles, and La Bassée.

May 10—Zeppelins drop bombs on Westcliffe-on-Sea and Southend, seaside resorts in Essex; slight damage.

May 11—French aviator bombards airship hangar at Maubeuge; German aviator bombards railroad station at Doullens; Germans bring down a British aviator, and British bring down two German aviators.

May 13—A Zeppelin falls in the Gierlesche woods in Belgium, is badly damaged, and is dismantled by the crew, being taken away in sections.

May 17—Two Zeppelins drop bombs on Ramsgate, damaging buildings and wounding three persons; it is reported from Rotterdam that a fight recently occurred in the region of the Yser between a Zeppelin and twenty-seven allied aeroplanes, the Zeppelin being sent crashing to earth with sixty men, while two aeroplanes were wrecked and their pilots killed by

machine gun fire from the Zeppelin; British aeroplanes drop proclamations on the town of Gallipoli announcing an approaching bombardment and advising the population to leave.

May 18—London reports that two Zeppelins have been destroyed, one falling within the allied lines at Dunkirk, and the other falling into the sea as the result of shell fire from a French torpedo boat destroyer.

May 20—Squadrons of Austro-German aeroplanes are bombarding Przemysl.

May 21—Turkish aeroplanes are aiding their troops on the Gallipoli Peninsula; British bring down a German aeroplane near Ypres; Germans bring down an allied aeroplane at Fresnoy.

May 22—German aviators, in an aeroplane disguised as a French machine, drop eight bombs on Paris, two persons being slightly injured; because of the disguise the French air patrol allowed the German machine to pass.

May 23—German aviator bombards the town of Chateau Thiery.

May 24—Austrian aeroplanes drop bombs on Venice, Porto Corsini, Ancona, Gesi, Potenza Picena, the Tremiti Islands, and Barletta; a German Taube drops bombs in the northern suburbs of Paris; no one injured.

May 25—Six French aeroplanes drive off two German machines which seek to raid Paris; French aeroplanes are active along the entire front and drop 205 projectiles upon German positions.

May 26—A Zeppelin drops fifty bombs on Southend; one woman is killed and several persons injured; the property damage is slight; this Zeppelin later is reported as having fallen into the sea near Heligoland, having been struck by a shell while over England; French airmen bring down a German aeroplane which attacked the suburbs of Paris yesterday, the two German aviators being killed; allied airmen drop nineteen bombs on the aerodrome at Gontrode, southeast of Ghent, destroying the greater part of the aerodrome, killing forty-four soldiers, and wounding thirty; Italian aviators bombard railroad station at Monfalcone.

May 27—Eighteen French aeroplanes, each carrying 110 pounds of projectiles, bombard an important German manufactory of explosives at Ludwigshafen, on the Rhine, starting fires in several of the factory buildings, and killing eleven civilians; fifty German soldiers are killed at Ostend by a bomb dropped by allied aeroplane; Italian and Austrian aeroplane squadrons are active in the operations of the armies, doing much scouting and some bombarding; squadron of Italian hydroaeroplanes throws bombs on the Trieste-Nabresina Railroad; allied aeroplane squadron flies over the Dardanelles and subjects Turkish position to heavy bombardment.

May 28—Experts estimate that orders amounting to $16,000,000 have been placed in the United States for aeroplanes for the Allies.

May 29—Austrian aeroplane squadron drops bombs on Venice, causing several fires; a French and a German aeroplane fight a duel at 9,000 feet near Fismes, the French machine, by its gunfire, shooting down the German from a height of 6,000 feet.

May 30—A Zeppelin drops bombs on Helsingfors, destroying cotton sheds and setting fire to a passenger ship; British bring down a German aeroplane near Courtrai; Turkish aviators drop bombs on the allied trenches at Sedd-el-Bahr.

May 31—Zeppelins drop ninety incendiary bombs on London in a night raid; four civilians are killed and several others wounded; numerous fires are started, but none prove serious; Berlin announces that the attack is a reprisal for the aerial attack on Ludwigshafen; Italian dirigible makes a raid on the Austrian naval base of Pola, damaging the railroad station and arsenal.

June 2—Germans shoot down a British aeroplane at Bixschoote.

June 3—Twenty-nine French aeroplanes aim 178 shells and several thousand darts at the headquarters of the German Crown Prince, killing several soldiers.

June 4—Zeppelins drop bombs on the east and southeast coasts of England; little damage is done and casualties are few.

June 5—A Taube drops bombs on Calais, killing one person and doing slight property damage.

June 6—Ten Zeppelins of a new type are reported from Copenhagen to have been completed, these machines having greater speed than the old ships; they are stated to be fitted with appliances for dropping poisonous gas bombs; German aeroplanes drop bombs on Calais and on the aviation grounds at Lunéville; a Zeppelin drops bombs on the east coast of England, five persons being killed and forty injured.

June 7—Sub-Lieutenant Warneford of the British Flying Corps fights a duel with a Zeppelin at a height of 6,000 feet; with incendiary bombs he explodes the airship, which falls near Ghent, the twenty-eight men on board being killed; Warneford returns safely to the British lines; Italian dirigible bombards Pola.

June 8—King George sends a warmly congratulatory telegram to Sub-Lieutenant Warneford and confers upon him the Victoria Cross; Austrian aeroplane bombards Venice; Austrian aeroplane destroys an Italian airship.

June 12—Austrian aeroplanes drop bombs on the breakwater of Bari, on Polignano, where a woman is killed, and on Monopoli.

June 13—Italian airship seriously damages the arsenal at the naval station of Pola.

June 15—Twenty-three allied aeroplanes bombard the town of Karlsruhe, killing eleven and injuring six civilians.

AUSTRIA-HUNGARY.

May 23—Emperor Francis Joseph, in a manifesto to his troops, denounces Italy, and declares that his former ally's perfidy has no parallel in history.

May 25—The Foreign Ministry publishes documents presenting Austria's side of the controversy with Italy; it is contended that Italy, from the beginning, sought to evade her obligations by artificial interpretation of the Triple Alliance treaty.

BELGIUM.

May 24—The German Government has published a "White Book" charging Belgian civilians with many forms of attacks on German troops; German measures at Louvain and elsewhere are declared to have been only for the purpose of stopping these attacks.

June 6—Belgian Legation at Washington gives out a statement answering the German White Book recently issued at Berlin making accusations against the Belgian civilian population; reply denounces allegations of franc-tireur warfare as false and unsupported; Belgian Government, instead of encouraging civilian resistance, warned the population against it.

CANADA.

May 3—Official statement places Canadian casualties in the battle of Langemarck, as the recent fighting near Ypres is now officially termed, at 6,000 killed, wounded, and missing; total Canadian casualties in the entire war to date are 6,584.

May 17—Canadian losses since the battle of Langemarck total 4,792, made up of 680 killed, 3,208 wounded ,and 904 missing.

June 10—Nine camps have been opened, at intervals from Nova Scotia to British Columbia, for training troops; plans provide for training 100,000 recruits this Summer.

June 11—Every battalion of the second Canadian division is now in France.

FRANCE.

May 10—General Gouraud, it is announced, will relieve General d'Amade in command of the expeditionary force to the Orient; General d'Amade has been summoned back to France for a Governmental mission.

May 19—The Minister of Finance introduces a bill in the Chamber of Deputies providing for a $220,000,000 appropriation for the first six months of 1915 in addition to the $1,700,000,000 which has been already voted.

May 22—Captain Thery, a prominent economist, estimates that the cost of the first year of the war, including the expenses of all combatants, will be about $2,000,000 an hour.

May 29—A great demonstration is held in the Sorbonne amphitheatre, attended by the President and the notables of political and artistic France, to express the appreciation of the French people for the sympathy and help of Americans during the war.

GERMANY.

May 2—The last of the Landsturm is called to the colors.

May 4—Lübeck, on the Baltic Sea, formerly a port of relatively small importance, has become a great port, and dozens of ships are there discharging vast quantities of foodstuffs and other supplies; twenty-three Socialist members of the Reichstag opposed the voting of the full war credit last asked by the Government, according to a report from Berlin.

May 7—The Germans state that they and the Austrians now hold 46,000 square miles of Russian territory, containing a population of more than 5,000,000.

May 12—Typhus has appeared in some of the German prison camps.

May 14—Lieutenant von Muecke and fifty men of the Emden's crew, who escaped when that cruiser was sunk in November, have arrived at Damascus, after six months of adventurous wanderings.

May 18—The London Chronicle, on the basis of statistics which it has received, estimates the total German losses in the war to be 2,050,000.

May 24—Germany asks Switzerland to take over German diplomatic affairs in Rome; this action is regarded in Washington as a slap at the United States.

May 26—Prince von Bülow, recently Ambassador to Italy, arrives in Berlin; Germany and Italy are still theoretically allies, war not having been declared between them.

May 28—Chancellor von Bethmann-Hollweg, speaking in the Reichstag, declares that the Teutonic allies are waging war in "holy anger" and will fight until they have made it certain that no enemy "will dare again a trial of arms"; he makes a scathing attack on Italy, and says that "her violation of good faith" is written in "letters of blood."

May 30—Americans are leaving Germany by the score, declaring the hate for Americans is so intense as to make life unbearable.

June 2—Officers and men on furlough in Berlin are forbidden to visit cafés and restaurants.

June 4—Prussian losses alone have reached a total of 1,388,000.

June 5—There are now 900,000 prisoners of war held in Germany, in 247 prison camps.

June 7—An extensive exodus of Americans from Germany is in progress, many going to Italy; refugees declare the Germans now hate Americans as bitterly as they do the British.

June 14—Germany discontinues her exceptional treatment of 39 British officers, put into effect as reprisal for England's exceptional treatment of German submarine crews, now ended.

GREAT BRITAIN.

May 2—Lord Kitchener is becoming the storm centre of the Cabinet upheaval; attacks on him by the Northcliffe newspapers are resented by other newspapers and by many of the public; a "White Paper," containing reports from firms and officers throughout the country, shows that drink is having a serious effect on repairs to warships and transports and on the output of munitions.

May 4—Since the beginning of the war the British Army has had 2,246 officers killed, 4,177 wounded and 762 missing; Chancellor Lloyd George, in a budget speech in Parliament, places the expenditure for the next six months at $10,500,000 a day.

May 7—Government abandons the plan to place extra taxes on spirits and instead substitutes a complete prohibition of the sale of spirits less than three years old.

May 12—The Committee on Alleged German Atrocities, headed by Viscount Bryce, appointed by Premier Asquith, makes public its report, which contains an account of hundreds of cases investigated; the report finds that there were in many parts of Belgium "systematically organized massacres of the civil population"; that in the general conduct of the war innocent civilians, men and women "were murdered in large number, women violated, and children murdered"; that "looting, house burning, and the wanton destruction of property were ordered" by German officers; that "the rules and usages of war were frequently broken," civilians, including women and children, being used as a shield for troops, and that the Red Cross and white flag were frequently abused.

May 13—Premier Asquith announces in the house of Commons the new policy of the Government with reference to alien enemies now resident in Great Britain; those of military age will be interned, while those not of military age, and women and children will be deported; King George orders the names of the German and Austrian Emperors, and of five German Kings and Princes stricken from the rolls of the Order of the Garter.

May 18—Premier Asquith is forming a "National Cabinet," or coalition government, in which some of the Cabinet posts at present occupied by Liberals will go to Unionist and Labor Party leaders; the crisis is the result of the resignation of Lord Fisher as First Sea Lord of the Admiralty, due to differences between him and Winston Churchill, First Lord of the Admiralty; Churchill has been much criticised, particularly for the fiasco at Antwerp and the policy pursued in the Dardanelles, while the loss of the Lusitania has further stirred his opponents.

May 19—The Northcliffe newspapers state that there has been difficulty over high explosives for the army, those in charge at the War Office not having awakened in time to the need for such explosives in large quantities; these papers criticise Lord Kitchener's conduct of the War Office; racing will be stopped after this week for the duration of the war, except at Newmarket.

May 25—The make-up of the new coalition Cabinet is announced; it is headed by Mr. Asquith and contains twelve Liberals, eight Unionists, one Laborite, and one non-partisan, Lord Kitchener; Arthur J. Balfour becomes First Lord of the Admiralty; John Redmond refuses a place in the Cabinet; Liberal newspapers criticise the entry into the Cabinet of Sir Edward Carson, who becomes Attorney General.

May 27—Admiral Sir Henry Jackson is appointed First Sea Lord of the Admiralty in the place of Admiral Lord Fisher.

June 3—Premier Asquith ends a visit of four days at the British front, during which he consulted with Field Marshal French and General Joffre; Minister of Munitions Lloyd George, in a speech at Manchester, declares that England must have more munitions and that the fate of the nation rests on the workshops.

June 8—House of Commons passes the Munitions bill on third reading; the measure establishes a new department to handle munitions.

June 9—Premier Asquith announces in the House of Commons that the total British casualties up to May 31 were 50,342 killed, 153,980 wounded, and 53,747 missing.

June 15—House of Commons votes a war credit of $1,250,000,000, making a total of $4,310,000,000 thus far voted; Asquith says expenditure will be not less than $15,000,000 a day.

GREECE.

June 15—Returns of the general election show that the party of former Premier Venizelos, who has been in favor of entering the war on the side of the Allies, has a considerable majority in Parliament.

HOLLAND.

May 19—A bill is being prepared providing for universal compulsory military service; the measure will increase the army approximately to 1,000,000 men.

ITALY.

May 10—Italy calls to the colors all classes of reserves back to the class of 1876; an Italian army of 600,000 is concentrated at Verona.

May 12—Government receives what is believed to be the final proposal of Austria for territorial concessions; ex-Premier Giolitti, one of the most influential men in Italy, is against war; war demonstrations are being held all over Italy.

May 14—The Cabinet tenders its resignation to the King because of the strength of the anti-war party, led by former Premier Giolitti; the entire country is in a turmoil, there being much indignation over the fall of the Cabinet.

May 15—Signor Marcora having refused to form a Cabinet, and a similar refusal having been made by Paolo Carcano, the King asks Salandra to resume the Premiership; Salandra consents; the people and press are furious with Giolitti; the country is on the verge of revolt; troops save the Austrian Embassy from attack.

May 16—There is general rejoicing throughout the country over the retention of office by Salandra; it is reported that Italy now has 1,700,000 men mobilized and equipped.

May 19—Italy issues a Green Book, tracing the course of events between Italy and Austria, from the Italian standpoint, during recent months; Italy holds that Austria has violated Article VII. of the Triple Alliance, which bound Austria to refrain from occupation of Balkan territory without agreement with Italy and due compensation; in the invasion of Serbia and occupation of her cities, Italy claims that Austria has broken faith, and the negotiations between the two countries have been concerned chiefly with compensation, Austria not meeting Italian demands.

May 20—Chamber of Deputies, amid wild enthusiasm, adopts, by a vote of 407 to 74, a bill conferring full power upon the Government to make war; Premier Salandra denounces Austria in a speech which is tremendously acclaimed; he says she broke her alliance, and was false to the treaty in its substance, form and spirit; he declares that Italy has long been for peace and strove to find a compromise which would restore agreement's reason for being.

May 21—By a vote of 262 to 2 the Senate passes the bill granting plenary powers to the Government; there is great enthusiasm in the Chamber; Italian and Austrian troops continue to mass at the border; all Italy is aflame with enthusiasm.

May 22—General mobilization of the army and navy is ordered; martial law is proclaimed, beginning May 23, in Northeastern Italy; the King signs the bill giving full power to the Salandra Ministry in the present emergency and for "the duration of the war."

May 23—Duke of Avarna, Italian Ambassador at Austria, presents to Baron von Burian, Austro-Hungarian Foreign Minister, a declaration of war by Italy, dated May 23, but not to take effect until tomorrow; the declaration states that the treaty of alliance between Italy and Austria has been violated by Austria; estimates put the total Italian war strength at 3,300,000 when all reservists are called.

May 24—Italy has given her adhesion to the agreement, already signed by the allied powers, not to conclude a separate peace.

May 25—Italy sends a note to the United States Government explaining her break with Austria; Italy states that she was forced into hostilities, cites a long list of grievances, and declares that, despite warnings, the ultimatum was sent to Serbia without notification to Rome; this ultimatum, so sent, declares Italy, violated Article I. of the Triple Alliance treaty, which provided that none of the contracting parties had the right to undertake, without a previous agreement, any step whose consequences might impose a duty upon the other signatories arising out of the alliance, or which would in any way encroach upon their vital interests; Italy further states that the Triple Alliance was essentially defensive; similar notes are sent by Italy to all important neutral countries.

May 28—The Pope declines an invitation from Spain to make his headquarters at the Palace of the Escurial.

June 13—Official journal publishes decree for seizing merchant ships of Italy's enemies in the ports of the kingdom and colonies.

RUMANIA.

June 1—Rumania has 1,000,000 fully equipped men ready for battle against Austria on a 600-mile front; a note to Austria containing Rumania's demands is now before the Austrian Government.

June 6—A great demonstration is held in Bucharest in favor of Rumania's joining the war with the Allies; speakers eulogize Italy for entering the war.

RUSSIA.

May 10—Figures made public in Petrograd show that the total number of prisoners taken by Russian armies and interned in Russia up to April 1 was 10,734 officers and 605,378 men; in addition, the statement says that large numbers of Galician prisoners have been given their liberty and sent home.

SAN MARINO.

June 3—The Republic of San Marino officially approves of the Italian attitude toward Austria and declares war.

SERBIA.

May 24—The Serbian Army has been reorganized; Great Britain and France have supplied it abundantly with artillery and ammunition.

SWEDEN.

June 6—Stockholm reports that a treaty has been ratified between Sweden and Russia, mutually acknowledging the financial, commercial, and industrial interests of the respective countries.

TURKEY.

May 23—A joint official statement issued by Great Britain, France, and Russia states that for the past month Kurds and the Turkish population of Armenia have been massacring Armenians, with "the connivance and help of the Ottoman authorities"; that the inhabitants of 100 villages near Van were all assassinated; that massacres have taken place at Erzerum, Dertshau, Moush, Zeitun, and in all Cilicia; that the allied Governments announce publicly to the Sublime Porte that "they will hold all members of the Government, as well as such of their agents as are implicated, personally responsible for such massacres."

June 6—The Krupps have established a large ammunition factory near Constantinople.

UNITED STATES.

May 3—Government is obtaining official reports on the sinking of the Gulflight from Ambassadors Page and Gerard.

May 5—State Department makes public the text of its reply to the German note in the William P. Frye case, which was forwarded on April 28; the reply declines the suggestion that a German prize court pass on the legality of the destruction and amount of indemnity; it suggests that the German Embassy at Washington be authorized to deal with the matter; it states that unquestionably the destruction of the vessel was a violation of old treaties between the United States and Prussia.

May 6—The State Department has replied to the German complaint that the German steamer Odenwald was "attacked" when she attempted to leave San Juan, Porto Rico, without clearance papers; text not made public.

May 19—American tank steamer Cushing arrives in Philadelphia, and Captain Herland tells the details of the attack made by a German aeroplane on April 28, while the ship was in the North Sea; he states that the aviator manoeuvred to drop a bomb into the funnel, from a height of 300 feet, but the three bombs thrown missed the ship; he says the attack took place at 7 P. M., but there was ample light for the aviator to see the ship's name in eight-foot letters, and the American flags at the masthead and the taffrail; Secretary Bryan has cabled to Ambassador Gerard, asking whether the action of the German Government in placing the William P. Frye case in a prize court is the reply to the American note stating that the United States did not regard prize court proceedings with favor.

May 21—Recent orders from the British Government bring up to $100,000,000 the total contracts for munitions of war given to the Bethlehem Steel Company since hostilities began.

May 22—The French Line has chartered thirty-seven freight steamships to aid in transporting the huge quantities of munitions of war waiting shipment from the United States to the allied countries.

May 24—Italy asks the United States to take over Italian diplomatic affairs at Vienna, and the United States consents; Germany, through Ambassador Gerard, explains that her action of sending the William P. Frye case to a prize court is not intended as an answer to the American note on the matter, but is a necessary procedure under German law.

May 25—United States issues a proclamation of neutrality, under date of May 24, covering the entry of Italy into the war.

May 29—Federal Court at Milwaukee dismisses the action brought by General Samuel Pearson, former Boer commander, in which he sought to restrain the Allis-Chalmers Company and others from manufacturing shrapnel shells, which, it was alleged, were being shipped to the Allies; the court holds that the relief sought by the plaintiff is political rather than legal.

June 2—The Allies have assured the State Department that Dr. Dernburg will be given safe conduct if he wishes to return to Germany.

June 4—Germany in a note expresses regret for the torpedoing of the Gulflight, which is stated to have been due to a mistake, and offers to pay for the damage.

June 5—German war bonds are being sold in this country, and German-Americans are buying them readily.

June 8—There are persistent rumors that German interests are trying to buy American ammunition factories so as to stop shipments to the Allies.

June 10—In a new note on the William P. Frye case Germany insists that the case go before a prize court, and puts forth the contention that she has the right to destroy any American ship carrying contraband, the contention being based on the American-Prussian Treaty of 1799.

June 12—Dr. Dernburg sails for Bergen on the Norwegian America liner Bergensfjord.

RELIEF.

May 15—A national Polish relief association is being organized in the United States; Paderewski, now in New York in the in-

terests of relief, estimates the losses of his compatriots by the war at $2,500,000,000; he says that an area has been laid waste equal in size to New York and Pennsylvania; that 7,500 villages have been completely ruined; that thousands of persons are hiding in the woods and feeding on roots.

May 16—The American Commission for Relief in Belgium has now got a financial system working in Belgium by which the great bulk of food needed is being supplied indirectly by the Belgians themselves through their own energies and resources; 75 per cent. of the Belgian people are being supplied with food through the arrangements made by the commission, without recourse to charity.

May 20—England has asked American surgeons to man her newest and largest field hospital; as a result, the medical schools of Harvard, Columbia, and Johns Hopkins will send thirty-two surgeons and physicians and seventy-five nurses; the universities will bear the expenses of the corps.

May 21—Carleton Gibson of the Commission for relief of Poland sends a report to New York stating that in that part of Russian Poland within the Austro-German lines conditions are much worse than in the worst parts of Belgium and France, and that the population is now actually starving.

May 22—The Commission for Relief in Belgium states that about 1,500,000 persons are now destitute in Belgium through unemployment; the monthly food requirements of the Belgians involve an expenditure of between $7,000,000 and $8,000,000.

To the Captain of the U—.

By HARRY VARLEY.

You have drunk your toast to "the Day" that came;
The Cross is won, for you did not fail.
Do you thrill with joy at your deathless fame?
Your hand is trembling, your lips are pale!
Ah! you drink again—but the wine is spilled,
A crimson stain on the snowy white.
Is it wine—or blood of the children killed?
Captain! what of the night?

When the black night comes and the Day is done,
You sleep, and dream of the things that float
In a misty sea where a blood-red sun
Lights up the dead in a drifting boat.
Will you see a face in the waves that swell—
A baby's face that is cold and white?
Will your sleep be sweet or a glimpse of Hell?
Captain! what of the night?

Will you see the stare of the small blue eyes,
The tiny fingers of whitest wax
That will point at you, or the wound that lies,
A clot of red in her fairy flax?
Will the beads that burst on your brows be hot
As mothers' tears that are newly shed?
Will each sear and burn like a blazing dot
That eats its way through your tortured head?

Will you see the ship as it onward sped—
The Thing that flew at your fatal word?
Will the dripping ghosts be around your bed—
The screams of the dying still be heard?
When the Big Night calls—and you must obey—
Will *your* soul shrink in its awful fright?
You have lived your life, you have had your Day,
But, Captain! what of the night?

H. M. QUEEN SOPHIA OF GREECE

Sister of Kaiser Wilhelm, and an Ardent Germanophile

(Photo from Bain.)

HIS HOLINESS BENEDICT XV.

The Entrance of Italy into the War has Increased the Delicacy of the Pontiff's Position

(Photo from International News.)

PERIOD XI.

President Wilson's Rejection of Germany's Proposals—The War in Africa and Asia—The Drive of the Teutons at Warsaw—Battles in the West—Rumania, Serbia, Bulgaria, and Greece—New Recruiting in Britain—The Munition Problem—Sweden and the Lusitania—The Psychology of Neutrals—Calais or Suez?—The War and Racial Progress.

THE LUSITANIA CASE

(CONTINUED)

The American Note to Berlin of July 21

Steps Leading Up to President Wilson's Rejection of Germany's Proposals

THE German Admiralty on Feb. 4 proclaimed a war zone around Great Britain announcing that every enemy merchant ship found therein would be destroyed "without its being always possible to avert the dangers threatening the crews and passengers on that account."

The text of this proclamation was made known by Ambassador Gerard on Feb. 6. Four days later the United States Government sent to Germany a note of protest which has come to be known as the "strict accountability note." After pointing out that a serious infringement of American rights on the high seas was likely to occur, should Germany carry out her war-zone decree in the manner she had proclaimed, it declared:

"If such a deplorable situation should arise, the Imperial German Government can readily appreciate that the Government of the United States would be constrained to hold the Imperial German Government to a strict accountability for such acts of their naval authorities and to take any steps it might be necessary to take to safeguard American lives and property and to secure to American citizens the full enjoyment of their acknowledged rights on the high seas."

The war-zone decree went into effect on Feb. 18. Two days later dispatches were cabled to Ambassador Page at London and to Ambassador Gerard at Berlin suggesting that a modus vivendi be entered into by England and Germany by which submarine warfare and sowing of mines at sea might be abandoned if foodstuffs were allowed to reach the German civil population under American consular inspection.

Germany replied to this on March 1, expressing her willingness to act favorably on the proposal. The same day the British Government stated that because of the war-zone decree of the German Government the British Government must take measures to prevent commodities of all kinds from reaching or leaving Germany. On March 15 the British Government flatly refused the modus vivendi suggestion.

[Vol. IV., P. 817.]

On April 4 Count von Bernstorff, the German Ambassador at Washington, submitted a memorandum to the United States Government regarding German-American trade and the exportation of arms. Mr. Bryan replied to the memorandum on April 21, insisting that the United States was preserving her strict status of neutrality according to the accepted laws of nations.

On May 7 the Cunard steamship Lusitania was sunk by a German submarine in the war zone as decreed by Germany, and more than 100 American citizens perished, with 1,000 other persons on board.

Thereupon, on May 13, the United States transmitted to the German Government a note on the subject of this loss. It said:

"American citizens act within their indisputable rights in taking their ships and in traveling wherever their legitimate business calls them upon the high seas, and exercise those rights in what should be the well justified confidence that their lives will not be endangered by acts done in clear violation of universally acknowledged international obligations, and certainly in the confidence that their own Government will sustain them in the exercise of their rights."

This note concluded:

"The Imperial Government will not expect the Government of the United States to omit any word or any act necessary to the performance of its sacred duty of maintaining the rights of the United States and its citizens and of safeguarding their free exercise and enjoyment."

Germany replied to this note on May 29. It stated that it had heard that the Lusitania was an armed naval ship which had attempted to use American passengers as a protection, and that, anyway, such passengers should not have been present. It added:

"The German commanders are consequently no longer in a position to observe the rules of capture otherwise usual and with which they invariably complied before this."

To the foregoing the United States maintained in a note sent to the German Government on June 9 that the Lusitania was not an armed vessel and that she had sailed in accordance with the laws of the United States, and that "only her actual resistance to capture or refusal to stop when ordered to do so * * * could have afforded the commander of the submarine any justification for so much as putting the lives of those on board the ship in jeopardy."

In support of this view the note cited international law and added:

"It is upon this principle of humanity, as well as upon the law founded upon this principle, that the United States must stand."

Exactly one month later, on July 9, came Germany's reply. Its preamble praised the United States for its humane attitude and said that Germany was fully in accord therewith. Something, it asserted, should be done, for "the case of the Lusitania shows with horrible clearness to what jeopardizing of human lives the manner of conducting war employed by our adversaries leads," and that under certain conditions which it set forth, American ships might have safe passage through the war zone, or even some enemy ships flying the American flag. It continued:

"The Imperial Government, however, confidently hopes the American Government will assume to guarantee that these vessels have no contraband on board, details of arrangements for the unhampered passage of these vessels to be agreed upon by the naval authorities of both sides."

It is to this reply that the note of the United States Government made public on July 24 is an answer.

Germany's reply of July 8 and President Wilson's final rejoinder of July 21—which was given to the American press of July 24—are presented below, together

with accounts of the recent German submarine attacks on the ships Armenian, Anglo-Californian, Normandy, and Orduna, involving American lives, and an appraisal of the German operations in the submarine "war zone" since February 18, 1915, when it was proclaimed. Also Austro-Hungary's note of June 29, protesting against American exports of arms, and an account of American and German press opinion on the Lusitania case are treated hereunder.

THE GERMAN MINISTER FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS TO THE AMERICAN AMBASSADOR AT BERLIN

BERLIN, July 8, 1915.

The undersigned has the honor to make the following reply to his Excellency Ambassador Gerard to the note of the 10th ultimo re the impairment of American interests by the German submarine war:

The Imperial Government learned with satisfaction from the note how earnestly the Government of the United States is concerned in seeing the principles of humanity realized in the present war. Also this appeal finds ready echo in Germany, and the Imperial Government is quite willing to permit its statements and decisions in the present case to be governed by the principles of humanity just as it has done always.

The Imperial Government welcomed with gratitude when the American Government, in the note of May 15, itself recalled that Germany had always permitted itself to be governed by the principles of progress and humanity in dealing with the law of maritime war.

Since the time when Frederick the Great negotiated with John Adams, Benjamin Franklin, and Thomas Jefferson the Treaty of Friendship and Commerce of September 9, 1785, between Prussia and the Republic of the West, German and American statesmen have, in fact, always stood together in the struggle for the freedom of the seas and for the protection of peaceable trade.

In the international proceedings which since have been conducted for the regulation of the laws of maritime war, Germany and America have jointly advocated progressive principles, especially the abolishment of the right of capture at sea and the protection of the interests of neutrals.

Even at the beginning of the present war the German Government immediately declared its willingness, in response to proposals of the American Government, to ratify the Declaration of London and thereby subject itself in the use of its naval forces to all the restrictions provided therein in favor of neutrals.

Germany likewise has been always tenacious of the principle that war should be conducted against the armed and organized forces of an enemy country, but that the enemy civilian population must be spared as far as possible from the measures of war. The Imperial Government cherishes the definite hope that some way will be found when peace is concluded, or perhaps earlier, to regulate the law of

maritime war in a manner guaranteeing the freedom of the seas, and will welcome it with gratitude and satisfaction if it can work hand in hand with the American Government on that occasion.

If in the present war the principles which should be the ideal of the future have been traversed more and more, the longer its duration, the German Government has no guilt therein. It is known to the American Government how Germany's adversaries, by completely paralyzing peaceful traffic between Germany and neutral countries, have aimed from the very beginning and with increasing lack of consideration at the destruction not so much of the armed forces as the life of the German nation, repudiating in doing so all the rules of international law and disregarding all rights of neutrals.

On November 3, 1914, England declared the North Sea a war area, and by planting poorly anchored mines and by the stoppage and capture of vessels, made passage extremely dangerous and difficult for neutral shipping, thereby actually blockading neutral coasts and ports contrary to all international law. Long before the beginning of submarine war England practically completely intercepted legitimate neutral navigation to Germany also. Thus Germany was driven to a submarine war on trade.

On November 14, 1914, the English Premier declared in the House of Commons that it was one of England's principal tasks to prevent food for the German population from reaching Germany via neutral ports. Since March 1 England has been taking from neutral ships without further formality all merchandise proceeding to Germany, as well as all merchandise coming from Germany, even when neutral property. Just as it was also with the Boers, the German people is now to be given the choice of perishing from starvation with its women and children or of relinquishing its independence.

While our enemies thus loudly and openly proclaimed war without mercy until our utter destruction, we were conducting a war in self-defense for our national existence and for the sake of peace of an assured permanency. We have been obliged to adopt a submarine warfare to meet the declared intentions of our enemies and the method of warfare adopted by them in contravention of international law.

With all its efforts in principle to protect neutral life and property from damage as much as possible, the German Government recognized unreservedly in its memorandum of February 4 that the interests of neutrals might suffer from the submarine warfare. However, the American Government will also understand and appreciate that in the fight for existence, which has been forced upon Germany by its adversaries and announced by them, it is the sacred duty of the Imperial Government to do all within its power to protect and save the lives of German subjects. If the Imperial Government were

derelict in these, its duties, it would be guilty before God and history of the violation of those principles of highest humanity which are the foundation of every national existence.

The case of the Lusitania shows with horrible clearness to what jeopardizing of human lives the manner of conducting war employed by our adversaries leads. In the most direct contradiction of international law all distinctions between merchantmen and war vessels have been obliterated by the order to British merchantmen to arm themselves and to ram submarines, and the promise of rewards therefor, and neutrals who use merchantmen as travelers thereby have been exposed in an increasing degree to all the dangers of war.

If the commander of the German submarine which destroyed the Lusitania had caused the crew and passengers to take to the boats before firing a torpedo this would have meant the sure destruction of his own vessel. After the experiences in sinking much smaller and less seaworthy vessels it was to be expected that a mighty ship like the Lusitania would remain above water long enough, even after the torpedoing, to permit passengers to enter the ship's boats. Circumstances of a very peculiar kind, especially the presence on board of large quantities of highly explosive materials, defeated this expectation.

In addition it may be pointed out that if the Lusitania had been spared, thousands of cases of munitions would have been sent to Germany's enemies and thereby thousands of German mothers and children robbed of breadwinners.

In the spirit of friendship wherewith the German nation has been imbued toward the Union (United States) and its inhabitants since the earliest days of its existence, the Imperial Government will always be ready to do all it can during the present war also to prevent the jeopardizing of lives of American citizens.

The Imperial Government, therefore, repeats the assurances that American ships will not be hindered in the prosecution of legitimate shipping and the lives of American citizens in neutral vessels shall not be placed in jeopardy.

In order to exclude any unforeseen dangers to American passenger steamers, made possible in view of the conduct of maritime war by Germany's adversaries, German submarines will be instructed to permit the free and safe passage of such passenger steamers when made recognizable by special markings and notified a reasonable time in advance. The Imperial Government, however, confidently hopes that the American Government will assume to guarantee that these vessels have no contraband on board, details of arrangements for the unhampered passage of these vessels to be agreed upon by the naval authorities of both sides.

In order to furnish adequate facilities for travel across the

Atlantic for American citizens, the German Government submits for consideration a proposal to increase the number of available steamers by installing in passenger service a reasonable number of neutral steamers under the American flag, the exact number to be agreed upon under the same condition as the above-mentioned American steamers.

The Imperial Government believes it can assume that in this manner adequate facilities for travel across the Atlantic Ocean can be afforded American citizens. There would, therefore, appear to be no compelling necessity for American citizens to travel to Europe in time of war on ships carrying an enemy flag. In particular the Imperial Government is unable to admit that American citizens can protect an enemy ship through the mere fact of their presence on board.

Germany merely followed England's example when she declared part of the high seas an area of war. Consequently, accidents suffered by neutrals on enemy ships in this area of war cannot well be judged differently from accidents to which neutrals are at all times exposed at the seat of war on land, when they betake themselves into dangerous localities in spite of previous warnings. If, however, it should not be possible for the American Government to acquire an adequate number of neutral passenger steamers, the Imperial Government is prepared to interpose no objections to the placing under the American flag by the American Government of four enemy passenger steamers for passenger traffic between North America and England. Assurances of " free and safe " passage for American passenger steamers would then extend to apply under the identical proconditions to these formerly hostile passenger steamers.

The President of the United States has declared his readiness, in a way deserving of thanks, to communicate and suggest proposals to the Government of Great Britain with particular reference to the alteration of maritime war. The Imperial Government will always be glad to make use of the good offices of the President, and hopes that his efforts in the present case as well as in the direction of the lofty ideal of the freedom of the seas, will lead to an understanding.

The undersigned requests the Ambassador to bring the above to the knowledge of the American Government, and avails himself of the opportunity to renew to his Excellency the assurance of his most distinguished consideration.

VON JAGOW.

The American Rejoinder

THE SECRETARY OF STATE AT WASHINGTON TO THE AMERICAN AMBASSADOR AT BERLIN

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
Washington, July 21, 1915.

The Secretary of State to Ambassador Gerard:

You are instructed to deliver textually the following note to the Minister for Foreign Affairs:

The note of the Imperial German Government, dated the 8th day of July, 1915, has received the careful consideration of the Government of the United States, and it regrets to be obliged to say that it has found it very unsatisfactory, because it fails to meet the real differences between the two Governments, and indicates no way in which the accepted principles of law and humanity may be applied in the grave matter in controversy, but proposes, on the contrary, arrangements for a partial suspension of those principles which virtually set them aside.

The Government of the United States notes with satisfaction that the Imperial German Government recognizes without reservation the validity of the principles insisted on in the several communications which this Government has addressed to the Imperial German Government with regard to its announcement of a war zone and the use of submarines against merchantmen on the high seas—the principle that the high seas are free, that the character and cargo of a merchantman must first be ascertained before she can lawfully be seized or destroyed, and that the lives of noncombatants may in no case be put in jeopardy unless the vessel resists or seeks to escape after being summoned to submit to examination, for a belligerent act of retaliation is per se an act beyond the law, and the defense of an act as retaliatory is an admission that it is illegal.

The Government of the United States is, however, keenly disappointed to find that the Imperial German Government regards itself as in large degree exempt from the obligation to observe these principles, even when neutral vessels are concerned, by what it believes the policy and practice of the Government of Great Britain to be in the present war with regard to neutral commerce. The Imperial German Government will readily understand that the Government of the United States cannot discuss the policy of the Government of Great Britain with regard to neutral trade except with that Government itself, and that it must regard the conduct of other belligerent governments as irrelevant to any discussion with the Imperial German Government of what this Government regards as grave and

unjustifiable violations of the rights of American citizens by German naval commanders.

Illegal and inhuman acts, however justifiable they may be thought to be, against an enemy who is believed to have acted in contravention of law and humanity, are manifestly indefensible when they deprive neutrals of their acknowledged rights, particularly when they violate the right to life itself. If a belligerent cannot retaliate against an enemy without injuring the lives of neutrals, as well as their property, humanity, as well as justice and a due regard for the dignity of neutral powers, should dictate that the practice be discontinued. If persisted in it would in such circumstances constitute an unpardonable offense against the sovereignty of the neutral nation affected.

The Government of the United States is not unmindful of the extraordinary conditions created by this war or of the radical alterations of circumstance and method of attack produced by the use of instrumentalities of naval warfare which the nations of the world cannot have had in view when the existing rules of international law were formulated, and it is ready to make every reasonable allowance for these novel and unexpected aspects of war at sea; but it cannot consent to abate any essential or fundamental right of its people because of a mere alteration of circumstance. The rights of neutrals in time of war are based upon principle, not upon expediency, and the principles are immutable. It is the duty and obligation of belligerents to find a way to adapt the new circumstances to them.

The events of the past two months have clearly indicated that it is possible and practicable to conduct such submarine operations as have characterized the activity of the Imperial German Navy within the so-called war zone in substantial accord with the accepted practices of regulated warfare. The whole world has looked with interest and increasing satisfaction at the demonstration of that possibility by German naval commanders. It is manifestly possible, therefore, to lift the whole practice of submarine attack above the criticism which it has aroused and remove the chief causes of offense.

In view of the admission of illegality made by the Imperial Government when it pleaded the right of retaliation in defense of its acts, and in view of the manifest possibility of conforming to the established rules of naval warfare, the Government of the United States cannot believe that the Imperial Government will longer refrain from disavowing the wanton act of its naval commander in sinking the Lusitania or from offering reparation for the American lives lost, so far as reparation can be made for a needless destruction of human life by an illegal act.

The Government of the United States, while not indifferent to the friendly spirit in which it is made, cannot accept the suggestion

of the Imperial German Government that certain vessels be designated and agreed upon which shall be free on the seas now illegally proscribed. The very agreement would, by implication, subject other vessels to illegal attack, and would be a curtailment and therefore an abandonment of the principles for which this Government contends, and which in times of calmer counsels every nation would concede as of course.

The Government of the United States and the Imperial German Government are contending for the same great object, have long stood together in urging the very principles upon which the Government of the United States now so solemnly insists. They are both contending for the freedom of the seas. The Government of the United States will continue to contend for that freedom, from whatever quarter violated, without compromise and at any cost. It invites the practical co-operation of the Imperial German Government at this time, when co-operation may accomplish most and this great common object be most strikingly and effectively achieved.

The Imperial German Government expresses the hope that this object may be in some measure accomplished even before the present war ends. It can be. The Government of the United States not only feels obliged to insist upon it, by whomsoever violated or ignored, in the protection of its own citizens, but is also deeply interested in seeing it made practicable between the belligerents themselves, and holds itself ready at any time to act as the common friend who may be privileged to suggest a way.

In the meantime the very value which this Government sets upon the long and unbroken friendship between the people and Government of the United States and the people and Government of the German nation impels it to press very solemnly upon the Imperial German Government the necessity for a scrupulous observance of neutral rights in this critical matter. Friendship itself prompts it to say to the Imperial Government that repetition by the commanders of German naval vessels of acts in contravention of those rights must be regarded by the Government of the United States, when they affect American citizens, as deliberately unfriendly.

LANSING.

German and American Press Opinion

ON THE GERMAN NOTE OF JULY 8

THE German answer to the United States with regard to submarine warfare was reported from Berlin on July 10 as having caused the most intense satisfaction among the Germans and brought relief to them, for the mere thought that the submarine war would be abandoned would cause widespread resentment.

The Berlin newspapers printed long editorials approving the Government's stand and "conciliatory" tone. Captain Perseus, in the Tageblatt, said that

the "new note makes clearer that the present course will be continued with the greatest possible consideration for American interests." The note "stands under the motto, 'On the way to an understanding,' without, however, failing to emphasize the firm determination that our interests must hold first place", in other words, that Germany "cannot surrender the advantages that the use of the submarine weapon gives to the German people."

The Lokal Anzeiger of Berlin commented:

"Feeling has undoubtedly cooled down somewhat on the other side of the water, and Americans will undoubtedly admit that it is not Germany that tries to monopolize the freedom of the seas for itself alone.

"In any event, we have now done our utmost and can quietly await what answer President Wilson and his advisers will think suitable."

George Bernhard in the Vossische Zeitung remarked that the publication of the note means "liberation from many of the doubts that have excited a large part of the German people in recent weeks. The note * * * means unconditional refusal to let any outsider prescribe to us how far and with what weapons we may defend ourselves against England's hunger war."

What they considered the moderation of the note impressed most Berlin newspapers. Thus the Morgen Post said: "Those who had advised that we ought to humble ourselves before America will be just as disappointed as those who thought we ought to bring the fist down on the table and answer America's representations with a war threat."

Count von Reventlow, radical editor of the Tageszeitung, said: "The substance of the proposals is to create a situation making it unnecessary for Americans to travel to Europe on ships under an enemy flag," and the Tägliche Rundschau said that the "answer with gratifying decisiveness, guards the conscience of the nation in the question of continuing the submarine war," but it criticises the note for possibly going too far in making concessions, which "may prove impracticable and result in weakening the submarine war."

The unfavorable reception of Germany's note in the United States, as reported through English and French agencies, was read in Berlin with incredulity.

The Kreuz-Zeitung, the Tageszeitung, and the Boersen Zeitung expressed the belief that British and French news agencies had purposely selected unfavorable editorial expressions from the American newspapers for the sake of the effect they would have in Great Britain and France.

"Regarding the reception of the German note in America," the Kreuz-Zeitung said, "several additional reports from British sources are now at hand. Reuter's Telegram Company presents about a dozen short sentences from as many American papers. Were these really approximately a faithful picture of the thought of the American press as a unit, we should have to discard every hope of a possibility of an understanding. The conception of a great majority of the German people is that we showed in our note an earnest desire to meet, as far as possibly justified, American interests."

Like the Berlin press, German-American newspapers were unanimous in praise of the German note; to the New Yorker Staats-Zeitung it appeared a "sincere effort to meet the questions involved" and as "eminently satisfactory." The New Yorker Herold thought that any one with "even a spark of impartiality" would have to admit the "quiet, conciliatory tone of the German note" as "born of the consciousness in the heart of every German that Germany did not want the war"; that after it was forced on her she "waged it with honorable means." The Illinois Staats-Zeitung of Chicago declared it to be the "just demand of Germany" that Americans should not "by their presence on hostile boats try to protect war materials to be delivered by a friendly nation at a hostile shore." From the Cincinnati Freie Presse came the comment that Washington "has no busi-

ness to procure safety on the ocean for British ships carrying ammunition."

The American newspapers were nearly unanimous in adverse criticism of the note. THE NEW YORK TIMES said that Germany's request was "to suspend the law of nations, the laws of war and of humanity for her benefit." The Chicago Herald declared that the German answer "is disappointing to all who had hoped that it would clearly open the way to a continuance of friendly relations." While the San Francisco Chronicle discerned in the note "an entire absence of the belligerent spirit," it found that "Germany is asking us to abridge certain of our rights on the high seas." To the Denver Post the reply was the "extreme of arrogance, selfishness, and obstinacy," while The Atlanta (Ga.) Constitution remarks that German words and German deeds are separate matters: "The all-important fact remains that since President Wilson's first note was transmitted to that country, Germany has given us no single reasonable cause of complaint." The Louisville (Ky.) Courier-Journal believes the German reply would carry more weight and persuasion "if it could be considered wholly and apart as an *ex parte* statement." "Without equivocation and with a politeness of offensively insinuating," the Boston Transcript concludes, "Germany rejects each and all of our demands and attempts to bargain with respect to the future."

ON THE AMERICAN NOTE OF JULY 21

Publication of the American note in Berlin was delayed until July 25, owing to difficulty in translating its shades of meaning. While German statesmen and editors expressed keen appreciation of its literary style, the press was unanimous in considering the note disappointing, expressing pained surprise at the American stand. Captain Perseus, naval critic of the Berlin Tageblatt, said that the note "expresses a determination to rob us of the weapon to which we pin the greatest hopes in the war on England," and indicates that the "pro-British troublemakers have finally won over the President." Count von Reventlow in the Tageszeitung complains of the note's "far too threatening and peremptory tone." The Kreuz-Zeitung says: "We are trying hard to resist the thought that the United States with its standpoint as expressed in the note, aims at supporting England," and Georg Bernhard of the Vossische Zeitung believes that yielding to President Wilson's argument means "the weakening of Germany to the enemy's advantage," adding that any one who has this in mind "is not neutral, but takes sides against Germany and for her enemies." The Boersen Zeitung says it is compelled to say, with regret, that the note is very unsatisfactory and "one cannot escape feeling that the shadow of England stands behind it." The New Yorker Staats-Zeitung says that the note is distinguished for its "clear language," and quotes the phrase "deliberately unfriendly" while noting the demand for disavowal and reparation. "Of quite unusual weight," the Staats-Zeitung says, "is the hint on the fact that the United States and Germany, so far as the freedom of the seas is concerned, have the same object in view." "Sharp and clear is it also explained" that after the end of the war the United States is "ready to play the rôle of an intermediary, in order to find a practicable way out." In fact, the note handed to the Government in Berlin "is at the same time meant for London," since it expresses itself as determined to protect neutrals "against every one of the warring nations." The New Yorker Herold is "certain that the complications will be settled amicably," while the Illinois Staats-Zeitung feels that "apparently our Government has a secret agreement with England intentionally to provoke Germany."

In praise of this note American press opinion is again nearly unanimous. The New York World says that "what the President exacts of Germany is the minimum that a self-respecting nation can demand." The New York Tribune calls the note an admirable American document. The Rochester Democrat and

Chronicle says it is strongly put, but not too strongly, and the Boston Herald thinks there is no escape from its logic. The Philadelphia Public Ledger says "the final word of diplomacy has obviously been said," and the Administration cannot "engage in further debate or yield on any point." The Chicago Herald believes the note is couched in terms that "no intelligent man would resent from a neighbor whose friendship he values." The St. Louis Republic says: "One hundred and twenty-eight years of American history and tradition speak in President Wilson's vindication." The St. Paul Pioneer Press calls the note "a great American charter of rights," and the Charleston News and Courier declares that "we have drawn a line across which Germany must not step." The Portland Oregonian says: "If there was any expectation that the President's note to Germany would yield any measure of American rights or descend from the noble and impressive determination of the original warning to and demand upon Germany, it has not been fulfilled."

Austria-Hungary's Protest

An Associated Press dispatch dated London, July 16, *says:*

According to an Amsterdam dispatch to Reuter's Telegram Company it is stated from Vienna that the Austro-Hungarian Minister of Foreign Affairs sent a note to the American Ambassador at Vienna on June 29, drawing attention to the fact that commercial business in war material on a great scale is proceeding between the United States and Great Britain and her Allies, while Austria-Hungary and Germany are completely cut off from the American market.

It is set forth in the note that this subject has occupied the Government of the Dual Monarchy from the very beginning, and, although the Government is convinced that the American attitude arises from no other intention than to observe the strictest neutrality and international agreements, yet "the question arises whether conditions as they have developed during the course of the war, certainly independently of the wish of the American Government, are not of such a kind as in their effect to turn the intentions of the Washington Cabinet in a contrary direction.

"If this question is answered in the affirmative, and its affirmation cannot be doubted," according to the opinion of the Austro-Hungarian Government, "then the question follows whether it does not seem possible, or even necessary, that appropriate measures should be taken to make fully respected the wish of the American Government to remain a strictly impartial vis-à-vis of both belligerent parties."

The note continues:

"A neutral government cannot be allowed to trade in contraband unhindered, if the trade take the form and dimensions whereby the neutrality of the country will be endangered. The export of war material from the United States as a proceeding of the present war is not in consonance with the definition of neutrality. The American Government, therefore, is undoubtedly entitled to prohibit the export of war material.

"Regarding the possible objections that American industry is willing to supply Austria-Hungary and Germany, which, however, is impossible owing to the war situation, it may be pointed out that the American Government is in a position to redress this state of things. It would be quite sufficient to advise the enemies of Austria-Hungary and Germany that the supply of foodstuffs and war material would be suspended if legitimate trade in these articles between Americans and neutral countries was not permitted."

In conclusion, the Austro-Hungarian Government appeals to the United States, calling attention to the uninterrupted good relations and friendship be-

tween that country and the dual monarchy, to take the present note under careful consideration.

WHY AUSTRIA ACTED

A dispatch from Vienna, via London, dated July 16, gives the following information from The Associated Press:

From a highly authoritative source at the Foreign Office a representative of The Associated Press has received an explanation of the motives that are said to have inspired the dispatch of the Austro-Hungarian note to the United States regarding the American traffic in war munitions.

The Austro-Hungarian statesman who spoke said that, although the facts upon which the note was based had been in existence for a long time, the communication was sent only now, when, after great victories in Galicia, it could not be interpreted as a cry for help from a land in distress. He disavowed in advance any idea that the note was sent at the request or inspiration of Germany, asserting that the step was taken spontaneously in the hope that, owing to the undisturbed friendly relations between Austria-Hungary and the United States, the note would be assured a sympathetic reception in the latter country.

"The note," said this statesman, "is inspired by friendly feelings of the monarchy toward the Union, where so many of our subjects have found a second home. It is the speech of a friend to a friend—an attitude which we are the more justified in taking because the relations of the two states have never been clouded.

"It might, perhaps, easily be a source of wonder that, since the basic grounds of the note have been in existence for months, the note was not sent long ago; but there is a reason for its appearance at this particular time. In view of the incredible rumors and reports about the condition of the monarchy which have been circulating throughout the United States, this note would surely have been interpreted at an earlier stage of events as a confession of weakness, as an appeal for help in distress. Today, when a rich harvest is being garnered throughout the monarchy, when talk of starving out Austria-Hungary therefore is rendered idle, when complaints of shortage of ammunition are heard everywhere else except in the allied central monarchies, there cannot be the slightest question of this.

"On the other hand, it might be asked why the note, under these conditions, was issued at all. With nothing to check the victorious progress of the central powers in sight, with their ability to meet pressure in the economic field demonstrated, it might well be thought that it is a matter of indifference to them whether America continues her policy or not. That, however, is not the case. The problems of international law which this war has brought up are of far-reaching importance. The solutions reached will be standards of action for decades to come.

"For eminently practical as well as theoretical reasons, therefore, the monarchy is forced now not only to concern itself with the questions of the day, but also to feel its responsibility toward the future interests of mankind; and for this reason the Government thought it necessary to approach the subject under discussion—the more so because it felt that the previous debate pro and con had not, as it wished, led to the desired result, and because it believed that numbers of arguments specially laid down in The Hague Convention hitherto had escaped consideration.

"It may, of course, be assumed that the note is a product of mature consideration, and was drafted after consultation with international law experts of the first rank. The absence of the slightest hostile intent in it against the Union is shown not only by the opening phrases, but by the fact that it was published only after it leaked out in the United States that there was no objection to its publication.

"The question of whether Austria-Hungary feels that she is being cut off by America may be answered unreservedly in the affirmative. The military monarchy can and will continue the war

as long as necessary. The population will, as hitherto, suffer neither starvation nor material want. But there are other interests than those connected primarily with war which every Government is bound to consider, and unhampered trade relations with the United States are of the greatest importance to us.

"Finally, not only material, also I might say sentimental, interests play a certain rôle not to be underestimated among the people. Many warm friends of America among us are painfully affected by the fact that actual conditions give the impression that America, even though unintentionally, differentiates between the belligerents.

"Austro-Hungarian statesmen, conscious of the great rôle that America will be called upon to play in the future, would forget their duty if they neglected to do everything in their power to clear away the circumstances that shake the confidence of the bravely fighting armies and the whole population in the justice of America. It is clear that the war would have been ended long ago if America had not supplied our enemies with the means of continuing it.

"The assumption that the Austro-Hungarian note was sent at the wish of the German Government is incorrect. On the contrary, it is a completely spontaneous demonstration, inspired wholly by the Austro-Hungarian considerations. We hope it will be received and judged in America in the same spirit in which it was sent."

MR. WOOLSEY'S OPINION

Theodore S. Woolsey, formerly Professor of International Law at Yale University, in Leslie's Weekly, for July 29, has an article entitled "The Case for the Munitions Trade." In part Professor Woolsey says:

In the midst of widespread industrial depression came a great war. This war intensified the depression. It cut off markets, raised freights, retarded payments, upset the whole commercial world and we suffered with the rest. Then shortly came a demand for certain products and certain manufactures caused by the war itself, varied, considerable, even unexpected. This demand grew until it became an appreciable factor in our industrial life, a welcome source of profit when so many other sources of profit were cut off. It was a good thing; at the same time it was a temporary, unnatural thing, and directly or indirectly it was based upon the desire of some of our friends to kill others of our friends. Accordingly people began to give this trade bad names. They called it unneutral, wrong, inhuman.

For the sake of our pockets we were adding to the sum of human suffering and slaughter, and they urged that, even if legally justified, ethically this trade was a blot upon our character as a humane and civilized people and must be stopped. Where does the truth lie? What can the munitions trade say for itself?

Naturally, it turns for justification first to the usage of other wars, to the recognized rules of international law. As expressed in Article 7, Convention XIII, of the 1907 Conference at The Hague, the law is as follows:

"A neutral power is not bound to prevent the export or transit, for the use of either belligerent, of arms, ammunitions or, in general, of anything which could be of use to an army or fleet."

The next previous article had prohibited a Government from engaging in this trade, so that the distinction between what the State and the individual may do is made perfecly clear, provided both belligerents are treated alike. To permit trade in arms with one belligerent and forbid it with another would be unneutral and illegal.

We permit the munitions trade with both belligerents, it is true, and yet, owing to the chances of war, the right to buy inures to the advantage of one only. Does this stamp our conduct as unneutral? Quite the contrary. To embargo munitions bought by one because the other side does not choose to buy would be the unneutral act. Germany doesn't buy because she cannot transport.

She cannot transport, because she does

not care to contest the control of the sea with her enemies. Have we aught to do with that? To supplement her naval inferiority by denying to the Allies the fruits of their superiority would be equivalent to sharing in the war on the German side. Moreover, to assume and base action upon German naval inferiority in advance of any general trial of strength would be not only illegal, but even an insult to Germany. Notice that no complaints of our export of munitions have come from the German Government. To make such complaint would be to plead the baby act. Rather than risk her fleet by contesting the control of the sea, thus gaining her share of munitions imports, Germany has chosen to withdraw it behind fortifications, thus losing the munitions trade. Probably the decision is a sound one, but she must accept the results.

The opposition to the trade seems to come from two classes:

(1) German sympathizers who seek to minimize the advantage which sea power gives the Allies.

(2) Those who are governed by their emotions rather than by reason and respect for law. I would call the attention of both these classes to the usage, especially to the German usage, in other wars.

Professor Gregory, in an interesting article, gives statistics of the large German exports of arms to the British forces in the Boer war after the Boer trade had been cut off. In the Russo-Japanese war Krupp notoriously supplied both sides. In the Balkan war there was said to be competition between Krupp and Creusot in furnishing cannon. No state in the nature of things can satisfy its needs in war completely from its own resources. Every belligerent has bought, every neutral has allowed its citizens to sell, munitions since modern war began. England sympathized with the South in our civil war, yet sold to the North. She did the same in 1870 to France.

If the trade in munitions is to be forbidden, then every state must accumulate its own supply or greatly enlarge its arms manufacturing capacity, both wasteful processes. To say that a moderate trade is lawful which a big trade is not is like the excuse of the lady who thought her baby born out of wedlock did not matter because it was such a little one.

The critics of the munitions trade must note furthermore that in our own country that trade cannot be forbidden without explicit legislation.

At the outset of the Spanish war such legislation was passed, as a war measure, forbidding the export of coal or other war material at the discretion of the President. But by resolution of Congress of March 14, 1912, the 1898 resolution was so amended as to apply to American countries only. The reason for this distinction was, of course, to limit the danger of such exports of arms to our neighbor states, particularly to Mexico, as might endanger our own peace and safety. The general right to trade was left undisturbed.

But let us argue the question on ethical grounds alone. I can see no difference between a peace trade and a war trade from the humanitarian standpoint; between arming a neighbor by our exports in preparation for war and rearming him during war. In both cases we help him to kill. Now, if one regards all war as wrong, aid in waging war by trade in munitions, whether in peace time or war time, should be abhorrent to one's conscience. A Quaker gun is not only a paradox, but a sinful one.

Most of us, however, believe that a defensive war, against aggression threatening the life and liberties of a nation, is just and right. In the present war both parties claim to be fighting in self-defense. We are not their judge; we must take both at their word; what we owe both, ethically, is simply equality of treatment.

We help both alike in waging a just war. To do otherwise is to take part in their war. With the flux and flow of the contest which makes our trade valuable or worthless now to one side, now to the other, both ethically and legally we have nothing to do.

Armenian, Orduna, and Others

The diplomatic significance of the sinking of the Leyland liner Armenian on June 28 off the northwest coast of Cornwall is thus dwelt upon in a Washington dispatch to THE NEW YORK TIMES, *dated July 2, 1915:*

The lessons to be derived from the destruction of the Leyland liner Armenian off the English coast are expected to have a most important bearing upon the diplomatic controversy between Germany and the United States over the safety of human life in the submarine warfare.

It is believed here that the Armenian affair demonstrates that it is possible for German submarines of the latest types, when equipped with outside rapid-fire guns, to comply with the demand of President Wilson that the belligerent right of visit and search must be complied with before merchantmen and passenger ships are torpedoed.

Whatever the facts as to minor detail, the outstanding lesson of the affair is that a merchantman tried to escape capture and was finally forced to halt and surrender by a pursuing submarine, and the destruction of the liner by torpedo was not attempted until after those on board who survived the chase had an opportunity to take to the boats. It is evident that if the Armenian's Captain had heeded the warning shots of the submarine and halted the steamer he could have submitted to visit and search and in all probability the destruction of the Armenian could have been effected without loss of life. All international law experts agree that a vessel that refuses to halt when challenged by warning shots from a properly commissioned belligerent war vessel proceeds at her own peril.

In its broader aspects, the Armenian incident presents the most important lesson that has come out of the German undersea campaign for consideration by those engaged in the diplomatic controversy over the various acts of the German submarines—and the lesson is considered extremely vital in its bearing on the pending negotiations, because, if it is at all possible for submarines to exercise the right of visit and search and they actually proceed in accordance with that rule, the Germans may proceed with their warfare against merchantmen carrying contraband without running counter to the expectations of the United States Government. Occasional merchantmen may try to escape capture or destruction by disregarding warning shots, but that will be their affair and the responsibility for loss of life due to efforts to elude submarines, and caused during the period of continued efforts to escape, would not then rest upon the submarines.

The effective use of rapid-fire guns mounted on submarines in bona fide efforts to halt merchant steamers for purpose of visit and search is the important factor in the situation. A submarine not so equipped would find it difficult, if not impossible, to apply the rule of visit and search. Without the outside guns such a submarine would possess no other effective weapon than the torpedo. The submarine that carried no exterior armament could not compel obedience to its mandate for the merchant Captain to stop without firing a torpedo and thus risking the destruction of life with the sinking of the steamer, and a submarine with no outside armament might run the risk, as frequently contended by the German Admiralty, of bomb attack from the rails of the merchant steamer when going alongside of such a vessel.

A submarine like the U 38, which sank the Armenian, carrying one or more outside guns, capable of discharging various kinds of shell, from blank shots to shrapnel, represents an important evolution in the development of marine warfare. Such a craft has the equipment to enable her to visit and search a passing merchantman, and to provide for the safe removal of officers, crew or passengers from a challenged steamer, before the destruction of the

GENERAL CARLO CANEVA

One of the Most Conspicuous of Italian Military Commanders

(Photo from Central News.)

H. I. M. FRANCIS JOSEPH I.

Latest Portrait of the Venerable Sövereign of the Austro-Hungarian Empire

(Photo from Bain.)

vessel. It is only necessary for such a submarine to fire her torpedoes as a last resort for the destruction of the steamer. With her exterior guns a submarine like the U 38, upon meeting a merchant vessel, may fire one or more warning shots, as Captain Trickey of the Armenian says the U 38 did.* The raider, he said, fired two warning shots, and when he turned away from her and put on speed, the submarine's guns opened fire on him with shrapnel.

THE ANGLO-CALIFORNIAN

Like the Armenian, the British merchantman Anglo-Californian refused to lie-to when signaled by a German submarine on July 2. Her crew of ninety-five included fifty Americans and Canadians. A Queenstown dispatch of July 5 gave the following account of the action:

The Anglo-Californian left Montreal for the British Isles on June 24. The submarine was sighted at 8 o'clock last Sunday morning. Captain Parslow ordered full steam ahead and wireless calls for aid were sent out. The submarine on the surface proved to be a far speedier craft than the steamer and rapidly overhauled her, meanwhile deluging her with shells. One shot put the wireless apparatus on the Anglo-Californian out of action. Finding that he could not escape by running for it Captain Parslow devoted his attention to manœuvring his ship so as to prevent the submarine from using torpedoes effectively.

"Our Captain was a brave man," said one of the narrators. "He kept at his post on the bridge, coolly giving orders as the submarine circled around us vainly seeking to get a position from which it could give us a death blow with a torpedo. All the while the underwater boat continued to rain shot and shell upon us, and at times was so close that she was able to employ rifle fire effectively.

"At last one shell blew the Captain off the bridge, killing him outright and terribly mutilating him. Just before that he had given orders to launch the boats, but this was very difficult under the shell fire. Several men were struck down while working at the davits. Ultimately four boats were got overboard and were rowed away until picked up."

The son of Captain Parslow, serving as second mate, was standing by his father's side when the Captain was killed. The son was knocked down by the violence of the explosion. Springing to his feet, he seized the wheel, and, as ably as his father had done, continued dodging the submarine. Another shell burst alongside him, shattering one of the spokes of the wheel, but young Parslow retained his post.

The wireless S O S calls that had been

* Captain Trickey, describing the destruction of his vessel, through which several Americans lost their lives, said on July 1 in Liverpool:

"We sighted the submarine about 6.48 o'clock Monday night, June 28, when we were about twenty miles west of Trevose Head, on the northwest coast of Cornwall. We were then about four miles away. She drew closer. She fired two shots across our bows. I then turned my stern to her and ran for all I was worth. The submarine shelled us all the time, killing several of the crew and cutting away several of our boats. The boats had already been swung out, and some of the men had taken up positions in them ready for the order to lower away. In some cases the falls were cut by shrapnel, and several of the men fell into the sea.

"A stern chase ensued, lasting for about an hour, the German shelling us unceasingly. My steering gear was cut and knocked out of order. One shell came through the engine-room skylight, and another knocked the Marconi house away. Still another shell went down the funnel, disabling the stokehole and making it impossible to keep up a full head of steam. Thirteen of my crew were lying dead on the deck, and the ship was on fire in three places. Then I decided to surrender. It was the only thing I could do. By this time the submarine had decreased the distance between us to about a mile.

"From the moment we surrendered the Germans acted fairly toward us and gave us ample time to get out of the ship. They even rescued some of the men—three, I think—who had previously fallen from the boats and were still afloat aided by their lifebelts. When we had got away from the ship the submarine fired two torpedoes into her and she sank at 8.07 o'clock. We remained in the boats all night and were picked up the next morning by the Belgian steam trawler President Stevens."

War zone area showing where the Armenian, (British); Normandy, (American); Anglo-Californian, (British), and Orduna, (British) ships were attacked during the month of July.

sent out at the first alarm had reached those able to give more than passive assistance, however, and British destroyers appeared. On their approach the submarine abandoned the attack and submerged. Young Parslow was still at the wheel when the destroyers came up.

THE NORMANDY

An Associated Press dispatch from Liverpool, dated July 13, 1915, *reported:*

How an American ship is alleged to have been used as a shield by a German submarine for the sinking of another vessel is related by members of the crew of the American bark Normandy, which has arrived here from Gulfport, Miss.

The story is that the Normandy was stopped by a German submarine sixty miles southwest of Tuskar Rock, off the southeast coast of Ireland, Friday night. The captain was called aboard the submarine, whence his papers were examined and found to show that the ship was chartered by an American firm January 5.

The captain of the bark, it was as-

serted, was allowed to return to the Normandy, but under the threat that his ship would be destroyed unless he stood by and obeyed orders. These orders, it was stated, were that he was to act as a shield for the submarine, which lay around the side of the bark, hiding itself from an approaching vessel.

This vessel proved to be the Russian steamer Leo. Presently the submarine submerged and proceeded around the bow of the Normandy, so the story went, and ten minutes later the crew of the Normandy saw the Leo blown up.

Twenty-five persons were on board, of whom eleven were drowned, including three stewardesses. Those saved included three Americans, Walter Emery of North Carolina, Harry Clark of Sierra, and Harry Whitney of Camden, N. J. All these three men when interviewed corroborated the above story. They declared that no opportunity was given those on board the Leo for saving lives.

The Leo was bound from Philadelphia for Manchester with a general cargo.

The Captain of the Normandy told the survivors that he would have liked to signal their danger to them, but that he dared not do so, because his uninsured ship would then have been instantly sunk.

In a Washington dispatch to The New York Times, *sent July* 13, *appeared the following:*

The State Department received a short dispatch late this afternoon from Consul General Washington at Liverpool, confirming the report that three Americans were among those rescued by the American bark Normandy at the time of the sinking of the Russian merchant steamer Leo by a German submarine off the Irish coast Friday night. This is the case in which press dispatches asserted that the submarine commander forced the Captain of the Normandy to use his bark as a shield behind which the submarine hid before firing the torpedo which sank the Leo.

The cablegram from Consul General Washington makes no mention of this phase of the affair, and does not show whether the German submarine gave any warning to the commander of the Russian merchant ship before firing the shot which destroyed the latter vessel. The official message says that the Normandy was stopped by the submarine, that the Normandy's papers were examined, and that she was allowed to proceed. The message added that the Normandy rescued three American citizens who were members of the crew of the Leo, and names them as Walter Emery, seaman, of Swan Quarter, N. C.; Harry Whitney, steward, of Camden, N. J., and Harry Clark, fireman, of 113 East Fifty-second Street, Seattle, Wash.

THE ORDUNA

This is the official statement of Captain Thomas M. Taylor of the Cunard liner Orduna, concerning the attack made on his vessel by a German submarine off Queenstown, westbound, on the morning of July 9:

At 6.05 A. M., July 9, the lookout man on the after bridge rang the telegraph, at the same time pointing his hand downward and out on the port beam. The third officer was immediately sent aft to inquire what was seen. He returned quickly and reported both men had seen a torpedo pass across the stern from port to starboard, only ten feet clear of the rudder. In the meantime both the chief officer and myself distinctly saw the trail of the torpedo, extending from the stern to about 200 yards out on the port beam. About eight minutes afterwards the chief officer and I saw the submarine come to the surface about two points on the starboard quarter, a distance of about three-quarters of a mile, with five or six men on her deck, getting her guns ready.

I immediately ordered all possible steam, altered the course, and brought her right astern, when they began shelling us. The first shot struck the water abreast of the forecastle on the starboard side, about thirty feet off. The second dropped just under the bridge; third, abreast of No. 5 hatch, quite close

alongside; fourth, under the stern, sending up a volume of water forty feet high; fifth and sixth and last shells all fell short. The firing then ceased, and the submarine was soon left far astern.

Marconi distress signals were sent out at once. We were thirty-seven miles south of Queenstown. I got a reply that assistance would be with us in an hour, but it was four hours before the small armored yacht Jennette appeared. I account for the torpedo missing the ship to their misjudging the speed, allowing fourteen knots instead of sixteen, which we were doing at the time. The torpedo passed only ten feet clear.

It was an ideal day for torpedo attack —light wind, slight ripple, clear weather. The periscope could only have been a few inches above water, for a very strict lookout was being kept at the time by chief and third officers and myself and four lookout men. However, we failed to see her before she fired the torpedo.

Not the least warning was given, and most or nearly all the passengers were asleep at the time. It was almost another case of brutal murder.

We had twenty-one American passengers on board.

A Washington dispatch of July 20 *to* THE NEW YORK TIMES *announced:*

The President and the Cabinet decided today to have an investigation made in the case of the British steamer Orduna, which was attacked by a German submarine on July 9 while on her way from Liverpool to New York. This action was taken following the receipt of a statement from W. O. Thompson, counsel of the Federal Industrial Commission, who was a passenger on the ship.

Mr. Thompson did not see any torpedo fired at the Orduna by the German submarine, and was unable to give first-hand testimony that the Orduna had been fired on without notice. It was determined, however, that the report of Mr. Thompson justified the Government in making an investigation.

Accordingly, Secretary Lansing wrote a letter to Secretary McAdoo, requesting that his department undertake the investigation, which will probably be intrusted to the Collector of Customs at New York.

At the State Department it was said that the attention of the German Government had not been called to the charge that the Orduna was fired on by a German submarine without warning. Any action of that sort, if taken, will follow the investigation which is now ordered.

NEBRASKAN'S CASE

Ambassador Gerard on July 15 *formally transmitted to Washington Germany's admission of liability and expression of regret for the attack by a German submarine on the American steamer Nebraskan.*

Secretary Lansing's announcement of the German memorandum follows:

Ambassador Gerard has telegraphed to the Department of State the following memorandum from the German Foreign Office relative to the damaging of the American steamer Nebraskan by a German submarine:

"The German Government received from newspaper reports the intelligence that the American steamer Nebraskan had been damaged by a mine or torpedo on the southwest coast of Ireland. It therefore started a thorough investigation of the case without delay, and from the result of the investigation it has become convinced that the damage to the Nebraskan was caused by an attack by a submarine.

"On the evening of May 25 last the submarine met a steamer bound westward without a flag and no neutral markings on her freeboard, about 65 nautical miles west of Fastnet Rock. No appliance of any kind for the illumination of the flag or markings was to be seen. In the twilight, which had already set in, the name of the steamer was not visible from the submarine. Since the commander of the submarine was obliged to assume from his wide experience in the area of maritime war that only English steamers, and no neutral steamers, traversed the war area without flag and markings, he attacked the vessel with a torpedo, in the con-

viction that he had an enemy vessel before him. Some time after the shot the commander saw that the vessel had in the meantime hoisted the American flag. As a consequence, he, of course, refrained from any further attack. Since the vessel remained afloat, he had no occasion to concern himself further with the boats which had been launched.

"It results from this that without a doubt that attack on the steamer Nebraskan was not meant for the American flag, nor is it traceable to any fault on the part of the commander of the German submarine, but is to be considered an unfortunate accident. The German Government expresses its regret at the occurrence to the Government of the United States of America and declares its readiness to make compensation for the damage thereby sustained by American citizens."

Results of Submarine Warfare

LIVERPOOL'S EXPERIENCE

A London cable dispatch to the NEW YORK TIMES, *dated London, July 8, said:*

Nearly 20,000 vessels have entered or left the port of Liverpool since the German submarine blockade began. This, said Sir A. Norman Hill, Secretary of the Liverpool Steamship Owners' Association, speaking at Liverpool yesterday, showed that the Germans had failed in their attempt to blockade British ports.

On these 20,000 voyages the Germans had captured or destroyed only twenty-nine ships, he continued. What did that represent? Ships which had sailed in and out of Liverpool had completed in safety 998 out of every 1,000 voyages upon which they started. That was a magnificent record, he held, of perils faced and overcome.

FIRST WEEK WITH NO LOSS

An Associated Press dispatch of July 22 from London remarked:

So far as British vessels were concerned, the German submarines drew a blank during the week ended yesterday. Not a single British merchant ship or fishing craft was sunk.

It was the first week since the war began that some loss to British shipping had not been occasioned by German cruisers, mines, or submarines.

During the week 1,326 vessels of more than 300 tons each arrived at or departed from ports of the United Kingdom.

The German war-zone decree went into effect on February 18. Since then the weekly losses of ships and lives from torpedoes have been as follows:

Week Ending	*Vessels.*	*Lives.*
February 25	11	9
March 4	1	0
March 11	7	38
March 18	6	13
March 25	7	2
April 1	13	165
April 8	8	13
April 15	4	0
April 22	3	10
April 29	3	0
May 6	24	5
May 13	2	1,260
May 20	7	13
May 27	7	7
June 3	19	32
June 10	36	21
June 17	19	19
June 24	3	1
July 1	9	29
July 8	15	2
July 15	12	13
July 22	2	0
Total	218	1,652

Of the two vessels torpedoed in the week of July 22, the Russian steamer Balwa was attacked on July 16. On the following day another Russian steamer, the General Radetzky, was torpedoed. Both hailed from Riga, and the crews of both were saved.

WARFARE MODIFIED?

A record reported to have been compiled chiefly from British Admiralty

sources since the sinking of the Lusitania was published by The New York American on July 13, *showing that out of* 122 *ships sunk by German submarines in the war zone, every passenger or sailor was saved on all but* 14. *Following is The American's summary:*

Total number of ships definitely reported sunk by German submarines in sixty-four days, since the Lusitania was torpedoed 122
Number of ships on which any loss of life occurred 14
[Note: Some of these fatalities occurred, according to British Admiralty reports, either from explosion of torpedoes or from upsetting of lifeboats, or from gunfire of submarines while the enemy ship was trying to escape.]
Total loss of life on 122 ships, from all causes 131

GERMAN ACCOUNTS

In a Berlin dispatch of July 14, *by wireless to Sayville, Long Island, the following was given out by the Overseas News Agency:*

During the month of June twenty-nine British, three French, one Belgian, and nine Russian mtrchantmen were sunk by German submarines.

The total loss of the Entente Allies by submarines, including fishing steamers, which mostly were armed patrol boats, aggregated 125,000 tons.

The loss of human life was remarkably small, the submarines using every precaution and giving ample warning and time for crews to leave their ships if no resistance was attempted.

The total of losses in ships of the Allies' merchant marine around the English coast in the period between February 18 *(the beginning of the German submarine war zone) and May* 18, *as compiled from German data, was published in the Frankfurter Zeitung of June* 6. *This publication, the first issue from German quarters, contains also a list of the various allied ships sunk, totaling* 111, *together with the nationality and tonnage of each, and a charted map of the British Isles showing where each ship was sunk.*

In describing the achievements of the German submarine against their foes—the neutral ships sunk are not included—the Frankfurter Zeitung's article says:

In the period of three months since the 18th of February, a day memorable for history, our submarines have inflicted on the enemy merchant shipping, in the first place the English merchant marine, a total loss of 111 ships with a displacement of 234,239 tons. The figures may, perhaps, not seem especially large in comparison with the gigantic number of merchant ships flying the flag of the enemy. But in this method of warfare the percentage loss of ships of our opponent as compared with his total does not count, but rather the fact that through the regularity and inevitableness of the marine catastrophes the enemy shipping shall be disturbed as poignantly as possible, and that there should as a result of this disturbance appear in the economic life of England phenomena similar to those which the English plan of the isolation of Germany aims at without, however, having succeeded in getting any nearer to its goal, owing to the inherent strength and power of adaptation of German business.

The rise of prices now prevalent in England, and the paralyzing of great branches of trade which could not occur in an England that really ruled the sea, may be attributed in chief part to this war of the submarines. The advantage of the insular position of England has been greatly lessened, thanks to this excellent German weapon, even if it cannot be completely eliminated. But if one compares with the total voyages of the English merchant shipping the losses of the English merchant marine, amounting to more than 100 ships in a period of exactly ninety days, and a tonnage of 216,000 tons, (from the totals mentioned above there must be deducted the shares of France and Russia,) then we must consider only that part of the British merchant marine that entered ports of the island kingdom in this period or left them; and one must bear in mind further that a large number of those ships is contained several times in the English statistics, since they do coast service.

But as valuable booty for our submarines particularly those ships are to be regarded that import any kinds of commodities to England. And statistics will later be able to show on the basis of these figures the great success of the German submarine warfare, as indicated by figures.

A glance at the map that accompanies the list of losses suffices to show that mine fields as little as great distances are factors of decisive importance in the activities of our submarines. The closing of the English Channel and of the North Channel (between Ireland and Scotland) has not prevented our boats from penetrating wherever there was booty. Even on the northwest coast of Scotland and out in the west of Ireland the German submarines have carried on a successful hunt. The numbers in the little circles on the map represent the successive ships on the list.

The Frankfurter Zeitung adds figures given by the British Admiralty on the same subject. These, it says, total 130 *merchant ships with a registered tonnage of 457,000 tons, from the beginning of the war to May* 26. *Added to these, it says, are* 83 *fishing vessels with a tonnage of* 13,585 *tons, making a total of 213 ships with* 470,585 *tons. It says:*

These figures, however, are certainly incomplete, inasmuch as up to March 16 there had already been announced 145 ships with a total tonnage of 500,000 as lost, and the figures published by us above, based upon authentic material, concerning the victims of our submarines in three months, contradict beyond any power of dispute the euphemistic presentation of the British Admiralty. Even so, however, the English list still shows that since the beginning of the submarine warfare, although in that period there was little to speak of in the way of activities of the German cruisers abroad, the damage done to the English fleet has risen according to the confession of the Admiralty itself. Since Feb. 18, that is to say, since scarcely more than a quarter of a year, according to the English figures, no less than 56 British merchant ships with a tonnage of 187,000 tons (that is to say, more than 40 per cent. of the total number of merchant ships designated as lost) have been sunk. But if instead of these English figures the German compilation, which is indubitably correct, be accepted, then the entire picture changes considerably in our favor.

In Memoriam:

REGINALD WARNEFORD

[From Truth of London]

Young gallant soul, unversed in fear,
  Who swiftly flew aloft to fame,
  And made yourself a world-wide name,
Ere scarce had dawned your brief career.

To glory some but slowly climb
  By painful inches of ascent,
  And some, hereon though sternly bent,
Ne'er reach it all their life's long time.

But you—you soared as eagles soar;
  At one strong flight you flashed on high;
  The sudden chance came sudden nigh;
You seized it; off its spoils you bore.

And now, while still the welkin rings
  With your unmatched heroic deed,
  To pæan elegies succeed,
The mournful Muse your requiem sings.

A requiem, yet with triumph rife!
  How not, while men their souls would give
  To die your death, so they might live
Your "crowded hour of glorious life"?

Great hour, that knows not time nor tide,
  Wild hour, that drinks an age's sweets,
  Brave hour, that throbs with breathless feats,
Short hour, whose splendours long abide.

American Preparedness

By Theodore Roosevelt

In an address at the Panama-Pacific Exposition in San Francisco, delivered on July 21, Colonel Theodore Roosevelt said:

I HAVE a very strong feeling about the Panama Exposition. It was my good fortune to take the action in 1903, failure to take which, in exactly the shape I took it, would have meant that no Panama Canal would have been built for half a century, and, therefore, that there would have been no exposition to celebrate the building of the canal. In everything we did in connection with the acquiring of the Panama Zone we acted in a way to do absolute justice to all other nations, to benefit all other nations, including especially the adjacent States, and to render the utmost service, from the standpoint alike of honor and of material interest, to the United States. I am glad that this is the case, for if there were the slightest taint upon our title or our conduct it would have been an improper and shameful thing to hold this exposition.

The building of the canal nearly doubles the potential efficiency of the United States Navy, as long as it is fortified and is in our hands; but if left unfortified it would at once become a menace to us.

What is true as to our proper attitude in regard to the canal is no less true as regards our proper attitude concerning the interests of the United States taken as a whole. The canal is to be a great agency for peace; it can be such only, and exactly in proportion as it increased our potential efficiency in war.

Those men who like myself believe that the highest duty of this nation is to prepare itself against war so that it may safely trust its honor and interest to its own strength are advocating merely that we do as a nation regarding our general interests what we have already done in Panama. If, instead of acting as this nation did in the Fall of 1903, we had confined ourselves to debates in Congress and diplomatic notes; if, in other words, we had treated elocution as a substitute for action, we would have done nobody any good, and for ourselves we would have earned the hearty derision of all other nations—the canal would not even have been begun at the present day, and there would have been a general consensus of international opinion to the effect that we were totally unfit to perform any of the duties of international life, especially in connection with the Western hemisphere.

Unfortunately in the last few years we have as regards pretty much everything not connected with the Isthmus of Panama so failed in our duty of national preparedness that I fear there actually is a general consensus of opinion to precisely this effect among the nations of the world as regards the United States at the present day. This is primarily due to our unpreparedness.

We have been culpably, well-nigh criminally, remiss as a nation in not preparing ourselves, and if, with the lessons taught the world by the dreadful tragedies of the last twelve months, we continue with soft complacency to stand helpless and naked before the world, we shall excite only contempt and derision if and when disaster ultimately overwhelms us.

Preparedness against war does not invariably avert war any more than a fire department in a city will invariably avert a fire; and there are well-meaning foolish people who point out this fact as offering an excuse for unpreparedness. It would be just as sensible if after the Chicago fire Chicago had announced that it would abolish its fire de-

partment as for our people to take the same view as regards military preparedness. Some years ago I was looking over some very old newspapers contemporaneous with the early establishment of paid fire departments in this country, and to my amusement I came across a letter which argued against a paid fire department upon the ground that the knowledge of its existence would tend to make householders careless, and therefore would encourage fires.

Greece was not prepared for war when she went to war with Turkey a score of years ago. But this fact did not stop the war. It merely made the war unsuccessful for Greece. China was not prepared for war with Japan twenty-odd years ago, nor for war with the Allies who marched to Peking fifteen years ago.

Colonel Roosevelt then discussed in detail the cases of China and Belgium, comparing Belgium with Switzerland, and asserting that Switzerland would have met Belgium's fate if she had not been prepared to oppose invasion. Then taking up the case of China, he said:

She has acted on the theory that the worst peace was better than the best war, and therefore she has suffered all the evils of the worst war and the worst peace. The average Chinaman took the view that China was too proud to fight and in practice made evident his hearty approval of the sentiments of that abject pacifist song: "I Didn't Raise My Boy to be a Soldier," a song which should have as a companion piece one entitled: "I Didn't Raise my Girl to be a Mother," approval of which of course deprives any men or women of all right of kinship with the soldiers and with the mothers and wives of the soldiers, whose valor and services we commemorate on the Fourth of July and on Decoration Day; a song, the singing of which seems incredible to every man and woman capable of being stirred to lofty and generous enthusiasm by the tremendous surge of Julia Ward Howe's "Battle Hymn of the Republic." China has steadily refused to prepare for war. Accordingly China has had province after province lopped off her, until one-half of her territory is now under Japanese, Russian, English and French control.

The professional pacifists, the peace-at-any-price, non-resistance, universal arbitration people are now seeking to Chinafy this country.

During the past year or so this nation has negotiated some thirty all-inclusive peace treaties by which it is agreed that if any issue arises, no matter of what kind, between itself and any other nation, it would take no final steps about it until a commission of investigation had discussed the matter for a year. This was an explicit promise in each case that if American women were raped and American men murdered, as has actually occurred in Mexico; or American men, women, and children drowned on the high seas, as in the case of the Gulflight and Lusitania; or if a foreign power secured and fortified Magdalena Bay or the Island of St. Thomas, we would appoint a commission and listen to a year's conversation on the subject before taking action.

England and France entered into these treaties with us, and we begged Germany to enter into one, and, although Germany refused, yet if we were right in entering into them with England and France, we deprived ourselves of moral justification in refusing to fulfill their spirit as regards Germany. Personally I believe that it was absolutely necessary when the concrete case arose to repudiate the principle to which we had thus committed ourselves. But it was a shameful thing to have put ourselves in such a position that it had to be repudiated, and it was inexcusable of us to decline to follow the principle in the case of the Lusitania without at the same time making frank confession of our error and misconduct by notifying all the powers with whom we had already made the treaties that they were withdrawn, because in practice we had found it impossible and improper to follow out the principle to which they committed us.

First Year of the War

Military Résumés of Operations on All Fronts—August, 1914 to August, 1915

By Lieutenant Walter E. Ives

Formerly of the Royal Prussian Thirteenth Dragoons

and

By An American Military Expert

One Year's War

By Lieutenant Walter E. Ives

I.

THE WESTERN CAMPAIGN

THE first year of the European war has drawn to a close. A résumé covering the military events it has produced brings to view two distinct phases of the campaign. The first phase comprises the period from Aug. 3 to Oct. 27, and consists of a tenacious effort to carry through the original plan of war of the German General Staff: to strike a crushing blow at France, and after putting her "hors de combat," to turn on the enemy in the East. The second phase comprises the time from Oct. 27 to the present, and consists in the pursuance of military aims forming the direct reversal of the original ones.

The campaign against France, in consequence of the German plan of strategy the first one to come into prominence, can, in its first phase, be divided into four periods.

The first period comprises the operations in Belgium, German Lorraine and Alsace, from Aug. 3 to Aug. 23, the day before the Battle for the Invasion of France, commonly, but incorrectly known as the battle of Mons.

The main blow at France was to come through Belgium. Five German armies out of eight were hurled against this gateway to Northern France. In Lorraine and Alsace the Germans were temporarily to remain on the defensive. The protection of Lorraine was intrusted to the Bavarian (Sixth) Army, that of Alsace to the remaining two armies.

The French plan of operation was to check the invasion of Belgium on the line Tongres-Liege-Longwy, where the Belgian Army, from a strictly military point of view, forming the advance guards of the French Army of the North, was holding strong positions, and with superior forces to strike at the German Army of Lorraine. The aim was, avoiding Metz, to reach the Moselle near Trier through the valley of the Saar, and to roll up the German Army of the North from its left wing. An invasion of Alsace was merely to satisfy political aspirations.

The German advance in Belgium, however, remained unchecked, and in Lorraine the battles of Dieuze and Saarbourg on Aug. 20 decided the issue in favor of the Bavarians. In Alsace the French were victorious over the Eighth Army and took Muelhausen, while further north, between Muenster and Shirmeck, the Seventh Army checked the French invasion.

Meanwhile the German avalanche in Belgium had reached the second line of defense, Brussels-Namur-Longwy, before the French Army of the North. The capture of Namur prompted the French staff to recall advance guards, which had reached the fortress just as it surrendered, and to accept battle in the line Mons-Charleroi-Givet-Longwy. The battle for the invasion of France and the retirement of the French armies in all

the theatres of action which it caused opens the second period of the campaign against France.

The English contingent from Havre had joined the French Army just before the German onslaught began. The battle was lost by the Allies tactically and strategically through the defeat of their right wing at Longwy and Neufchateau, and through the encircling of their left wing at Mons. The direct result of the outcome was the German invasion of France; the indirect consequence (resulting from the necessity of drawing troops from the other fields of action to stem the German invasion) was the retirement of the French armies in Lorraine and Alsace to the line Verdun-Nancy-St. Die, and further south to the passes of the Vosges, which they have been holding ever since.

Sweeping on through Northern France, the German Army of the North was breaking up all resistance in its path, such as was attempted by the British at St. Quentin on Aug. 28, and was tearing with it all fortresses, such as Longwy, La Fère, Maubeuge, and others; but it was failing in its principal aim: to embrace the skillfully retreating enemy before he could reach the line Paris-Verdun, which he had selected and prepared for the next stand.

On Aug. 30 the German plan of strategy was changed, and it was resolved to break the centre of the enemy, throwing his left wing into Paris and on the Seine and his right wing into Verdun, Toul, and Epinal. The armies of the centre were pushed forward, while either wing held back. The Allies were established in the general line Paris-Verdun.

The battle ensuing on Sept. 5 and the retreat of the Germans to the Aisne are the events of the third period of this campaign, lasting from Sept. 5 to Sept. 28. On Sept. 8, while the German attacks had all but pierced the French centre, having already bent it back beyond the line Sezanne-Vitry, the German right wing found itself outflanked by a new allied army from Paris, which was rapidly moving northward and threatened to roll up the entire German battle front from the direction of Compiègne. The critical question, who would succeed first, the Allies in outflanking the German right or the Germans in piercing the French centre, was decided in favor of the Allies. Anglo-French strategy triumphed.

The tactical aspect of the situation, though, is best illustrated by the message sent to his commander-in-chief by General Foch, commanding the French Army of the Centre when he received the order to counter-attack: "My left has been forced back, my right is routed. I shall attack with the centre." When the counter-attack came it found but rear guards opposing it. The retreat of the Germans, their right flank constantly in danger of being rolled up, was a fine military achievement. On Sept. 12 it halted on the Aisne. In the regions northeast of Verdun the German left wing joined hands with the Sixth German Army, which had followed up the retirement of the French Army of Lorraine to the line Verdun-St. Die.

Thus resting on Metz with its left wing the German battle-front was strongly established on a line passing Verdun, to the east and northeast, extending from there in a general westerly direction to the valley of the Aisne as far as the region north of Compiègne, and from that point northward to the region west of Peronne and Cambrai.

The stability of this line, enabling a constant shifting of forces toward the right wing, and the arrival there of the army released from Maubeuge, made possible the extension of the battle-front to the region of Arras, and frustrated all flanking movements on the part of the Allies.

The situation was again safe, but the plan to put the French army hors de combat was far from having been realized. The German General Staff therefore decided on a new plan. Its purpose was to gain control of the northeast coast of France. A wedge should be driven between the two allied countries, and Pas-de-Calais made the base of further operations against both. The following out of this plan constitutes the

fourth and last period of the first phase of the western campaign. It starts with the beginning of the siege of Antwerp on Sept. 28 and ends with the first battle of Ypres on Oct. 27.

The first step toward the accomplishment of the new aims was the capture of Antwerp. Antwerp in the hands of the Allies meant a constant menace to the German line of communication; in possession of the Germans it signified the key to Northern France. The fortress was taken on Oct. 9. The next point of strategic importance for the pursuance of the German plan was Lille, which was taken on Oct. 12.

But the change in the German plan of strategy had been recognized by the Allies, and a new English army from Havre was hurried to the line Bethune-Dunkirk to extend the allied left wing to the coast and block the road to Calais. It reached West Flanders on Oct. 13, and on Oct. 16 it came in contact with the German Army that approached from Antwerp. The latter joined the German right wing north of Lille and extended it to Westende. On the 18th, after having brought up all their reserves, the Germans began their onslaught to break through in the region of Dixmude and Ypres.

While, by Oct. 27, no appreciable impression had been made on the allied battleline, the situation in the eastern seat of war had begun to assume an alarming aspect, and necessitated the complete change in the German plan of strategy, which marks the beginning of the second phase of the war.

On the western front this second phase meant for the Germans the going into the defensive along the entire battleline, which the allied armies have been relentlessly attempting to break. In spite of their continuous heroic efforts only minor successes, such as that of the British at Neuve Chapelle and that of the French to the north of Arras, have been achieved. Counter attacks, forming the most essential element of the modern defensive, have been launched by the Germans incessantly, and have on several occasions resulted in successes similar to those of the Allies, as, for instance, at Soissons and at Ypres. On the whole, no changes of strategic importance have taken place, and the German wall in France stands firm to this day.

II.

THE EASTERN CAMPAIGN

WHILE, in the early days of August, the bulk of the German Army was moving westward, not more than ten army corps were available for the campaign against Russia. To them and to the Austrian armies fell the task of laying the basis for the offensive contemplated for a later date. The plan of campaign was to draw the Russians into the Polish bag and tie it up. It was based on the knowledge that Russia's principal strategic aim must, under all circumstances, be Cracow, the gateway to Vienna and Berlin.

The enemy was to be allowed to reach it through Poland, while the Germans should hold on to East Prussia and the Austrians to Galicia, to flank the Russian advance from the north and south in preparation for a campaign against the Russian lines of communication. This scheme of bagging the enemy has governed all strategic moves of the campaign against Russia to this day.

But the Muscovites were on their guard. They paid little attention to the few German divisions that were thrown into Poland in August, in order to attract a Russian offensive, and began hammering at the Teutonic flanking positions along the East Prussian frontier in the north and the line Lublin-Tarnopol in the south.

While the Russian offensive in East Prussia came to grief at Tannenberg, it was most successful against Galicia, and the eighth week of the war already found the Russian invasion west of the San, Przemysl besieged, and the Austrian right wing flanked by vast bodies of cavalry, which had penetrated the Carpathian passes and reached the region of Munkacs.

To relieve the pressure exerted on their Allies and give them a chance once more to establish themselves in northeastern Galicia, four German army corps invaded Poland and advanced toward Radom and Ivangorod. This counter move was successful. Menaced in their right flank, the Russians quickly took back their army beyond the San. The Austrians followed, raised the siege of Przemysl, and drove the invaders from Hungary and straightened out their line from Sandomir to Czernowitz.

Meanwhile heavy Russian reinforcements had been brought up from Ivangorod and were gradually put in action against the Germans east of Radom. On Oct. 24, as soon as the Russian superiority became alarming, the four German army corps, having, temporarily at least, accomplished their purpose of re-establishing the Austrian campaign, beat a hasty retreat toward Silesia, during which the second purpose of their invasion, to draw into the Polish bag great masses of Russian troops, was successfully achieved, the Russians having been led to believe that they were pursuing a great German army.

Simultaneously, though, with their advance in the path of the German retreat in Poland, the Russians once more concentrated vast forces against the menacing projection of the Austrian battleline in Galicia, and the early days of November witnessed the second invasion of the Austrian province. At the same time a new drive was made on East Prussia, and the Germans were forced back into the region of the Masurian Lakes.

The retirement of the entire Teutonic battleline before the Russians, who toward the end of October had reached the maximum of their strength, marks the end of the first phase of the eastern campaign. It had not accomplished all that had been expected of it. The enemy had been drawn far into South Poland, but the base of operations for the general offensive against his communications in the north had not been established just where it should have been, and the Russian frontier fortifications had been found better prepared for resistance than those of Belgium, while in the south the Austrian base of operations was entirely in the hands of the enemy.

The second phase of the eastern campaign was therefore opened from a new base—Thorn, where the main army had been gathered ever since Oct. 27, when the Russian danger had become alarming, and the offensive in the west had been abandoned. It was suddenly launched with irresistible force on Nov. 12, and rolled back numerically inferior Russian armies, whose task it had been to protect the right flank of the Russian advance on Silesia.

Recognizing the danger to their operations in South Poland and Galicia, where they had meanwhile approached the line of the Warta, Cracow, and Neu Sandec, the Russians threw troops into North Poland from all sides and succeeded in temporarily detaining the German advance there, while they were continuing their supreme efforts to break the Austro-German line south of Cracow. But the line held. At the same time the German drive in North Poland was making steady headway.

On Dec. 6 the Germans took Lodz, and further north advanced on Lowitz, and the Russian offensive in the Cracow district was given up. While all troops that could be spared were sent northeast to support the prepared lines of the Bzura and Rawka Rivers, the Russians in the south fell back behind the Nida and Dunajec, joining with their right wing their northern army in the region of Tomaschew, and extending their left through the region of Gorlitz and Torka toward the Pruth. In this line the Teutonic advance was checked. A new German drive on the road from Soldau to Warsaw could likewise make no headway beyond Mlawa, while on the other hand in East Prussia the Russian offensive had been brought to a standstill.

A siege warfare, like that in France, seemed imminent, except in the Bukowina, where Russian forces during January were driving Austrian troops before them. The Russian invasion of that

province, however, so distant from all strategically important points, was but a political manoeuvre.

The first movement of any consequence to occur was a desperate attempt of the Austrians early in February to push forward with their right wing in the direction of Stanislau, chiefly to bring relief to the garrison of Przemysl. Simultaneously they began sweeping the Russians out of Bukovina. The latter undertaking was successful, but the advance on Stanislau was thrown back toward Nadworna.

While the Austrian offensive was under way, General von Hindenburg unexpectedly launched a vigorous attack in East Prussia, which resulted in the destruction of the Russian East Prussian Army in the region of the Masurian Lakes. Once more a successful drive at the Russian "bread line" from the north seemed at hand. Already the armies pursuing the Russians were hammering at the Russian fortifications along the Niemen, Bobr, and Narew when the surrender of Przemysl, the siege of which had uninterruptedly gone on behind the Russian lines since November, on March 22 again presented to the Russians an opportunity to break the Austrian battleline.

To check the onslaught of the reinforced Russian armies against the Carpathian passes early in April, troops must be drawn from General von Hindenberg's armies, and the consequence was another deadlock in the north. Meanwhile the reinforced Teutonic troops were hurriedly concentrated for the counter-attack against the Russian offensive in the Carpathians, and a great drive began against the Russian positions on the Dunajec line, east of Cracow, early in May. Breaking all resistance, it swept on toward Jaroslau and Przemysl on a sixty-mile front.

Threatened in their right and left flanks, respectively, the Russian lines on the Nida and in the Carpathians fell back rapidly, while reinforcements were sent to stem the Teutonic advance along the San. But the Russian efforts were in vain. The momentum the Teutonic offensive had gained carried it across the river, while further south the Austrian right wing cleared the entire Carpathian front of the enemy, hotly pushing his retreat.

Przemysl was recaptured, the third Russian line of defense from Rawa-Ruska to Grodeck and the Dniester was broken, and the end of June saw Lemberg once more in the hands of the Teutons, and the Russian line on the defensive and sorely pressed along a front extending from the Bassarabian frontier along the Dniester to the mouth of the Zlota-Lipa, and from there along the Zlota-Lipa and the Bug, well into Russian territory, leaving the river southeast of Grubeschow, and continuing from there in a northwesterly direction to the region of Krasnik.

Here it joined hands with the left wing of the Russian Army of the Nida, which had retired before the Austro-German advance in a northeasterly direction, intrenching along a line from Krasnik across the Vistula and through Sjenno and Jastrshob (about fifteen miles southwest of Radom) to the region of Tomaschew on the Pilitza.

While this great Spring offensive from the Dunajec line was well under way, small German forces invaded the Russian province of Courland. Finding at first little resistance in the path of their unexpected advance, they took Libau and established themselves on the Dubissa-Windau line. During July the operations in Courland steadily assumed greater proportions.

Two bases for the campaign against the Russian lines of communication have thus been firmly established in the flanks of the Russian Armies west of the Vistula, both protruding far into their rear. Drives against the Dunaburg-Warsaw line from the north and the Minsk-Ivangorod line from the south will open the second year of the eastern campaign. The first year of the incessant struggle has brought the aims of the German strategy, the bagging of the Russian Armies, within sight of its realization.

III.

CAMPAIGNS OF MINOR IMPORTANCE

WHILE the struggle in the two principal seats of war has been going on, the passing year has witnessed fighting also of secondary importance, though not less heroic, in three other fields of action: Serbia, Turkey, and the Austro-Italian frontier. Whereas Turkey joined the Teutons but three months after the beginning of hostilities, and Italy was involved only at the end of May, Serbia was one of the first nations to take the field.

Austria's campaign against the little kingdom could under no circumstances influence the events of the war, and was therefore void of any strategic importance. For this reason, but three Austrian Army corps were engaged in it.

The purpose was merely to keep the Serbians busy, and prevent them from invading Austrian soil. For the sake of the moral effect on the other Balkan States the capture of Belgrade should be attempted. In view of the strength of the Danube fortifications the operations were launched from Bosnia and resulted in the forcing of the Drina line and the capture of Valjevo on Nov. 17. The Serbian positions on the Danube having thus been flanked, the abandonment of Belgrade on Dec. 2 was a natural consequence of the Battle of Valjevo.

Misled by their successes into the belief that the Serbian army had been placed hors de combat, the Austrians advanced beyond the lines destined to constitute the object of their offensive. In the difficult mountain districts southeast of Valjevo the Serbians turned on the invaders with superior forces and defeated them. The Austrian retreat to the Drina which followed, necessitated the evacuation of Belgrade on Dec. 15. Since then, the situation on the Serbian frontier has been a deadlock, only desultory and insignificant fighting occurring for the rest of the year.

In contrast to the operations in Serbia, Turkey's campaign has direct bearing on the European war. Its chief feature, the closing of the Dardanelles, has been a serious blow to Russia. The frantic efforts of the Allies to open them are the plainest evidence of its importance.

The attempt in March to force the straits by naval power having resulted in failure, an army was landed on the west coast of Gallipoli, and after heavy fighting established itself on a line running from Eski-Hissarlik on the south coast of the peninsula to the region of Sari-Bair, on the north coast, constituting a front of approximately twenty miles, within five miles of the west coast. No progress further than this have the Allies been able to make up to the present, and the watch at the Dardanelles stands firm as yet.

The attacks of the Anglo-French armies, however, exerted influence on Turkey's operations in other fields of action. They caused the complete abandonment of a contemplated invasion of Egypt and compelled the Turkish troops to go on the defensive in the Caucasian seat of war. This enabled Russia to call back to Poland troops sorely needed there, with which they had had to check the Turkish advance on Kars in January. Since February both battlelines along the Caucasian front have been weakened and no fighting of any consequence has occurred in this campaign of merely secondary importance.

The operations in the latest field of action, along the Austro-Italian frontier, have been going on for but eight weeks, and do not, therefore, allow any conclusions as to their importance to be made as yet. So far the Italians have been unable to make any effective impression on either Austria's Tyrolese frontier or on the front of the Isonzo. All attempts to break through the Austrian lines have thus far failed. The aim of Austria's strategy is to maintain a deadlock until the issue has been decided in Poland.

In determining the results of the first year of the world war the question as to which side is holding the advantage at the close of this important period depends entirely upon what were the polit-

ical aims of the adversaries. The Teutonic allies' contention has ever been, rightly or wrongly, that they are not waging a war for territorial aggrandizement, but purely one in self-defense. From this point of view they can be well satisfied with the results they have so far attained.

An American View

By the Military Expert of The New York Times

FIRST PHASE

Opening the Way to France Through Belgium

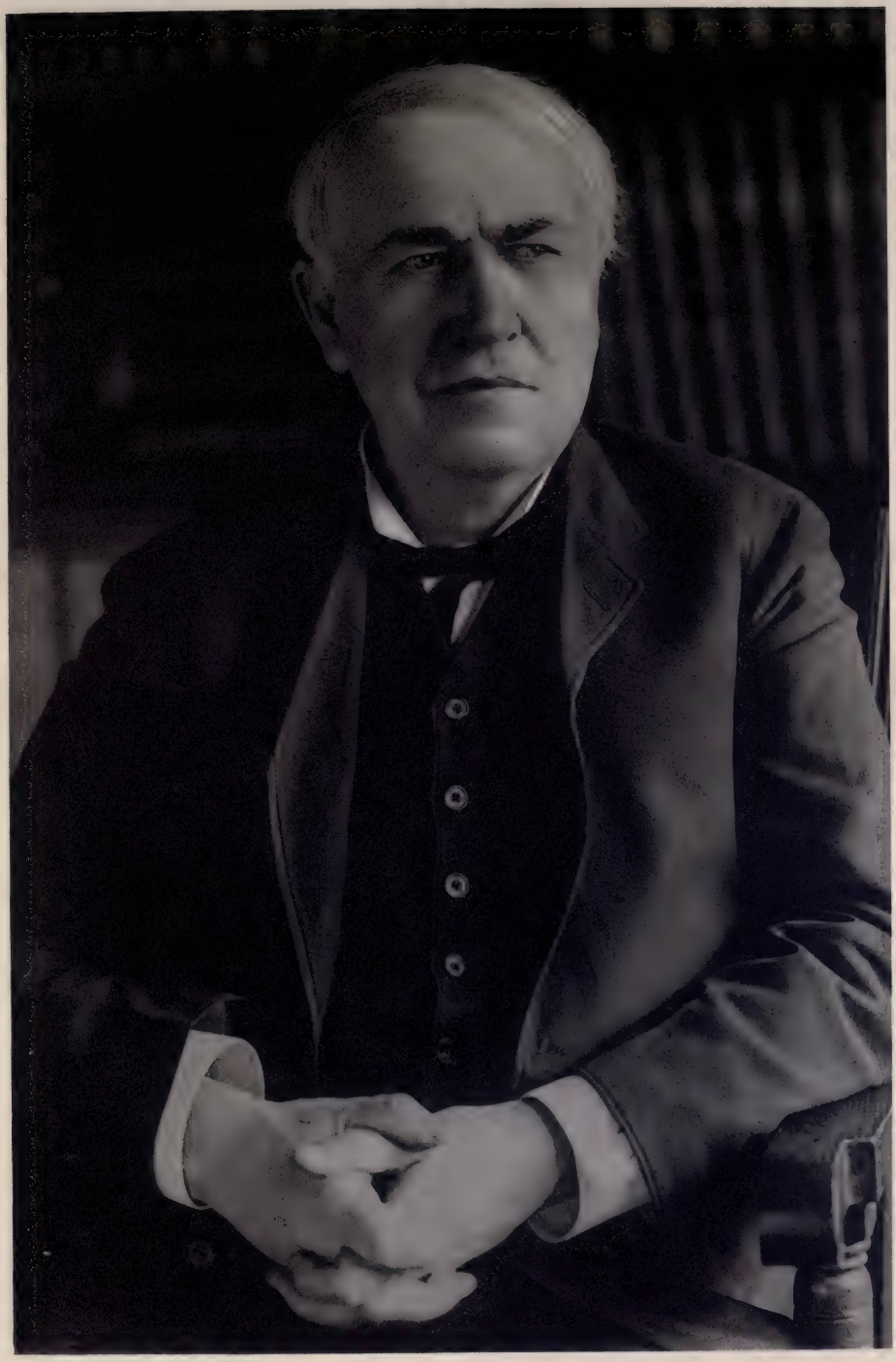
BY Aug. 4, 1914, war had been declared by all the nations now engaged except Turkey and Italy. Subsequent events have proved that of them all the Teutonic allies were the only nations actually prepared and that as between Austria and Germany the preparation of the latter was much more complete. It was the Germans, therefore, who, with the entire campaign carefully mapped out in advance, took the initiative. Germany, too, at the very outset saw the one clear path to victory.

One or the other of her Continental enemies must not only be defeated, but crushed and eliminated from the conflict before the other could mobilize against her. One of them, Russia, would probably take the longer time to effect her mobilization. Russia had started, it is true, before war was declared. But interior railroads in Russia are few. Russia, too, is proverbially slow, if for no other reason than by virtue of her ponderous numbers. France, on the other hand, is checked and counter-checked by good strategic railroads, and, having no such vast territory over which her troops would have to be moved, would be able to mobilize in a much shorter time than her ally. England, for a few weeks at least, could be disregarded. Deceived as to the extent of Russian unpreparedness and believing that Russia's slowness would prevent an active offense for some weeks, Germany selected France as her first objective, and took immediate steps to hurl twenty-four army corps across the French border at various points, aiming at Paris.

These twenty-four corps were divided into three armies—the Army of the Meuse, based on Cologne; the Army of the Moselle, based on Metz and Coblenz, and the Army of the Rhine, based on Strassburg. All of these three armies were naturally to converge on Paris. The route of the Army of the Meuse would pass through Liége, Namur, and Maubeuge, and would therefore have to cross a part of Belgium; the Army of the Moselle would take a route through Sedan and Soissons, passing north of the Verdun fortress, but of necessity crossing the Duchy of Luxemburg; the Army of the Rhine, after crossing the screen of the Vosges Mountains, would pass through Nancy and Toul, between the fortresses of Epinal and Belfort.

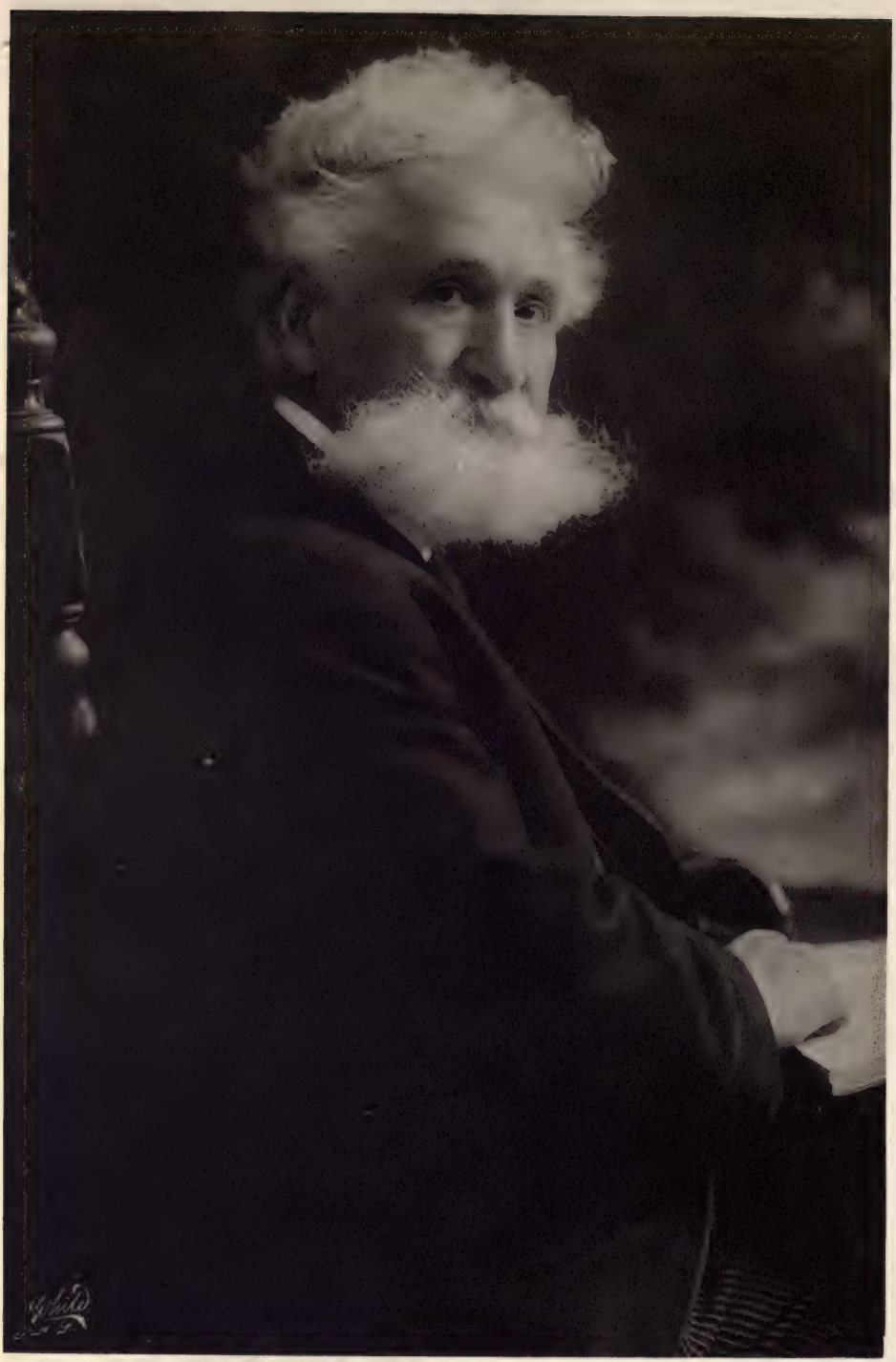
It is obvious that the march to Paris would be most quickly achieved through the flat country of Belgium, where the French frontier is practically unguarded and only the weakly manned barrier fortresses of Belgium barred the way. The remainder of the French frontier from Luxemburg to Switzerland was well fortified, and Germany had no time to spend in reducing fortified places.

The main advance was therefore to take place through Belgium, the Army of the Moselle co-operating, while to the Army of the Rhine was assigned the offensive-defensive rôle of advancing to the barrier fortresses of Epinal and Belfort to check any French advance that might be directed against the communications of the Armies of the Moselle and



THOMAS A. EDISON

The American Inventor, Now Associated With the Navy Department as Chief of the Advisory Board of Civilian Inventors and Engineers



HUDSON MAXIM

American Inventor of High Explosives and Other Materials of War

(Photo by White.)

the Meuse to the north. The railroad communications through the Belgian plain were splendidly adapted to this plan, backed as they were by the military railroads which Germany had constructed several years before, running through the industrial districts in the north of the German Empire up to the Belgian border.

Germany's first move was the invasion of Luxemburg, violating the neutrality of a State which, under the treaty making her independent and guaranteeing neutrality, (to which treaty Germany was a party,) was not permitted to maintain an army. Two days later Germany asked passage for her troops through Belgium, for the purpose of attacking France. Belgium promptly refused, and on Aug. 4 Germany began the forcing of this passage by an attack on Liége.

Thus, at the outset the German plan went awry. Although the contemplated line of advance was through Liége and Namur, it was not sufficient, with Belgium openly in arms to defend her country, to reduce only these two towns. The Belgian Army could, and later did, fall back to the north on Louvain, Brussels, and Antwerp, and so be directly on the German flank and in a position to strike at the line of communications. It was therefore necessary to subjugate all of Belgium either by destroying the Belgian Army or driving it before them in their advance.

Thus, the German advance was not only doomed to delay, but at least 100,000 troops were needed to garrison a hostile country and to protect the life lines running to the rear.

Three days after the attack on Liége opened the Germans penetrated between the outer forts, their infantry advancing in close formation and sustaining enormous losses. But Liége was worth the price paid. Some of the forts held out for days, but were finally reduced by the fire of the 42-centimeter guns—the first of the German surprises. The Belgian garrison, however, had done its work. The German advance was delayed for ten precious days, during which the first consignment of the British expeditionary force had reached the Continent and France and Russia had largely completed their mobilization.

As soon as it was realized that the unexpected Belgian resistance had retarded the German advance and in all probability had disarranged the German plan of campaign, the French, even before the guns of Liége had cooled, struck at Alsace, through the Belford Gap and over the Vosges Mountains. At first this French offensive was successful. Points on the Metz-Strassburg Railroad were taken and the town of Mülhausen captured. But almost before the news of success reached Paris the French had been defeated, not only in Alsace but also in Lorraine, whence French troops had been sent to engage the German Army of the Moselle. The result was the retirement of the French to the line of their first defense—a line that had been prepared for just such an emergency during the years since 1871.

While the German armies of the Moselle and of the Rhine were thus occupied in repelling the French advance the Army of the Meuse was forcing its way through Belgium. Throwing out a strong cavalry screen in its front, this army avanced through Tongres, St. Frond, Laugen, Haelen, and Terlemont, and finally confronted the Belgians on the line from Louvain to Namur. Fighting on this front filled almost a week, when the destruction of the fortifications of Namur forced the Belgians to fall back, pivoting on Louvain to the line from Louvain to Wavre, the last line in front of Brussels. On Aug. 20 the Belgians were defeated at Louvain and the Germans entered Brussels, the Belgian Government having previously retired to Antwerp. The first phase of the German advance was thus completed and the way to France was open.

SECOND PHASE

From the Fall of Brussels to von Kluck's Retreat to the Aisne

Immediately following the fall of Namur, which forced the Belgians to take up the Louvain-Wavre line, the

main German Army of the Meuse started for France, leaving possibly two army corps to drive the Belgians from Brussels and to protect their flank and their lines of communication. The German advance first came in contact with the French and British along a line from Mons to Charleroi, southwest of Brussels. The British were supposed to have been between two French armies, but for some reason the army which had been assigned to position on the British left did not appear. Being outflanked, a retreat followed, the French being defeated at the same time at Charleroi. The German Army of the Moselle then attacked along the Meuse, and, being also successful, was on the flank and rear of the British and French retreating from Mons and Charleroi.

Thus a great enveloping movement was disclosed which for some days gave every evidence of being successful. It was defeated, however, entirely by the British, who, though outflanked and outnumbered three to one, fought steadily night and day for six days, their small force holding in complete check all of von Kluck's army corps. Retreat was of course inevitable, but the retreat was made in good order and with the morale of the troops unshaken.

In the meantime the German General Staff, which had confidently expected to crush France before Russia could become a factor to be reckoned with, saw with alarm Russia pouring her troops into East Prussia in a drive against Königsberg, while in South Poland another Russian army was preparing a drive against Galicia, operating from the Ivangorod-Rowno railroad. Germany saw the Austrians being defeated everywhere; Lemberg, the capital of Galicia, captured; Przemysl masked, and the Russians fighting their way westward through Galicia between the Carpathians and the Vistula. But Austria's troubles at this stage were her own. Germany had all she could do to turn back the Russian invasion of East Prussia.

To face the peril on her eastern borders Germany detached several army corps—probably five—from the western front, with them reinforced her eastern army, and in a few days after their arrival inflicted a disastrous defeat on the Russians at Tannenburg, driving them back practically to their own borders. But the damage had been done. The armies of the west had been weakened at a critical point, and General Joffre was given the opportunity he had been seeking since the beginning of the war.

The French and British, whose retreat had carried them to the Marne, now outnumbered the Germans, and, what is more important, were able to concentrate their forces by calling in those troops who had been engaged in the counter-offensive in Alsace. Taking advantage of their superiority in numbers, the Allies took the offensive. Holding the Germans fast in the centre, the Paris garrison struck hurriedly northeast toward Soisson with the idea of getting around von Kluck's flank. For several days it seemed that von Kluck and his army must be captured. But, moving north with great rapidity, abandoning much of his artillery and supplies, he escaped the net Joffre had spread for him, and anchored himself securely behind the Aisne. The great German movement was thus brought to an abrupt halt, and they were now on the defensive. Paris was saved. For ten days the Allies fought desperately to cross the Aisne and force von Kluck to continue his retreat. But finally the effort was given up, and the two armies faced each other across the Aisne deadlocked.

The Russians meanwhile had not been idle. Although their operations against the reinforced German Army had a negative result, against the Austrians in Galicia their success continued. Przemysl had not been taken, but, hemming it in securely, the Russians passed on and took the fortified town of Jaroslau, near the lower San. The menace of the Russian invasion of Galicia then became apparent. Galicia, with her wealth of oil and minerals, the fertile plains of Hungary just the other side of the Carpathians, Cracow, opening the gate to Breslau and Berlin—these were the things the Teutons stood in danger of losing, and it is

not surprising that they viewed the Russian advance with alarm.

There is but one more incident to record before closing what might well be considered the second phase of the war. That is the fall of Antwerp. It was Belgium's final sacrifice on the altar of her national honor. And no matter what our ancestry may be, nor how our sympathies may lie, we cannot but reverence a people whose sense of national duty and honor is so high that they are willing to sacrifice and do sacrifice their all to maintain it.

THIRD PHASE

From the Fall of Antwerp to the Beginning of the Battle for Warsaw

When it became apparent to General French that the line of the Aisne, to which the Germans had retreated after the battle of the Marne, was too strong to be forced, he withdrew his troops, about 100,000 men, from the line, his place being filled by the French reserves. The object of the withdrawal was another flanking movement against the German right. The idea seems to have been that by withdrawing and entraining at night the movement would be entirely concealed from the Germans until the British were actually in Belgium, and that an advance along the left bank of the Scheldt would turn the flank of the whole German army in France, compelling a general retreat. The movement was discovered by German air scouts, however, and the troops that had been before Antwerp met and checked the British, who took up finally the line along the Yser Canal, through Ypres to La Bassée, opposed by three German army corps.

But one thing saved the British from another defeat and prevented a more disastrous retreat than that from Mons and Charleroi. When the Germans took Antwerp the Belgian garrison of about 50,000 men escaped and by a brilliant retreat retired to a line from Nieuport to Dixmude. They thus guarded the left flank of the British line and by a stubborn resistance prevented this flank from being turned and the British driven south toward Paris. Nothing else prevented Dunkirk, Calais, and Boulogne from falling into German hands at this time.

As it afterward turned out, the German plan, after the fall of Antwerp, was a sudden drive to Calais. The plan was conceived and the movement begun at the same time General French put into execution his attempt to outflank the German position. These forces met on the Ypres-La Bassée line, and both were halted. It was a fortuitous chance, then, that the Germans were held back from the coast, as well as deprived of an opportunity to strike at Paris from the north. For three weeks the Germans battled fiercely, with almost total disregard for the loss of life involved. Finally the attack died out, and with its death the whole line from the North Sea to the Swiss frontier settled down to trench warfare.

While the armies in the west were checking each other until the status of a "stalemate" had been reached, affairs in the eastern theatre had been moving rapidly. Persuaded by German money, a temptation the Turk has ever been powerless to resist, Turkey late in October joined hands with the Teutons and declared war on the Allies. The Japanese, who had at the outset joined hands with England, had, after a wonderful defense by the Germans, taken the German Chinese city of Kiao-Chau. But of more importance still was the activity of the opposing armies in Russia and in Galicia.

After the battle of Fannenburg, in which Russia was defeated and driven back to her own borders, the Germans invaded Suwalki Province in Northern Poland. The Russians again took the offensive, defeated the Germans in the battle of Augustovo, and, pressing westward, again entered East Prussia in the region of the Mazurian Lakes. In this territory a deadlock followed, both Russians and Germans remaining with horns locked and unable to move until early Spring.

In Galicia, however, events moved with greater rapidity, and the results were

vastly more important. After the fall of Lemberg and Jaroslau the Russians pressed forward across the San to Tarnow, masking Przemysl on the way, and took up a line along the Dunajec to the Carpathians and east through Galicia along the Dniester and the Pruth to the Rumanian frontier, thus threatening not only the plains of Hungary, which lay just across the Carpathian summits, but also Bukowina, the Crownland of Austria.

Austria's plight was desperate, and German assistance was necessary. Von Hindenburg's first attack on Warsaw, the battle being called the battle of the Vistula, was the answer. The Germans advanced against the Russian centre, the Austrians against the left in Galicia. At first both were successful, but heavy Russian reinforcements succeeded in turning the German left, almost at the very gates of Warsaw. The Germans were forced to retreat, and fell back to their own borders. The Austrians were at the same time compelled to retreat, due to the uncovering of their flank, and again Russia was in supreme control of Galicia as far west as Cracow. As the Germans retreated the Russians followed, and another invasion of Germany was threatened, and it was von Hindenburg again who was to throw it back.

This he did, driving forward in three columns, two of which were intended to move against the Russian flanks. The Russian centre fell back to Lodz, but the right was still threatened. Again Russia assembled her reserves, and before von Hindenburg realized the situation a Russian army was not only on his flank but in his rear. A retreat was necessary. The Germans, assisted by corps drawn from the west, cut their way out and escaped from the Russian trap through the failure of one of the Russian armies to co-operate in the movement in time. But the German offense had failed and the effort had been terribly expensive.

Another offense was immediately planned—this time to move along the Vistula and strike at Warsaw from the southwest. This also was a failure, and the two armies finally became deadlocked along the line of the Bzura and the Rawka Rivers.

No further fighting of importance in this theatre until February, when the battle of the Mazurian Lakes was fought. It will be recalled that after the German defeat at Augustovo the Russians pursued the Germans into the lake district, where the two armies became practically deadlocked. This situation was broken by the Germans, who suddenly attacked both flanks of the Russian army and inflicted upon it a disastrous defeat, in which one army corps surrendered and the remainder escaped only after enormous losses.

But the victory, like other German victories, while decisive as far as the particular Russian army involved was concerned, did nothing toward hastening peace. The beginning of Spring found the armies in both theatres completely at a standstill, except in Galicia.

In the west since the failure of the German drive on Calais there has been no movement that has affected the general situation. The anniversary of the declaration of war finds the lines of the Germans and the French practically where they were six months ago. A number of battles have been fought for the possession of certain points of vantage—in the Champagne, the Argonne, at Neuve Chapelle, Ypres, Les Eparges, Hartmannsweilerkopf, Metzeral, Souchez —but they have resulted in only a local effect, although they have been accompanied in almost every case by losses that have been staggering.

The principal event of the Spring in the west has been the advent of Italy into the maelstrom. But this has not affected the situation up to the present time. Italy has a hard problem on her hands which must be solved before she can make herself felt. She has but one line of advance—the line of the Isonzo. But she dare not advance and leave the passes through the Tyrolean and the Carnic Alps open for Germany and Austria to pour troops in against her flank and rear. Her task therefore is first to stop every pass by which this can be done; and then, and then only, is she

ready to move. This is being done, but the task is a difficult one, the country impossible from a military viewpoint, and progress necessarily slow.

In the east, however, the coming of Spring brought a series of the most tremendous movements of the war. The Allies began an operation against the Dardanelles, with the object of forcing the strait, taking Constantinople, and thus at once releasing the great store of grain in Southern Russia and providing a means of getting ammunition to Russia from the west. The operations at first were entirely naval. But after serious loss, with no corresponding advantage, it was realized that the naval forces alone were not sufficient, and troops were landed on the western end of the Gallipoli Peninsula. This force has been for three months hammering at the positions of the Turks along the Achibaba line, but, except for the possible influence on the Balkan States of the presence of these expeditionary forces on Gallipoli, little headway has been made. Certain it is that there is no indication that the near future will bring the Allies into Constantinople.

In Galicia the Spring began with the capitulation of Przemysl and the surrender to the Russians of about 125,000 Austrians. This was the greatest victory in the eastern theatre thus far, and immediately opened the way wide to the passes in the Carpathians that led to the Hungarian plains and to Cracow. Russia evidently felt that if she confined her operations to Austria she could, by pushing the attack into Hungary, crush Austria completely and eliminate her from the war. Accordingly, the opportunity of laying siege to Cracow was passed by and Russian efforts concentrated in forcing the Carpathian passes.

For weeks the battle of the Carpathians was in progress. The Austrians, reinforced by strong German contingents, fought desperately, and, although several of the passes were finally captured, Uzok Pass, the centre of the line and the key to the whole Carpathian situation, held out. While the battle for its possession was in progress the Germans were quietly concentrating along the Dunajec. Suddenly their attack was launched, the line of the Dunajec forced, and the Russian flank and their lines of communication were seriously involved. To prevent being cut off, the forces in the Carpathians were compelled to fall back to their lateral lines. Preponderance of artillery forced the retreat through Galicia, and in an incredibly short time Jaroslaw, Przemysl, and Lemberg were again in the hands of the Teutons and Galicia practically cleared of the Russian invaders.

Earlier in the Spring the Germans under von Bülow had landed in Northern Russia and the Gulf of Riga, and, gradually working south, had effected a junction with von Hindenburg's army in front of Warsaw. Coming north through Galicia, Mackensen had driven the Russians back to the line of the Ivangorod-Lublin railroad and had established connections with von Hindenburg's right. Von Linsengen and the Austrian Archduke Francis Joseph completed the line facing the Russians along the upper Viprez, the Bug, the Flota Lipa, and the Dniester. Simultaneously, with all flanks guarded, the Teutons began to close in on Warsaw in the most stupendous military movement of history. As this article is written it seems that nothing can save the Polish capital; before it goes to press, even, Warsaw may be in German hands. One thing is evident—the Kaiser has returned to his plan of a year ago—Napoleon's plan—the only plan that can succeed—completely to crush one opponent first and then turn against the other; only now it is Russia and not France upon which the blows are falling.

NOTE: A military review of the European warfare during August will appear in the next number of CURRENT HISTORY, in connection with the Chronology.—[*Editor* CURRENT HISTORY.]

Inferences from Eleven Months of the European Conflict

By Charles W. Eliot, President Emeritus of Harvard University

Asticou, Maine, July 16, 1915.

To the Editor of the New York Times:

THE inferences of the first importance are military and naval. In the conduct of war on land it has been demonstrated during the past eleven months that success in battle depends primarily on the possession and skillful use of artillery and machine guns. The nation which can command the largest quantity of artillery in great variety of calibre and range, has developed the amplest and quickest means of transporting artillery and supplies of all sorts, and whose troops can use mortars, howitzers, and cannon at the highest speed and with the greatest accuracy will have important advantages over an enemy less well provided, or less skillful. Before every assault by infantry artillery must sweep and plow the position to be captured, and so soon as the enemy has lost a trench or a redoubt the enemy's artillery will try to destroy the successful troops with shell and shrapnel, before the enemy's infantry makes a counter-attack. Whenever troops have open ground to cross before they reach the intrenchments of the enemy, they encounter a withering fire from machine guns, which is so effective that assaults over open ground have, for the most part, to be undertaken at night or in fog, or by some sort of surprise.

In general the defense has great advantage over the attack, as regards expenditure of both men and munitions. So decided is the advantage of the defense, that Germany can dismiss all those apprehensions about invasion by the Russian hordes with which she set out on this war. Success in military movements on a large scale depends on the means of transportation at hand; and these means of transportation must include railroads, automobiles, and horse wagons, the function of the automobile being of high importance wherever the roads are tolerably good. There is little use for cavalry in the new fighting; for aeroplanes can do better scouting and more distant raiding than cavalry ever could, and large bodies of infantry with their indispensable supplies can be moved faster and further by automobiles than cavalry could ever be.

The aeroplane also defeats the former use of cavalry to screen from the enemy's view the movements of troops and their trains behind the actual fronts. Moreover, cavalry cannot stand at all against the new artillery and the machine gun. An old-fashioned cavalry charge in the open is useless, and indeed impossible. Aerial warfare is still undeveloped, but the war has proved that the aeroplane, even in its present imperfect condition, is a useful instrument. The Zeppelin, on the other hand, seems to be too fragile and too unmanageable for effective use in war. Rifle fire is of far less importance than artillery and machine gun fire; and, indeed, the abandonment of the rifle as the principal arm for infantry is clearly suggested.

Elaborate forts made of iron and concrete are of little use against a competent invader, and fortifications round about cities are of no use for protection against an enemy that possesses adequate artillery. For the defense of a frontier, or of the approaches to a railroad junction or a city, a system of trenches is immeasurably superior to forts, particularly if behind the trenches a network of railways or of smooth highways exists. Wounds are often inflicted by jagged pieces of metal which carry bits of dirty clothing and skin

into the wounds, and the wounded often lie on the ground for hours or even days before aid can reach them. Hence the surgery of this war is largely the surgery of infected wounds, and not of smooth aseptic cuts and holes. A considerable percentage of deaths and permanent disabilities among the wounded is the inevitable result. Surgeons and dressers are more exposed to death and wounds than in former wars, because of the large use of artillery of long range, the field hospitals being often under fire.

From these changes in the methods of war on land it may be safely inferred that a nation which would be strong in war on land must be strong in all sorts of manufacturing, and particularly in the metallurgical industries. A nation chiefly devoted to agriculture and the ancient trades cannot succeed in modern war, unless it can beg, borrow, or buy from sympathizers or allies the necessary artillery and munitions. No amount of courage and devotion in troops can make up for an inadequate supply of artillery, machine guns, shells, and shrapnel, or for the lack of ample means of rapid transportation. Only in a rough country without good roads, like the United States in 1861-65, or Serbia or Russia now, can the rifle, light artillery, and horse or ox wagons win any considerable success; and in such a country the trench method can bring about a stalemate, if the combatants are well matched in strength, diligence, and courage.

The changes in naval warfare are almost equally remarkable. Mines and submarines can make the offensive operation of dreadnoughts and cruisers near ports practically impossible, and can inflict great damage on an enemy's commerce. Hence important modifications in the rules concerning effective blockade. In squadron actions victory will probably go to the side which has the gun of longest range well-manned. Defeated war vessels sink as a rule with almost all on board. Commercial vessels can seldom be taken into port as prizes, and must therefore be sunk to make their capture effective. There have been no actions between large fleets; but the indications are that a defeated fleet would be sunk for the most part, the only vessels to escape being some of the speedier sort. Crews would go down with their vessels. Shore batteries of long-range guns can keep at a distance a considerable fleet, and can sink vessels that come too near. Mines and shore batteries together can prevent the passage of war vessels through straits ten to fifteen miles wide, no matter how powerful the vessel's batteries may be. Every war vessel is now filled with machinery of various sorts, much of which is delicate or easily disabled. Hence a single shell exploding violently in a sensitive spot may render a large ship unmanageable, and therefore an easy victim. A crippled ship will probably be sunk, unless a port is near.

To build and keep in perfect condition a modern fleet requires dockyards and machine shops of large capacity, and great metallurgical industries always in operation within the country which maintains the fleet. No small nation can create a powerful fleet; and no nation which lives chiefly by agriculture can maintain one. A great naval power must be a mining, manufacturing, and commercial power, with a sound banking system available all over the world.

The war has proved that it is possible for a combination of strong naval powers to sweep off the ocean in a few months all the warships of any single great power, except submarines, and all its commerce. Germany has already suffered that fate, and incidentally the loss of all her colonies, except portions of German East Africa and Kamerun, both of which remnants are vigorously assailed and will soon be lost. Nevertheless, she still exports and imports through neutral countries, though to a small amount in comparison with the volume of her normal trade. Here is another illustration of the general truth that colonies are never so good to trade with as independent and prosperous nations.

Again the war has proved that it is not possible in a normal year to reduce

by blockade or non-intercourse the food supply of a large nation to the point of starvation, or even of great distress, although the nation has been in the habit of importing a considerable fraction of its food supply. An intelligent population will make many economies in its food, abstain from superfluities, raise more food from its soil, use grains for food instead of drinks, and buy food from neutral countries so long as its hard money holds out. Any large country which has a long seaboard or neutral neighbors can probably prevent its noncombatant population from suffering severely from want of food or clothing while at war. This would not be true of the districts in which actual fighting takes place or over which armies pass; for in the regions of actual battle modern warfare is terribly destructive—as Belgium, Northern France, Poland, and Serbia know.

A manufacturing people whose commercial vessels are driven off the seas will, of course, suffer the loss of such raw materials of its industries as habitually came to it over seas in its own bottoms—a loss mitigated, however, by the receipt of some raw materials from or through neutral countries. This abridgment of its productive industries will, in the long run, greatly diminish its powers of resistance in war; but much time may be needed for the full development of this serious disability.

Because of the great costliness of the artillery, munitions of war, and means of transportation used in the present war, the borrowings of all the combatant nations are heavy beyond any precedent; so that already all the nations involved have been compelled to raise the rates of interest on the immense loans they have put upon the market. The burdens thus being prepared for the coming generations in the belligerent nations will involve very high rates of taxation in all the countries now at war. If these burdens continue to accumulate for two or three years more, no financier, however experienced and far-seeing, can imagine today how the resulting loans are to be paid or how the burden of taxation necessary to pay the interest on them can be borne or how the indemnities probably to be exacted can be paid within any reasonable period by the defeated nation or nations.

It follows from these established facts that a small nation—a nation of not more than fifteen millions, for example—can have no independent existence in Europe except as a member of a federation of States having similar habits, tendencies, and hopes, and united in an offensive and defensive alliance, or under guarantees given by a group of strong and trustworthy nations. The firm establishment of several such federations, or the giving of such guarantees by a group of powerful and faith-keeping nations ought to be one of the outcomes of the war of 1914-15. Unless some such arrangement is reached, no small State will be safe from conquest and absorption by any strong, aggressive military power which covets it—not even if its people live chiefly by mining and manufacturing as the Belgians did.

The small States, being very determined to exist and to obtain their natural or historical racial boundaries, the problem of permanent or any durable peace in Europe resolves itself into this: How can the small or smaller nations be protected from attack by some larger nation which believes that might makes right and is mighty in industries, commerce, finance, and the military and naval arts? The experience gained during the past year proves that there is but one effective protection against such a power, namely, a firm league of other powers—not necessarily numerous—which together are stronger in industries, commerce, finance, and the military and naval arts than the aggressive and ambitious nation which heartily believes in its own invincibility and cherishes the ambition to conquer and possess.

Such a league is the present combination of Great Britain, France, Russia, Italy, and Japan against the aggressive Central Monarchies and Turkey; but this combination was not formed deliberately and with conscious

purpose to protect small States, to satisfy natural national aspirations, and to make durable peace possible by removing both fear of invasion and fear of the cutting off of overseas food and raw materials. In spite of the lack of an explicit and comprehensive purpose to attain these wise and precious ends, the solidity of the alliance during a year of stupendous efforts to resist military aggression on the part of Germany and Austria-Hungary certainly affords good promise of success for a somewhat larger league in which all the European nations—some, like the Scandinavian and the Balkans, by representation in groups—and the United States should be included. Such a league would have to act through a distinct and permanent council or commission which would not serve arbitrary power, or any peculiar national interest, and would not in the least resemble the "Concert of Europe," or any of the disastrous special conferences of diplomatists and Ministers for Foreign Affairs, called after wars since that of 1870-71 to "settle" the questions the wars raised.

The experience of the past twelve months proves that such a league could prevent any nation which disobeyed its orders from making use of the oceans and from occupying the territory of any other nation. Reduction of armaments, diminution of taxation, and durable peace would ensue as soon as general confidence was established that the league would fairly administer international justice, and that its military and naval forces were ready and effective. Its function would be limited to the prevention and punishment of violation of international agreements, or, in other words, to the enforcement of treaty obligations, until new treaties were made.

The present alliance is of good promise in three important respects—its members refuse to make any separate peace, they co-operate cordially and efficiently in military measures, and the richer members help the poorer financially. These policies have been hastily devised and adopted in the midst of strenuous fighting on an immense scale. If deliberately planned and perfected in times of peace, they could be made in the highest degree effective toward durable peace.

The war has demonstrated that the international agreements for the mitigation of the horrors of war, made by treaties, conferences, and conventions in times of peace, may go for nothing in time of war; because they have no sanction, or, in other words, lack penalties capable of systematic enforcement. To provide the lacking sanction and the physical force capable of compelling the payment of penalties for violating international agreements would be one of the best functions of the international council which the present alliance foreshadows. Some years would probably be required to satisfy the nations concerned that the sanction was real and the force trustworthy and sufficient. The absolute necessity of inventing and applying a sanction for international law, if Europe is to have international peace and any national liberty, will be obvious to any one who has once perceived that the present war became inevitable when Austria-Hungary, in violation of an international agreement to which she was herself a party, seized and absorbed Bosnia and Herzegovina, and became general and fierce when Germany, under Prussian lead, in violation of an international agreement to which she was herself a party, entered and plundered neutralized Belgium.

A strong, trustworthy international alliance to preserve the freedom of the seas under all circumstances would secure for Great Britain and her federated commonwealths everything secured by the burdensome two-navies policy which now secures the freedom of the seas for British purposes. The same international alliance would secure for Germany the same complete freedom of the seas which in times of peace between Germany and Great Britain she has long enjoyed by favor of Great Britain, but has lost in time of war with the Triple Entente. This security, with the general acceptance of the policy of the "open door," would fully meet Germany's need of indefinite expansion for her manufacturing industries and her commerce,

and of room "in the sun" for her surplus population.

It is a safe inference from the events of the past six months that the longer the war lasts the more significant will be the political and social changes which result from it. It is not to be expected, and perhaps not to be desired, that the ruling class in the countries autocratically governed should themselves draw this inference at present, but all lovers of freedom and justice will find consolation for the prolongation of the war in this hopeful reflection.

To devise the wise constitution of an international council or commission with properly limited powers, and to determine the most promising composition of an international army and an international navy are serious tasks, but not beyond the available international wisdom and goodwill, provided that the tasks be intrusted to international publicists, business men of large experience, and successful administrators, rather than to professional diplomatists and soldiers. To dismiss such a noble enterprise with the remark that it is "academic," or beyond the reach of "practical" politics, is unworthy of courageous and humane men; for it seems now to be the only way out of the horrible abyss into which civilization has fallen. At any rate, some such machinery must be put into successful operation before any limitation of national armaments can be effected. The war has shown to what a catastrophe competitive national arming has led, and would probably again lead the most civilized nations of Europe. Shall the white race despair of escaping from this hell? The only way of escape in sight is the establishment of a rational international community. Should the enterprise fail after fair trial, the world will be no worse off than it was in July, 1914, or is today.

Whoever studies the events of the past year with some knowledge of political philosophy and history, and with the love of his neighbor in his heart, will discover, amid the horrors of the time and its moral chaos, three hopeful leadings for humanitarian effort, each involving a great constructive invention. He will see that humanity needs supremely a sanction for international law, rescue from alcoholism, and a sound basis for just and unselfish human relations in the great industries, and particularly in the machinery industries. The war has brought out all three of these needs with terrible force and vividness. Somehow they must be met, if the white race is to succeed in "the pursuit of happiness," or even to hold the gains already made.

CHARLES W. ELIOT.

"Revenge for Elisabeth!"

The Vienna "Arbeiter Zeitung" of June 22, 1915, prints the appeal of Dr. Wolfgang Madjera, a well-known authority on municipal affairs, which he has issued to Austrian soldiers departing for the Italian front. He says:

"The day has arrived," says Herr Madjera, "when you will have to revenge your murdered Empress [the late Empress Elisabeth who was murdered in Geneva by an Italian named Luccheni]. It was a son of that land which has now committed a scandalous act of treason on Austria who made your old Emperor a lonely man on his throne of thorns. Take a thousandfold revenge on the brethren of that miserable wretch. Austria's warriors feel the strength within them to defeat and smash with iron hand the raised hand of the murderer. It is Luccheni's spirit which leads the army of our enemy. May Elisabeth's spirit lead our spirit!"

A Year of the War in Africa and Asia

By Charles Johnston

I. RE-MAPPING THE WORLD.

SPEAKING on July 14, A. Bonar Law, British Colonial Secretary, announced that the Entente Allies have already occupied 450,000 square miles of German colonial possessions. Add Turkish possessions in Asia in the hands of the Entente powers, and the total reaches 500,000 square miles.

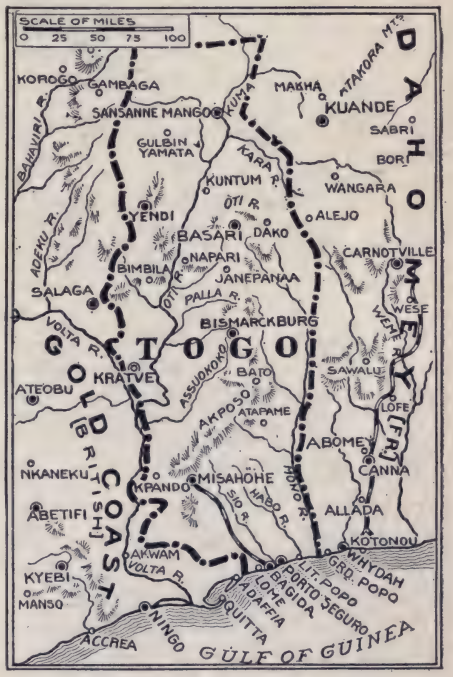
Two outstanding facts are that this transfer, if permanent, will change the destiny of all Africa and Asia, and that, for the first time in history, the oversea dominions of Britain have initiated and carried on wars of conquest, Australia and New Zealand, in union, having already taken 100,000 square miles of German colonies in the Pacific; while the Union of South Africa has conquered German Southwest Africa.

In other parts of Africa, France and Belgium are co-operating with English imperial forces, while in East Africa and on the Persian Gulf the brunt of the fighting is being borne by British Indian troops and troops provided by the Princes of India. The movement now in progress will, if completed, give the Entente powers the whole of Africa; will give Britain all Southern Asia, from the Mount Sinai peninsula to Siam; and will, in all probability, make the Entente powers heirs of the whole Eastern Hemisphere.

These immense territories are the ultimate stakes of the battles in France, in Poland, on the Dardanelles. We lose sight of them, perhaps, in the details of local fighting. In reality, nothing less is being effected than the re-mapping of the whole eastern hemisphere.

II. TOGOLAND AND KAMERUN.

On Aug. 1, a year ago, German colonial possessions in Africa totaled over a million square miles, in four regions—Togo, Kamerun, Southwest Africa, and East Africa. Togo, running from the north shore of the Gulf of Guinea, is wedged between French and English colonies. In August, France and England joined in attacking it, and on Aug. 26 their occupation was complete, a rich area of 33,000 square miles thus passing from Germany to the Entente powers.



Togo, the German Colony which was surrendered to a Franco-English expeditionary force.

Kamerun, in the elbow of the Gulf of Guinea, is about ten times as large, one-third of this having been conceded by France to Germany in 1911, through the

German East Africa

Scene of Operation of Anglo-French forces against the German Colony of Kamerun

agency of M. Caillaux. Recent letters to The London Times describe the fighting there:

On the 7th (May) we had a trying experience. Our company commander went out with myself and another subaltern and about forty men. We crossed the Mungo River in canoes, and then did a long and very difficult march all through the night in absolute dense forest. However the guides managed it passes comprehension.

About 5 in the morning, when it was just getting light, our advance party were just on the point of stumbling on to the German outpost, when what should happen but an elephant suddenly walked in between and scattered our opposing parties in all directions. I was in the rear of our little column, and was left in bewilderment, all our carriers dropping their loads and every one disappearing into the bush. After a few minutes we got our men together and our scouts went forward again, and found the Germans had bolted from their outpost, but soon returned and opened fire on our scouts.

A British officer writes:

I hope you have heard ere this of our capture of Duala and Bonaberi, and our further advance along the Duala Railway to Tusa, and along the Wari River to Jabassi. The heat and climate are very trying. It's awfully hot, far hotter than the last coast place I was in; a drier heat and sun infinitely more powerful, and yet the rains are full on and we get terrific tornadoes. The nights, however, are cooler.

We are surrounded by mangrove swamps, and they breed mosquitos, and consequently malaria and black-water fever.

This is quite a pretty little place (Duala) with some jolly houses, typical German of the Schloss villa type; nice inside and out. The country is pretty, the soil good. A good deal of timber and rubber. I found some beautiful tusks the other day, worth a good bit. Elephants abound. The native villages around are totally different from other West African ones—here their houses are mostly one long mud or palm erection, with thatched roof, and are divided into compartments instead of the smaller separate huts one is accustomed to see in these parts.

The notices all over the place are strangely reminiscent of, say, the Black Forest—"Bäkerei," "Conditorei," &c., and yet it is the heart of tropical Africa. None of the natives, strange to say, talk German; all pigeon English. The Hausa boys are splendid chaps, as different from the Duala boys or Sierra Leone boys as chalk from cheese. Smile and make an idiotic but beautiful remark, they rush with a roar of laughter for the biggest load.

We get some beautiful sunset effects here. At sundown night before last, on the sea near mouth of river, it was absolutely gorgeous with the purple mountains standing clear out against the orange and emerald sky and the dark gray shapes of our ships lying sombrely in the background, talking to each other in flashing Morse. The great mountain, Fernando Po, standing up out of the water to starboard and the Peak of Cameroon (13,760 feet) wreathed in mist to port; Victoria invisible, as also Buea—both hidden behind the clouds as we passed disdainfully by and entered the estuary of the Cameroon River.

As an added detail for West Africa, it should be recorded that, on March 19, a combined French and Belgian force occupied Molundu in the German Congo territory, and Ngaundere on June 29.

III. WITH BOTHA IN SOUTH-WEST AFRICA.

On July 13 a resolution, moved by Premier Asquith, was passed by acclamation in the House of Commons thanking General Louis Botha, General Smuts and the forces of the Union of South Africa for their work in "the remarkable campaign which has just been brought to a remarkable and glorious conclusion." Premier Asquith concluded:

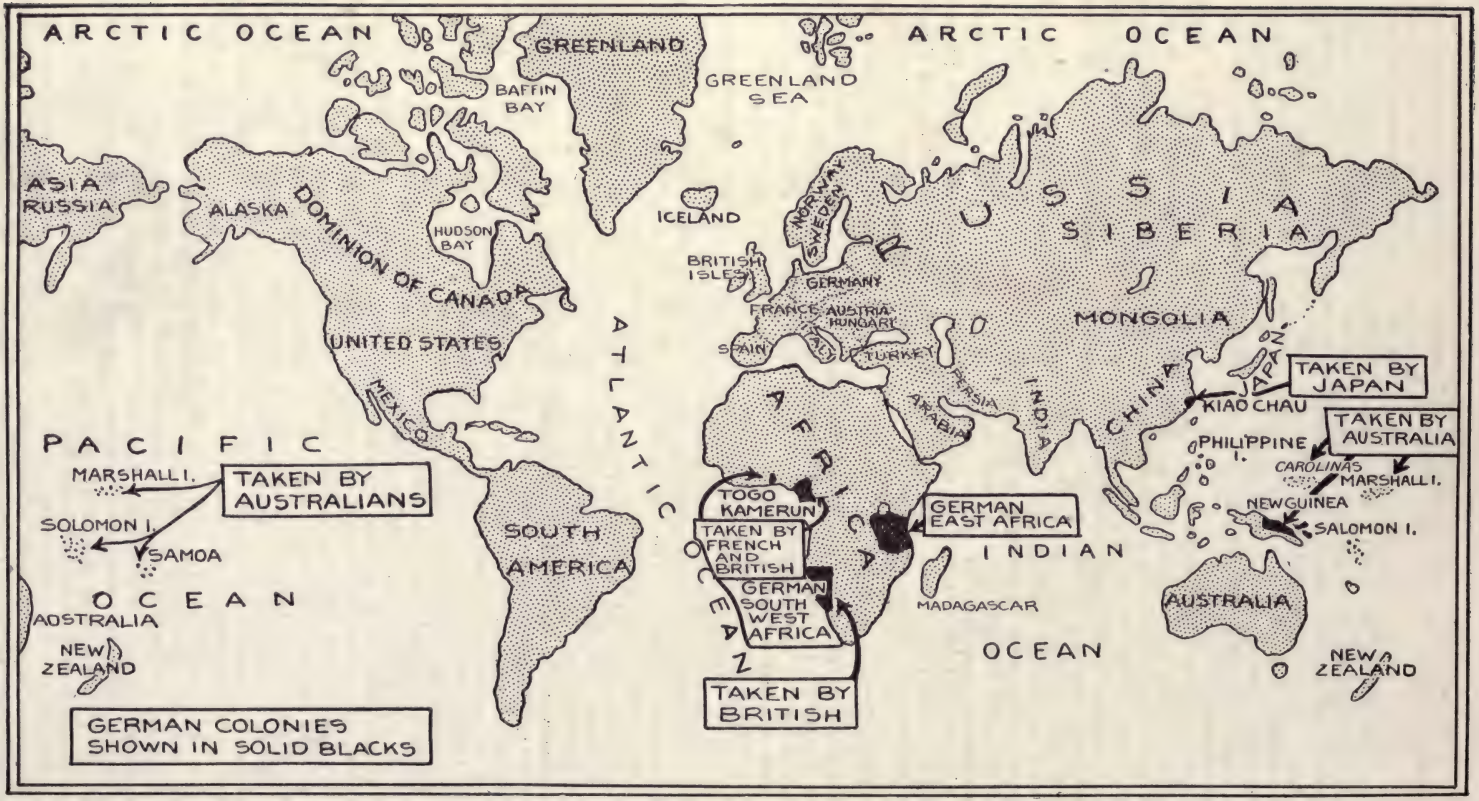
The German dominion of Southwest Africa has ceased to exist. I ask the House to testify to the admiration of the whole empire for its gratitude to the illustrious General who has rendered such an inestimable service to the empire, which he entered by adoption and of which he has become one of the most honored and cherished sons, and to his dauntless and much enduring troops, whether of Burgher or British birth, who fought like brethren, side by side, in the cause which is equally dear to them as to us—the broadening of the bounds of human liberty.

The event which the British Premier thus read into the minutes of history marks the end of a campaign begun by General Botha on Sept. 27, when troops of the Union of South Africa first entered German territory. On Christmas Day Walfisch (Whale) Bay was occupied, and on Jan. 14 Swakopmund, a military railroad joining them being finished a month later.

The progress of General Botha's campaign from the south and west is thus summarized by The Sphere (July 3):

The occupation of Windhoek was effected by General Botha's North Damaraland forces working along the railway from Swakopmund. At the former place General Vander-

The German Colonial Possessions



venter joined up with General Botha's forces. The force from Swakopmund met with considerable opposition, first at Tretskopje, a small township in the great Namib Desert fifty miles to the northeast of Swakopmund, and secondly at Otjimbingwe, on the Swakop River, sixty miles northwest of Windhoek.

most valuable high-power stations, which was able to communicate with one relay only with Berlin—was captured almost intact, and much rolling stock also fell into the hands of the Union forces.

The advance from the south along the Lüderitzbucht-Seeheim-Keetmanshoop Rail-

The theatre of operations in German South West Africa.

Apart from these two determined stands, however, little other opposition was encountered, and Karibib was occupied on May 5 and Okahandja and Windhoek on May 12. With the fall of the latter place 3,000 Europeans and 12,000 natives became prisoners.

The wireless station—one of Germany's

way, approximately 500 miles in length, was made by two forces which joined hands at Keetmanshoop. The advance from Aus (captured on April 1) was made by General Smuts's forces. Colonel (afterward General) Vanderventer, moving up from the direction of Warmbad and Kalkfontein, around the

flanks of Karas Mountain, pushed on after reaching Keetmanshoop in the direction of Gibeon. Bethany had previously been occupied during the advance to Seeheim. At Kabus, twenty miles to the north of Keetmanshoop, and at Gibeon pitched battles were fought between General Vanderventer's forces and the enemy. No other opposition of importance was encountered, and the operations were brought to a successful conclusion at Windhoek.

A part of the German forces had retreated to the northward, intending to carry on guerrilla warfare in the hills. General Botha went in pursuit. A Reuter's telegram, dated June 26, announced that Otjivarongo, approximately 120 miles north of Karibib, on the Otavi Railway, was occupied on that day by General Botha, the enemy having retired northward during the previous night. General Botha's movements have again been characterized by rapid and extraordinary marching through dense bush country, which is almost waterless. The retirement of the enemy was more suggestive of a flight than a strategic retreat.

A telegram from Lord Buxton, the Governor General of the Union of South Africa, to the Secretary of State for the Colonies, concludes the story:

This morning, July 9, General Botha accepted from Governor Seitz the surrender of all the German forces in Southwest Africa. Hostilities have ceased and the campaign has thus been brought to a successful conclusion.

The newly conquered territory, which is half as large again as the German Empire, is destined to become a part of the South African Union. As a great part of it is 5,000 feet above sea level, it is well adapted for white settlers. Its chief resources are diamond mines and grazing.

General Botha's force is likely to be divided between the European seat of war, to which the South African Union has up to the present sent no troops, and German East Africa, much of which still remains in the hands of the Germans.

IV. GERMAN EAST AFRICA.

The early stage of the struggle for German East Africa is lucidly summarized in The Sphere for May 8:

The fighting in British East Africa (immediately north of the German colony) may be said to have really begun toward the end of September, 1914, when the Germans made a determined attempt to capture Mombasa, the commercial capital of British East Africa and the terminus of the Uganda Railway.

Previous to this, somewhat half-hearted attempts had been made by them to wreck the railway line at various points, destroy the telegraph, and occupy Voi and Mombasa. The Germans, who were in strong force, were, however, for various reasons, unable to cut the railway or even to destroy the bridge across the Tsava River, and they were beaten back both at Voi and the post at Taveta.

The attack on Mombasa itself was repulsed at Gazi, some twenty-five miles to the southwest. The German plan of action was to move up the road from Vanga to Mombasa, arriving at the latter place somewhere about the time the Königsburg was expected to arrive and bombard it from the sea. The Königsburg was, of course, prevented from doing this by the proximity of British warships, and the land attack was also frustrated.

The Germans were held at Nargerimi by a mere handful of Arabs and King's African Rifles—about 300 men all told—until the arrival of the Indian troops strengthened our position and the enemy was beaten back to his original lines.

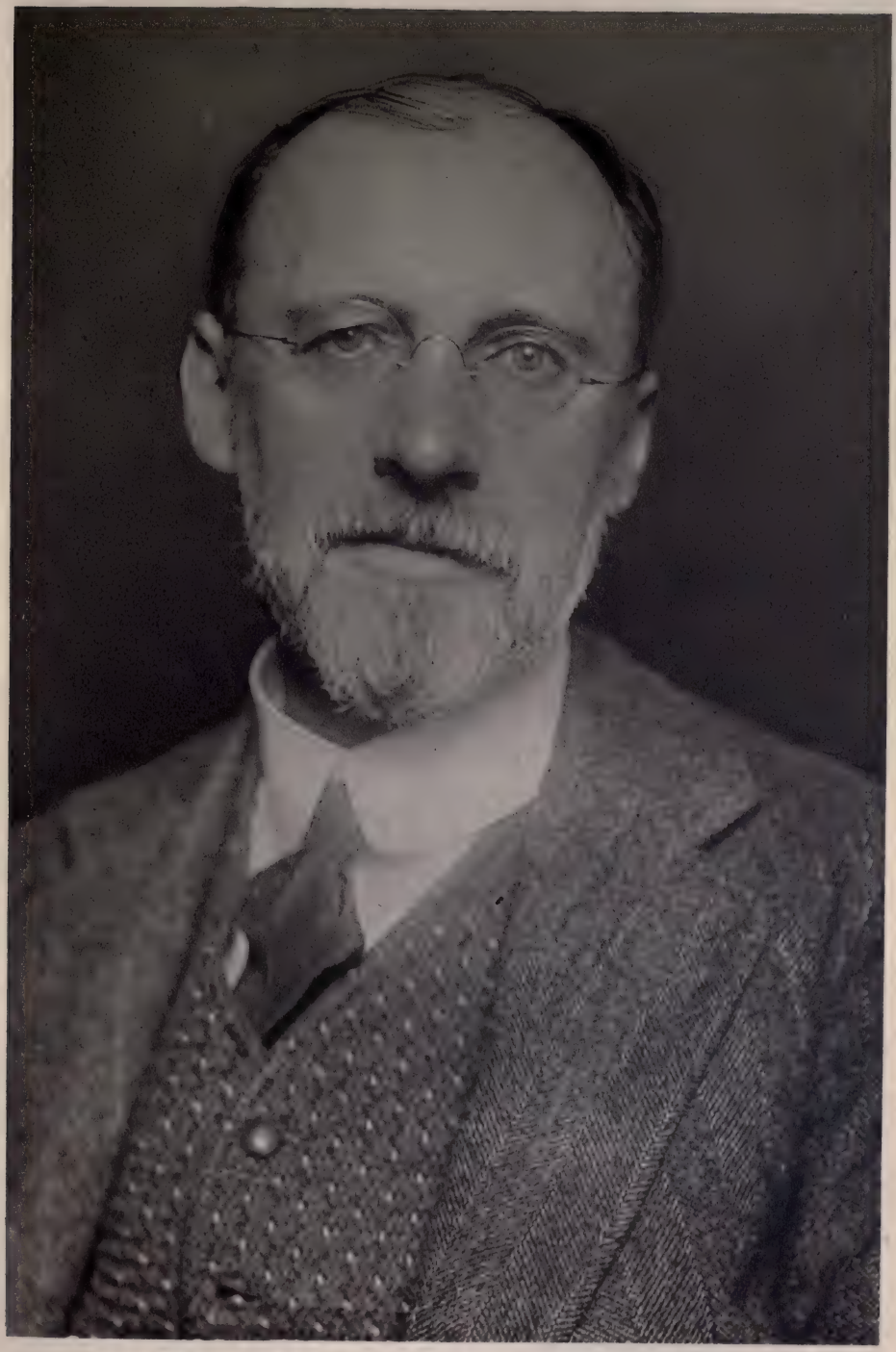
The next big actions were the British attack on Tanga and Jassin very early in November; this was the direct outcome of the German attack on Mombasa. Tanga is a post of considerable importance in German East Africa, and lies midway between Zanzibar and Mombasa. It is the seaport of an important railway line which connects it with Moshi, lying among the foothills of Kilimanjaro (18,700 feet) and which taps most of the intervening country.

The force dispatched for the attack on Tanga consisted of 4,000 Indian Imperial Service troops, 1,000 Indian regulars, together with 1,000 white regulars. The force took no kit of any kind except rations. It was disembarked from the troopship near Tanga, and then moved against the position.

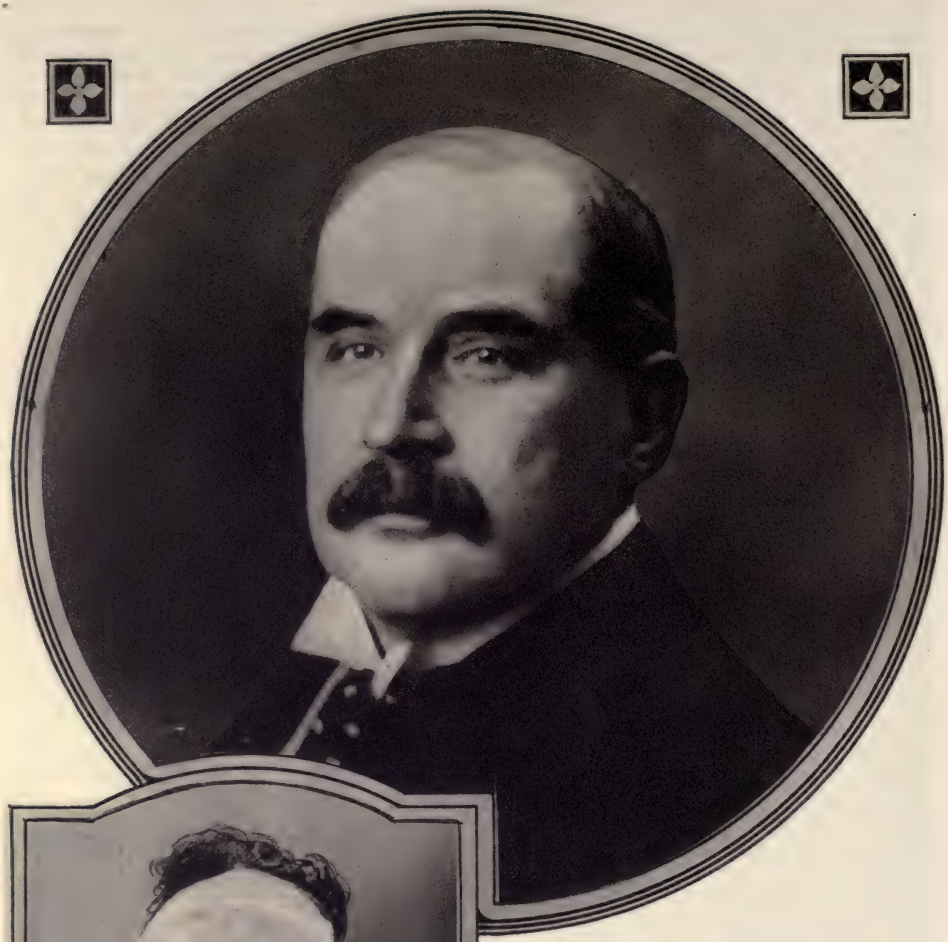
The day the British attacked, however, 1,000 Germans had been rushed up from Moshi and then took up a position to the right of the town. With them were great numbers of quick-firing guns of various sorts. This unexpected reinforcement made the capture of Tanga almost impossible by the forces present. During the fight many casualties were incurred on both sides.

As regards the advance against Tanga and Jassin, the German forces which had previously advanced on Mombasa were, up to as recently as January, maintaining themselves in the valley of the Umba River. To drive them from their positions a column of 1,800 men, composed of Indians and King's African Rifles, with artillery, was dispatched.

After gaining Jassin and leaving a garrison of 300 men, the post was attacked and subsequently surrendered to a force of 2,000 Ger-



SIR CECIL ARTHUR SPRING-RICE
British Ambassador to Washington, Present When J. P. Morgan was Assaulted by Erich Muenter, Alias Holt



J. P. MORGAN

Whose Life was Recently Attempted, because of his relations with the Allied Goverments in the Supply of War Munitions.

The lower picture is of Erich Muenter, Alias Frank Holt, His Assallant. Photograph taken Immediately after his Arrest

mans. The minor operations along the Anglo-German frontier include the attack on Shirati—a German post on the southeast shore of Lake Victoria Nyanza—on Jan. 9.

Fighting also took place near Karunga in March, and on this occasion the German force was driven back in disorder and with heavy loss into their own territory, while Kisu—which had been captured by the Germans—was reoccupied after the defeat of Karunga. On Jan. 10 the large Island of Mafia, off the coast of the German colony, was taken by the British and is being administered by them.

remembered that the general scheme for the attack on Bukoba was to be a simultaneous advance on the part of two forces, one starting from the line of the Kagera River, south of Uganda, the other starting on steamers from Kisumu.

The junction of the two forces was successfully accomplished, and the attack took place on June 22. During the action the enemy received reinforcements which brought

German East Africa and the fighting which has taken place.

The history of the war in this region is brought up to date by a British Press Bureau statement issued on June 30:

Further details are now to hand of the operations which have been taking place west of Lake Victoria Nyanza. It will be his force up to 400 rifles, and he made a most determined resistance, the Arabs especially fighting most bravely. They were, however, heavily outnumbered, and eventually the whole force broke and fled, utterly demoralized. * * * Our troops distinguished themselves greatly, both in the arduous march from the Kagera and in the subsequent fighting. A telegram was sent on June 28 from Lord Kitchener to Major Gen.

Conquered German African Territory.

Tighe, commanding the troops in British East Africa, congratulating him on the success of the operations.

V. THE PERSIAN GULF AND MESOPOTAMIA.

Turkey's entry into the war has had four results: 1. The annexation of Cyprus (previously a protectorate) by Britain on Nov. 5; 2, the British expedition against Turkish territory on the Persian Gulf two weeks later; 3, the loss of Turkey's suzerainty over Egypt, which became a British protectorate under a Sultan on Dec. 17, and, 4, the attack on the Gallipoli Peninsula, still in progress.

An excellent summary of the Persian

Gulf expedition is given in The Sphere, May 15:

The Shatt-el-Arab, (the united Euphrates and Tigris,) for the greater part of its course, forms the boundary between Persia and Turkey. Some twenty miles below Basra (or Bussorah) it is joined by the Kasun, near whose course, about a hundred miles from its mouth, are the Anglo-Persian Company's oil fields.

The effective protection of these is necessarily an object of vital importance. It was also of considerable importance to create a diversion which should cause the Osmanli Generals to feel uneasiness as to a possible advance up the Euphrates. Whether more than the occupation of Basra and the protection of the oil fields was or is intended cannot, of course, be at present definitely stated.

The expeditionary force, under Lieut. Gen. Sir Arthur Barrett, consisted—apparently—of three Indo-British infantry brigades, a brigade of Indian cavalry, and artillery and auxiliary services in proportion—in all probability some 15,000 to 18,000 men. It included at least three British battalions—the Second Dorsets, the Second Norfolks, and the Oxford and Bucks Light Infantry.

The advanced brigade reached the Shatt-el-Arab on Nov. 7, and after a brief fight occupied Fao, a few miles up the river. On the 9th a night attack was made upon it by a force from Basra, which was easily beaten off. Shortly afterwards the main body of the expeditionary force began to arrive, and by the 16th it had entirely disembarked at Saniyeh, a place above Fao.

The weather was wretched. Rain converted the alluvial flats into a wilderness of mud. The men were drenched and caked with the riverine clay, the very rifles were often choked.

Meanwhile the advance guard carried out a reconnoissance up the river and located the enemy in position at Sahilo, about nine miles distant. They numbered about 5,000 men, with twelve guns, under General Subr Bey, the Vali (Governor) of Basra. The reconnoissance carried an advanced position with a loss of sixty killed and wounded, and withdrew unmolested to report.

On the 17th General Barrett paraded for the attack the bulk of his force. After a trying march through a veritable quagmire, the troops sometimes up to their waists in slush, the division at about 9 A. M. came within range of the Turkish position, and the leading brigade, the Belguam, (Major Gen. Fry,) deployed for attack.

The ground was absolutely open, and the Turks had a perfect field of fire. On our side the men had the greatest difficulty in getting forward through the clayey mud-beds and the worn-out horses could not bring up the field artillery. Nevertheless, the Belgaum brigade steadily advanced, and the attack being presently supported by other troops and assisted by the first of the two gunboats on the river, at last closed upon the Turkish intrenchments and carried them, capturing two guns and one hundred prisoners, besides inflicting a very heavy loss in killed and wounded.

The retreat of the enemy was assisted by a mirage which disconcerted our gunners. Subr Bey retreated on Basra, but he had no hope of being able to hold the big spreading place with his small force, and evacuated it. He retreated to Kurna, where the Tigris joins the Euphrates. There he intrenched himself. His main body was in Kurna, a large village encircled by palm groves, in the marshy angle formed by the two rivers,

The scene of the Persian Gulf Campaign.

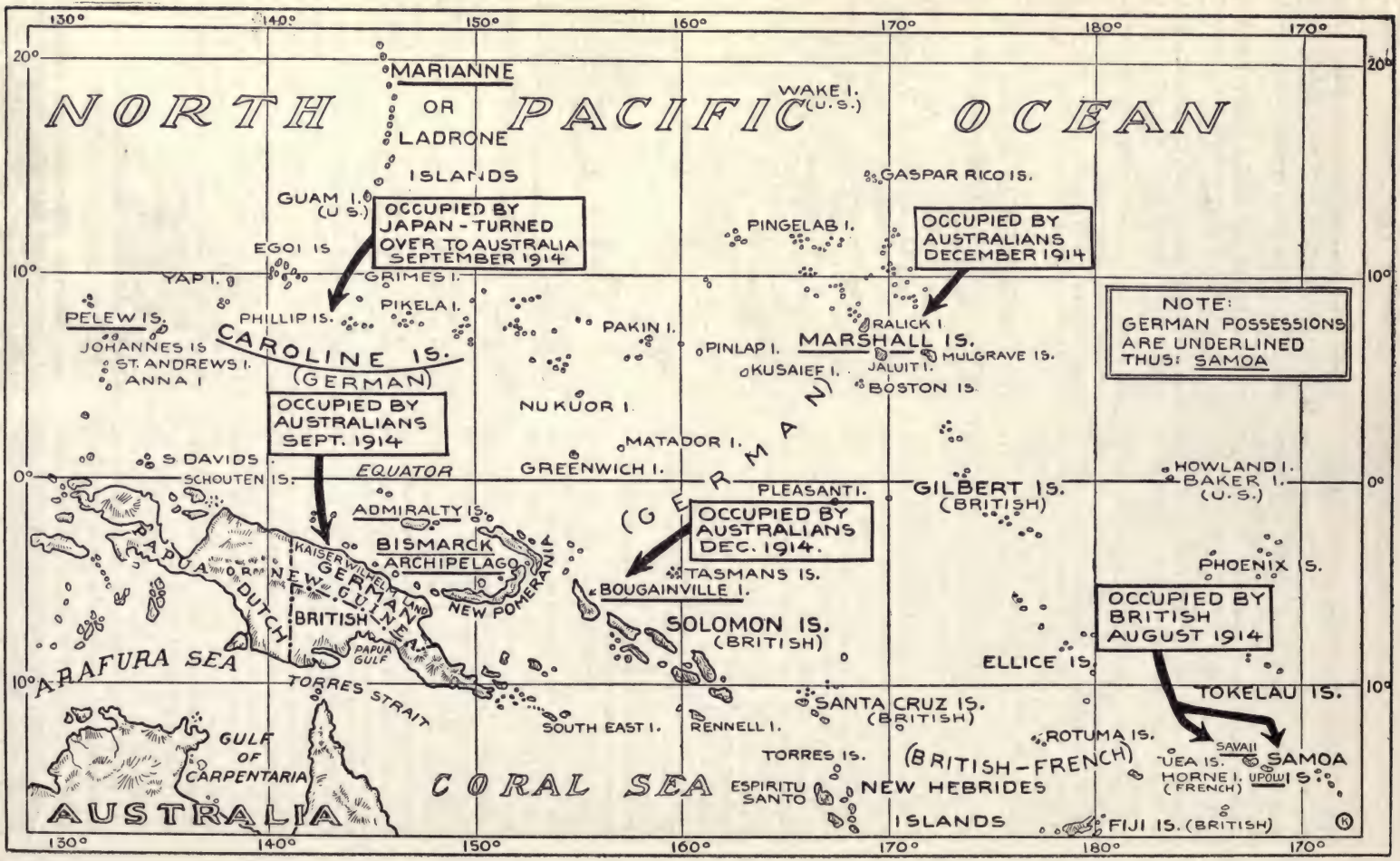
with a strong detachment in the straggling village of Mazera, on the left bank of the Tigris.

On Dec. 7 General Fry advanced upon the Kurna position. The defenders of Mazera made a hard fight of it, assisted by the strength of their position among a maze of pottery works backed up by the ubiquitous palms, but in the afternoon the village was carried.

Kurna was now isolated, but its capture presented great difficulties. All through the 8th General Fry bombarded it from Mazera, while his infantry were slowly ferried over higher up. This was prepared by some daring sappers, who swam the broad river and fixed a wire rope by which the boats were worked backward and forward, and an advance was made against Kurna from the rear.

Subr Bey had lost very heavily at Mazera, so he accepted the inevitable and surrendered. So a brilliant little episode came to a victorious conclusion. Subr Bey was returned

German Colonial Possessions in the Pacific



his sword and complimented on his stubborn defense.

The capture of Kurna secured the possession of the Basra region. Since then operations have been directed to securing it against Turkish attempts at recovery.

A recent stage of this campaign is thus described in The Pioneer Mail (Allahabad) June 4, 1915:

It is announced from Simla that on the morning of May 31 a further advance up the Tigris River was made by the British expeditionary force in close co-operation with the navy. Notwithstanding the excessive heat the troops advanced with great dash and determination, and successively captured four positions held by the enemy. As far as reported we suffered only a few casualties. Valuable work was performed by our aeroplanes. The operations are proceeding.

The British force at the end of June had reached Shaiba.

VI. THE "UNREST" IN INDIA.

The splendid work done by Indian regulars and Indian imperial forces (the forces supplied by native Princes) in Europe, in Africa, in Egypt, in Mesopotamia is a sufficient answer to the suggestion that British influence in India has been weakened by the war. The enthusiastic formation of volunteer corps, both of Europeans and of natives, is a further proof that the peoples of India, now more than ever, realize the benefits of liberty and security which they enjoy. In India the torpedoing of the Lusitania made a profound impression, as the native press proves.

A notable trial, the Lahore conspiracy case, disclosed the curious fact that almost the only case of "unrest" in India was "made in America" by returned emigrants from Canada and California, who, on their way back, were interviewed by the German Consuls at Chinese ports and advised to stir up an insurrection. This they tried to do, using bombs made of brass inkpots, and bombarding the houses of well-to-do natives, seeking in this way to raise money to finance the rising.

The Pioneer Mail (Allahabad) gives an interesting account of the trial of these peculiar patriots, half of whom seem to have informed on the other half. It appears that they, or others like them, were instrumental in causing the recent riot at Singapore, in which some twenty European men and women were killed.

VII. GERMAN ISLANDS IN THE PACIFIC.

A curious result of the world war has been the expeditions initiated by the great oversea dominions of Britain and by India. The work of two of these, in Africa and Mesopotamia, has been already described. There remain the joint Australian and New Zealand expeditions against the island colonies of Germany and the great semi-continental area of New Guinea.

A lively account of the expedition against the Samoa Islands is printed in The Sydney Bulletin for Sept. 24:

The recent expedition to Samoa furnished many surprises, chief among which was the adaptability of the Maorilanders to military discipline. When the men came on board the transports (Moeraki and Monowai) discipline simply wasn't in their dictionaries. They acknowledged orders with a "Right O, Sport," or with an argument. Companies were referred to as mobs, the commanding officer as the boss or the admiral. * * *

The night before we reached Samoa an English military officer on board told me it was remarkable, and highly creditable, the rapidity with which the men had adapted themselves to the changed circumstances. * * *

The expedition called at Noumea to pick up the French warship Montcalm, also the Australia and Melbourne of ours. Noumea had been very worried since the war began, lest the German fleet from Samoa would come along and bombard the place. Had notices up to the effect that five shots would signify the arrival of the Germans, and that every inhabitant was then to grab rations and make for the horizon. The welcome the French handed to us would have stirred the blood of a jellyfish.

Samoa proved a walk-over. Not a gun, not a ship, not a mine. A bunch of schoolboys with Shanghais and a hatful of rocks could have taken it. The German fleet that was supposed to be waiting to welcome us hadn't been around for eleven months. Seemingly the German fleet has gone into the business of not being around.

VIII. GERMAN NEW GUINEA.

The Australasian (Melbourne) for Sept. 19 prints the following, describing the conquest of German New Guinea, which, with the Bismarck Archipelago, off the

coast, has an area of 90,000 square miles —something less than half the size of the German Empire:

The Minister for Defense (Mr. Millen) has received the following further information by wireless regarding the operations at Herbertshohe and Rabaul, from Admiral Patey: The Australian naval reserve captured the wireless station at Herbertshohe at 1 P. M. on Sept. 12, after eighteen hours' bush fighting over about six miles. Herbertshohe and Rabaul, the seat of Government, have been garrisoned and a base has been established at Simpsonshafen.

Have prisoners: German officers, 2, including commandant; German non-commissioned officers, 15; and native police, 56. German casualties about 20 to 30 killed. Simpsonshafen swept and ready to be entered Sept. 12.

Naval force landed under Commander Beresford of the Australian Navy met with vigorous opposition. Advanced party at dawn established landing before enemy aware of intention. From within a few hundred yards of landing bush fight for almost four miles. Roads and fronts also mined in places, and stations intrenched. Officer commanding German forces in trench 500 yards seaward side of station has surrendered unconditionally.

Our force have reconnoitred enemy strength holding station. Have landed 12-pounder guns, and if station does not surrender intend shelling. Regret to report following casualties: 4 killed, 3 wounded.

Later a wireless message from Rear-Admiral Sir George Patey informed the Minister for Defense (Mr. E. D. Millen) on Monday, Sept. 14, that, as a result of the operations of the Australian Expeditionary Force, Rabaul, the seat of government in German New Guinea, had been occupied. The British flag was hoisted over the town at 3:30 on Sunday afternoon (Sept. 13, 1914) and it was saluted. A proclamation was then read by Rear-Admiral Patey, formerly setting out the occupation.

Apia (Samoa) had been occupied by British forces on Aug. 29. The Caroline Islands, first occupied by Japan, were turned over to New Zealand. The Marshall and Solomon Islands were likewise occupied on Dec. 9, thus completing the tale of Germany's colonial possessions in the Pacific.

There remain large areas in Kamerun and East Africa, but in both cases the coast line is in the possession of the Entente powers.

IX. FIGHTING IN THE CAUCASUS.

The first considerable battle in the Caucasus, after Turkey entered the war, was decided in favor of Russia, on Jan. 3. On Jan. 16 the Eleventh Corps of the Turkish Army was cut up at Kara Urgaun. On Jan. 30 the Russians occupied Tabriz. On Feb. 8 Trebizond was bombarded by Russian destroyers. On May 4 the Turks were again defeated, leaving 3,500 dead.

The most recent considerable action was the taking of the ancient and important City of Van, which is graphically described in Novoe Vremya, June 19:

"When our armies scattered the forces of Halil Bey and gained marked successes in the western part of Azerbijan, the question of taking Van and the more important towns on Lake Van arose. At the same time we received news of the desperate situation of the Christians (Armenians) of the Van vilayet, who had been compelled to take up arms against the Kurds.

"Our division was directed to go to Van through the Sanjak of Bajazet, crossing the Tatar Pass under fire of Turkish regulars and Kurds. In spite of the Spring season, the whole pass was covered with a thick carpet of snow, in places up to our men's belts. At the highest point of the pass, 10,000 feet, we were forced to halt. After a brief rest we reached Taparitz and were immediately in contact with the enemy, who attacked with shell and rifle fire, but we soon silenced them with our rifles and machine guns. Scattering, the Turks and Kurds hid among the rocks and sniped at us.

"From Taparitz we advanced much more rapidly along the Abaga Valley, then turned to the west along the River Bendimach-Su, the best route to Van. We were informed that Begri-Kala was strongly occupied by Turks who were determined to defend it to the last.

"They began an irregular fire, which soon developed into a hotly contested battle. We were compelled to reply with bullet and bayonet. We took several mountain guns, many rifles and car-

tridges and much ammunition. Many of the enemy threw up their hands and surrendered. We liberated several dozen Christian girls who had been captured by the Kurds at the time of the Turk and Kurd raid on the Armenian villages.

"We then resumed our march on Van, after driving the Turks from the Village of Sor. The enemy gathered in the Town of Janik, one march from Van, on the northeast shore of Lake Van. To take Janik cost us several days' fighting. The Turks fought desperately, undaunted by enormous losses, their dead falling in heaps on all sides. The Turkish infantry fought a brave and honorable fight, but the Kurds are foul fighters, murdering and looting.

"Attacking directly with only a part of our forces, we sent the rest by a long detour around the enemy's position, taking the Turks in flank; then our men charged with the bayonet, and the fight was over.

Scene of operation of Russians against the Turks in the Caucasus.

"The fall of Janik decided the fate of Van. On the night of May 5 (18) the Turks evacuated Van, leaving twenty-six guns, 3,000 poods (a pood equals 36 pounds) of powder, their treasure and documents; they went so silently that the inhabitants did not know of it until the next morning.

"On May 6 (19) the birthday of Czar Nicholas II., we entered antique Van, the centre of the large and once wealthy vilayet of the same name, amid extraordinary rejoicings, the entire Christian population coming forth to meet us, strewing flowers and green branches in the streets and decking our soldiers with garlands.

"The capture of Van is as important politically as it is strategically. The advance on Mush and Bitlis is a necessary consequence."

An "Insult" to War

Mount Kisco, N. Y., July 11, 1915.

To the Editor of The New York Times:

On Friday night at Carnegie Hall Miss Jane Addams stated that in the present war, in order to get soldiers to charge with the bayonet, all nations are forced first to make them drunk. I quote from THE TIMES report:

> In Germany they have a regular formula for it [she said]. In England they use rum and the French resort to absinthe. In other words, therefore, in the terrible bayonet charges they speak of with dread, the men must be doped before they start.

In this war the French or English soldier who has been killed in a bayonet charge gave his life to protect his home and country. For his supreme exit he had prepared himself by months of discipline. Through the Winter in the trenches he has endured shells, disease, snow and ice. For months he had been sparated from his wife, children, friends—all those he most loved. When the order to charge came it was for them he gave his life, that against those who destroyed Belgium they might preserve their home, might live to enjoy peace.

Miss Addams denies him the credit of his sacrifice. She strips him of honor and courage. She tells his children, "Your father did not die for France, or for England, or for you; he died because he was drunk."

In my opinion, since the war began, no statement had been so unworthy or so untrue and ridiculous. The contempt it shows for the memory of the dead is appalling; the credulity and ignorance it displays are inconceivable.

Miss Addams does not know that even from France they have banished absinthe. If she doubts that in this France had succeeded let her ask for it. I asked for it, and each maître d'hôtel treated me as though I had proposed we should assassinate General Joffre.

If Miss Addams does know that the French Government has banished absinthe, then she is accusing it of openly receiving the congratulations of the world for destroying the drug while secretly using it to make fiends of the army. If what Miss Addams states is true, then the French Government is rotten, French officers deserve only court-martial, and French soldiers are cowards.

If we are to believe her, the Canadians at Ypres, the Australians in the Dardanelles, the English and the French on the Aisne made no supreme sacrifice, but were killed in a drunken brawl.

Miss Addams desires peace. So does every one else. But she will not attain peace by misrepresentation. I have seen more of this war and other wars than Miss Addams, and I know all war to be wicked, wasteful, and unintelligent, and where Miss Addams can furnish one argument in favor of peace I will furnish a hundred. But against this insult, flung by a complacent and self-satisfied woman at men who gave their lives for men, I protest. And I believe that with me are all those women and men who respect courage and honor.

RICHARD HARDING DAVIS.

The Drive at Warsaw

Germany's Story of the Eastern Campaign

Battles of Radymno, Przemysl, Lemberg, the Dniester, Krasnik, Przasnysz, Ostrolenka

The grand sweep of the victorious German armies through Galicia and into Poland, on a more tremendous scale than has hitherto been witnessed in the warfare of history, is recorded in the semi-official German accounts of the Wolff Telegraphic Bureau, published by the Frankfurter Zeitung from June 3 to June 29, and translated below. The official German reports of the campaign concentrated upon the Polish capital of Warsaw follow. On July 19 a Petrograd dispatch to the London Morning Post reported that Emperor William had telegraphed his sister, the Queen of Greece, to the effect that he had "paralyzed Russia for at least six months to come" and was on the eve of "delivering a coup on the western front that will make all Europe tremble."

STORMING OF RADYMNO

The semi-official report dispatched by the Wolff Telegraphic Bureau from Berlin on June 3, 1915, reads as follows:

FROM the Great Headquarters we learn the following concerning the battles at Radymno:

The corps of General von Mackensen, on the evening of the 23d of May, stood on both sides of the San in a great bow directed toward the east. On the right wing Bavarian troops stood on the watch facing the northwest front of the fortress of Przemysl. In touch with the Bavarian troops German and Austro-Hungarian forces stood south of the San before the strongly fortified bridgehead of Radymno. Farther north still other troops linked up with the army.

The bridgehead of Radymno consisted of a threefold line of field works. There was in the first place the main position well provided with wire entanglements. This ran along the heights that lie westward of the village of Ostroro and through the low lands of the San up to this river. Then there was a well-constructed intermediate position which was laid through the long straggling village of Ostroro. Finally there was the so-called bridgehead of Zagrody which was constructed for the protection of the street and railroad bridges crossing the river to the east of Radymno. Air-men had photographed all these positions and had reduced the views by the photogrammeter and transferred them to the map.

The first task was to render the enemy's main positions ripe for attack. With this object the artillery on the afternoon of May 23 began its fire, which was continued on the next day. From the heights near Jaroslau could be seen the valley of the San lying in the mists, out of which jutted the cupola towers of Radymno and the hamlets of Ostroro, Wietlin, Wysocko, etc. The artillery fire was raised to the utmost pitch of intensity. The heavy projectiles howling, furrowed the air, lit great fires as they struck and excavated vast pits in the earth. The Russian artillery replied.

At six o'clock in the morning the long infantry lines rose in their storming positions and advanced to the attack. The flyers reported that behind the enemy's positions they observed grazing cattle and baggage carts. The enemy seemed not to expect a serious attack. Anyhow, the Petersburg bulletin had announced that the battles in Galicia had decreased in intensity, that the Teutonic allies had practically throughout gone over to the defensive.

At six-thirty in the morning the enemy's main position in its whole ex-

tent was in the hands of the German troops. Shaken by the heavy artillery fire the enemy had made only brief resistance; he was in hasty retreat toward the east.

But just in that direction and into Radymno, whence the enemy's reinforcements were to be expected, the artillery had in the meantime turned its fire. Great clouds of smoke covered these villages set afire by the bombardment. The Russians thus did not have the chance to take permanent footing in Ostroro. The troops holding the town surrendered, leaving hundreds of guns and great quantities of ammunition in the hands of the victors.

Along the whole line the German infantry was now advancing upon Radymno and the villages connecting with this place, Skolowszo and Zamojsce. With every step forward the number of prisoners was increased. Soon one division reported to headquarters that it did not have enough men to attend to the removal of the great masses of prisoners without prejudice to the conduct of the action. Cavalry was therefore assigned to this task.

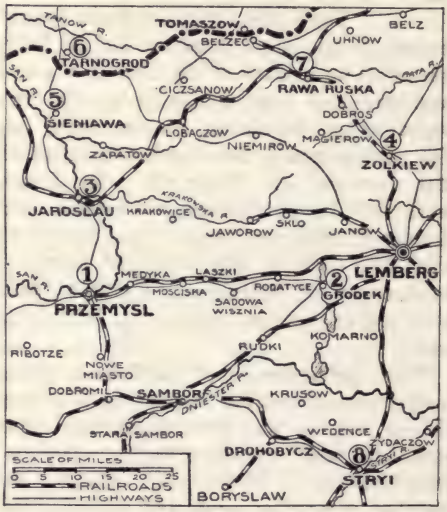
At Radymno the enemy's troops had become jammed in crowds. A wooden wagon bridge over the San had been burned down too soon. From the position of the staff directing the battle one could see the leaping flames and the clouds of heavy black smoke caused by the pouring on of naphtha. One could also see long columns fleeing eastward covering the street toward Dunkowice with their disordered crowds. As the Russian recruits which had been gathered in Radymno made only a brief resistance, this place together with all the artillery which was attempting to escape through the town to the San, was also lost. Only at the bridge-head of Zagrody did the Russian leaders, by hastily bringing up fresh reserves, finally check the attack of the Germans. On this day 70 officers, 9,000 men, 42 machine guns, 52 cannon of which 10 were heavy, 14 ammunition wagons, and extensive other booty was reported. But also on the north bank of the San a great battle had developed.

PRZEMYSL

A semi-official dispatch by the Wolff Telegraphic Bureau dated Berlin, June 6, said:

From the Great Headquarters we have received the following telegram concerning the fall of the fortress Przemysl:

When on the 2d of May the offensive of the allies in West Galicia began, few probably could have imagined that four weeks later the heavy guns of the Central Powers would open their fire on Przemysl. The Russian staff was not likely to have been prepared for this possibility. Its decision swayed this way and that, whether, as originally planned, to hold the fortress, for "political reasons" or "voluntarily to withdraw" from it. Constantly our airmen reported the marching of troops in and out of the fortress. On the 21st of May the decision seemed to have been reached to abandon it. In spite of this, eight days later the place was stubbornly defended.



Eight German military positions about Przemsyl and Lemberg.

General von Kneussl pushed the line of his Bavarian regiments from the north closer to the fortress to shut in the foe. About eleven o'clock in the forenoon the heavy batteries began to

engage the forts on the north front. In the night from the 30th to the 31st of May the infantry pushed forward closer to the wire entanglements. It awaited the effect of the heavy artillery. This confined the defenders to their bomb-proof shelters, so that our infantry could step out of its trenches and from the top of the breastworks watch the tremendous drama of destruction. The lighter guns of the assailants found ideal positions in the battery emplacements formerly built by the Russians as part of their siege works when operating against the Austrians in Przemysl. So, too, General von Kneussl with his staff found shelter near, and the chief of artillery in the observation station constructed by the Russians near Batycze. From this point, distant from the line of forts only a little more than two kilometers, one could observe the whole front of Forts 10 and 11. On the 31st of May, at four in the afternoon, the heavy guns ceased firing. Simultaneously the infantry, Bavarian regiments, a Prussian regiment and a detachment of Austrian sharp-shooters, moved to the attack. The destruction of the works and advanced points of support of the fortress by the heavy artillery had such a shattering and depressing effect on its garrison that it was not capable of offering any effective resistance to the attacking infantry.

The troops manning Forts 10a, 11a, and 11, such of them as did not lie buried in the shattered casemates, fled, leaving behind their entire war material, including a great number of the newest light and heavy Russian guns. The enemy replied to the assailants who pushed forward to the circular connecting road, only with artillery fire, and in the night made no counter attack of any kind. On the 1st of June the enemy threw several single battalions into a counter attack. These attacks were repulsed without difficulty.

The heavy artillery now fought down Forts 10 and 11. The Prussian infantry regiment No. 45, jointly with Bavarian troops, stormed two earthworks lying to the east of Fort 11 which the enemy had stubbornly defended. On the 2d of June, at noon, the 22d regiment of Bavarian infantry stormed Fort 10, in which all "bombproofs" except one had been made heaps of débris by the action of the heavy artillery. A battalion of fusiliers of the Queen Augusta Guard regiment of grenadiers in the evening took Fort 12. Works 10b, 9a and 9b capitulated.

In the evening the troops of General von Kneussl began the attack in the direction of the city. The village Zurawica and the fortified positions of the enemy situated there were captured. The enemy now desisted from all further resistance. Thus the German troops, followed later by the 4th Austro-Hungarian cavalry division were able to occupy the strongly built inner line of forts, and at 3 o'clock in the morning after making numerous prisoners, to march into the relieved city of Przemysl.

Here, where a battalion of the third infantry regiment of the Guard was the first troop to enter, there was still a last halt before the burned bridges over the San. But these were soon replaced with military bridges. After a siege of only four days the fortress of Przemysl was again in the hands of the allies. The Russians had in vain attacked this fortress for months. Although they brought hecatombs of bloody sacrifices they had not succeeded in taking the fortress by storm. Only by starvation did they bring it to fall, and they were enabled to enjoy their possession only nine weeks. Energetic and daring leadership, supported by heroically fighting troops and excellent heavy artillery, had in the briefest possible space of time reduced the great fortress.

BATTLE OF GRODEK

A semi-official dispatch by the Wolff Telegraphic Bureau, dated Berlin, June 27, reported as follows:

From the Great Headquarters we have received the following telegram about the battle for Grodek and the Wereszyca position:

In the night from the 15th to the 16th

of June the enemy began his retreat in front of the allied troops in an easterly and northeasterly direction. He was now unquestionably withdrawing to his defenses on the Wereszyca and the so-called Grodek position. The Wereszyca is a little stream that rises in the hilly lands of Magierow and flows in a southerly course to the Dniester. Insignificant as the streamlet is in itself, it yet forms, because of the width of its valley and the ten rather large lakes in it, a locality peculiarly well fitted for defense.

Whatever was lacking to the situation in natural strength had been supplied by art. This the Russians displayed above all in the Grodek position which, joining the Wereszyca on the north at Janow, stretches for a distance of more than 70 kilometres in a northwestern direction as far as the region of Narol Miasto. Thousands of laborers had here worked for months to construct a fortified position which does honor to the Russian engineers. Here extensive clearings have been made in the forests. Dozens of works for infantry defense, hundreds of kilometres of rifle trenches, covering and connecting trenches, had been dug, the hilly forest land quite transformed, and finally vast wire entanglements stretched along the entire Wereszyca and Grodek front. Taken as a whole this position formed the last great bulwark with which the Russians hoped to check their victorious opponents and to bring their advance upon Lemberg to a permanent halt.

The Russian army found itself incapable of acting up to these expectations of its leaders. A cavalry regiment of the Guard, with the cannon and machine guns assigned to it, succeeded on the 16th of June, on the road Jaworow-Niemirow, in making a surprise attack on a Russian infantry brigade marching northward to the Grodek position and in scattering it in the forests. In the evening the city of Niemirow was stormed. On the 18th of June the armies of General von Mackensen deployed into line of battle before the Russian positions. On the following day they moved to the attack. Early in the morning the decisive onslaught was made on the Grodek position and in the evening on the Wereszyca line. Very soon the hostile positions on both sides of the Sosnina forest were taken. Four of the enemy's guns were captured, and the Russian positions on Mt. Horoszyko, which had been built up into a veritable fortress, were stormed.

The main attack was made by regiments of the Prussian Guard. Before them lay, to the west of Magierow, Hill 350. Even from a distance it can be seen that this elevation, rising to a height of fifty metres above the slope, is the key to the whole position. The defenses consisted of two rows of trenches, lying one over the other, with strong cover, and with wire entanglements and abattis in front of them. At daybreak began the artillery battle. This already at six o'clock in the morning resulted in the complete subduing of the Russian artillery, which, as always in the recently preceding days, held back and only very cautiously and with sparing use of ammunition took part in the battle. At seven the hostile position was considered ripe for storming and the infantry attack ordered. Although the forces manning the heights still took up the fire against the attackers, it was without, however, inflicting on them losses worth mentioning. The German heavy artillery had done its duty. The enemy was so demoralized that, although in the beginning he kept up his fire, he preferred to absent himself before the entry of the Germans into his trenches.

More than 700 prisoners and about a dozen machine guns fell into the hands of the attackers. In the ditches that were taken alone there lay 200 dead Russians. In the meantime the attack was directed against the neighboring sections. Soon the Russians found themselves compelled also to vacate without giving battle the very strong position running north of the street that leads to Magierow, with its front toward the south. Since the German troops were able to penetrate with the fleeing enemy into Magierow and to advance north of the city toward the east, the position at Bialo-Piaskowa also became untenable. The Russians flowed back-

ward and only at Lawryko again tried to get a firm footing. Late in the evening a Guard regiment took the railroad station of Dabrocin, where but a short time before the Russians had been transshipping troops, and thus won the Lemberg-Rawa-Ruska road. The adjoining corps in the evening stood about on a level with the regiments of the Guard.

Again penetration of the Russian front had succeeded to a width of 25 kilometres, and the fate of Lemberg had been decided here and on the Wereszyca. This line was stormed late in the evening and partly in the early morning hours of the 20th of June. The German corps, which on this day had been joined by the German Emperor, stormed the hostile positions of Stawki as far as the Bulawa outwork. Since the morning hours of the 20th of June the enemy, who in places had already withdrawn in the night, was in full retreat toward the east along the whole front. The pursuit was at once undertaken. On the evening of the same day Royal and Imperial troops stood close before the fortifications of Lemberg.

THE FALL OF LEMBERG

A semi-official report dispatch by the Wolff Telegraphic Bureau from Berlin, June 28, reads:

From the Great Headquarters we have received the following telegram about the taking of Lemberg:

The Russians entered Lemberg, the capital of Galicia, a city of 250,000 inhabitants, in the beginning of September, 1914. They at once restored to the city its Polish name, Lwow, and during their reign in the beautiful town made themselves exceedingly well at home. They began promptly to develop Lemberg into a great fortress and for the further protection of their new possession to construct the fortified lines of Grodek and Wereszyca. The protective works of Lemberg built by the Austrians were strengthened and extended by the Russians, especially along the south and southwest fronts. The existing depot facilities were enlarged and a number of railways, both field and permanent, extended throughout the domain of the fortress. To guarantee the maintenance of the fortress of Lemberg, even in case the Grodek position should be penetrated and have to be given up, a strongly fortified supporting work had been built. This ran along the heights to the west of the Lemberg-Rawa-Ruska railway to the vicinity of Dobrocin.

After the armies of General von Mackensen had broken through the Grodek and Wereszyca position, German divisions and allied troops struck these supporting works. The centre of the Army Boehm-Ermolli simultaneously approached the west from Lemberg. The main body of this army attacked sections of the hostile army which had prepared for renewed resistance behind the Szczerzek and Stavczonka streams and in contact with the fortress on the south. This position on the evening of the 21st of June was successfully penetrated at several points and the attacking troops were pushed closer to the defenses on the west front of Lemberg. German connecting troops under the leadership of General von der Marwitz on the same day stormed the most important points of the stubbornly defended supporting position. They thus compelled the enemy to evacuate this position in the whole of its extent and opened for the adjacent Austrian troops the road to the defenses on the northwest front of the fortress. In consequence the Austro-Hungarian troops were able on the 22d of June to take the works on the northwest and west fronts.

At five o'clock in the morning fell the fortification Rzesna, soon thereafter Sknilow, and toward eleven Lysa Gora. This work was conquered by infantry regiment No. 34, "William I, German Emperor and King of Prussia." In the Rzesna fortification alone, besides gun limbers and machine guns, 400 prisoners were taken who belonged to no less than eighteen different Russian divisions. In the work there was found, besides masses of weapons and ammunition, a large number of unopened wooden boxes containing steel blinders (Stahlblenden).

At noon of that day the victorious troops set foot in the Galician capital

in which the Russians had ruled for nearly ten months. About four o'clock in the afternoon the Austrian commander made his entry into the city, which was quite undamaged and decked with flags. In the streets, in the windows and on balconies stood thousands and thousands of the inhabitants, who enthusiastically greeted their deliverers and showered the automobiles with a rain of flowers. The next day the commander-in-chief, General von Mackensen, congratulated in Lemberg the conqueror of the fortress, the Austrian General of Cavalry von Boehm-Ermolli. The German Emperor, on receiving the announcement of the fall of Lemberg, sent the following telegram to General von Mackensen:

"Accept on the crowning event of your brilliantly led Galician campaign, the fall of Lemberg, my warmest congratulations. It completes an operation which, systematically prepared and executed with energy and skill, has led in only six weeks to successes in battles and amount of booty, and that, too, in the open field, seldom recorded in the history of wars. To God's gracious support we, in the first instance, owe this shining victory, and then to your battle-tried leadership and the bravery of the allied troops under you, both fighting in true comradeship. As an expression of my thankful recognition I appoint you field marshal.

(Signed) "Wilhelm I. R."

At the same time the commander of the Austrian army, Grand Duke Frederick, was appointed a Prussian general field marshal. The faithful working together of the allied armies had borne rich fruits.

THE CZAR'S RESCRIPT

The following Imperial Rescript addressed to the Premier, M. Goremykin, was anounced at Petrograd on June 30:

From all parts of the country I have received appeals testifying to the firm determination of the Russian peoples to devote their strength to the work of equipping the Army. I derive from this national unanimity the unshakable assurance of a brilliant future. A prolonged war calls for ever-fresh efforts. But, surmounting growing difficulties and parrying the vicissitudes which are inevitable in war, let us strengthen in our hearts the resolution to carry on the struggle, with the help of God, to the complete triumph of the Russian arms. The enemy must be crushed, for without that peace is impossible.

With firm faith in the inexhaustible strength of Russia, I anticipate that the governmental and public institutions of Russian industry and all faithful sons of the Fatherland, without distinction of ideas and classes, will work together in harmony to satisfy the needs of our valiant Army. This is the only and, henceforth, the national problem to which must be directed all the thoughts of united Russia, invincible in her unity.

Having formed, for the discussion of questions of supplying the Army, a special commission, in which members of the Legislative Chambers and representatives of industry participate, I recognize the necessity, in consequence, of advancing the date of the reopening of these Legislative bodies in order to hear the voice of the country.

Having decided that the sessions of the Duma and the Council of the Empire shall be resumed in the month of August at the latest, I rely on the Council of Ministers to draw up, according to my indications, the Bills necessitated by a time of war.—*Reuter.*

RUSSIA'S DEFENSIVE PLAN

A dispatch to the London Daily Chronicle from Petrograd on July 6 *said:*

The Russian defense is now a two-fold and rather complex process. Along the frontiers the army is parrying blows of the enemy and wearing him down, avoiding big battles, losing territory indeed, little by little, but gaining time and husbanding resources.

The other side of the process is the rally of the nation to the support of the army. It would be wholly wrong to regard the gradual advance of the Ger-

mans and Austrians in Russian territory as evidence that Russian resistance is breaking down. On the contrary the nation has never been so thoroughly aroused as now.

The broad back of the Russian soldier has done marvels in sustaining the heavy burden of war, but when retreat in Galicia began it suddenly flashed on the nation that this was not enough—valor must be reinforced by technique. The attitude of the nation to the war immediately changed. Formerly it was a spectator watching with eager hope mingled with anxiety the deeds of the army that was part of its very self. Now it has become an active reserve of the army and in securing liberty to act it has gained in moral force.

The Cabinet is being strengthened, more effective contact is being established between the Government and the nation, and the War Office is now the centre of popular interest.

Russia has not yet followed the example of her allies in appointing a Minister of Munitions, but the course of events is tending in this direction and the new War Minister, General Polivanoff, commands the confidence of the Duma and nation generally. The War Office has become the focus of the new national organizing movement of which all existing public bodies are being made the nucleus.

FIGHTING ON TWO RIVERS

The statement issued by the German Army Headquarters Staff in Berlin on June 30 reported:

Between the Bug and the Vistula Rivers the German and Austro-Hungarian troops have reached the districts of Belz, Komanow and Zamosc and the northern border of the forest-plantations in the Tanew section. Also on a line formed by the banks of the Vistula and in the district of Zawichost, to the east of Zarow, the enemy has commenced a retreat.

An enemy aeroplane was forced to descend behind our lines. The occupants of the machine were made prisoners.

On July 1 the situation on the Russian front was thus officially reported from Berlin:

Eastern theatre of war: Our positions here are unchanged. The booty taken during June amounts to two flags and 25,695 prisoners, of whom 120 were officers; seven cannon, six mine throwers, fifty-two machine guns, and one aeroplane, besides much material of war.

Southeastern theatre of war: After bitter fighting the troops under General von Linsingen yesterday stormed the Russian positions east of the Gnila Lipa River near Kunioze and Luozynoe and to the north of Rohatyn. Three officers and 2,328 men were made prisoners and five machine guns were captured.

East of Lemberg the Austro-Hungarian troops have pressed forward into the enemy positions. The army under Field Marshal von Mackensen is continuing to press forward between the Bug and Vistula Rivers. West of the Vistula, after stubborn fighting by the Russians, the Teutonic allies are advancing on both sides of the Kamenna in pursuit.

The total amount of captures during June made by the Teutonic allied troops under General von Linsingen, Field Marshal von Mackensen, and General von Woyrich amounts to 409 officers and 140,650 men and 80 cannon and 268 machine guns.

From Vienna—The following official communication was issued on July 1 by the War Office:

Battles in Eastern Galicia continued on July 1 on the Gnila Lipa and in the region east of Lemberg. Our troops advanced in several places on the heights east of the Gnila Lipa and broke through hostile positions. The allied troops also succeeded, after stubborn fighting, in reaching the eastern bank of the Rohatyn.

On the Dniester complete calm prevails. In the region of the source of the Wieprz we occupied Zamoso, north of the Tanew all lower lands are occupied. West of the Vistula our troops

pursued the flying enemy up to Tarlow.

The total booty taken during June by the allied troops during the fighting in the northeast comprises 521 officers and 194,000 men, 93 guns, 164 machine guns, 78 caisson, and 100 military railroad carriages.

KRASNIK REACHED

The statement issued by German Army Headquarters on July 2 says:

In the Eastern Theatre: Southwest of Kalwarya, after stubborn fighting we took a mine position from the enemy and made 600 Russians prisoners.

In the Southeastern Theatre: After storming the heights southeast of Bu-Kaszowice, north of Halicz, the Russians along the whole front from the district of Maryampol to just north of Firjilow have been obliged to retreat. Troops under General von Linsingen are pursuing the defeated enemy.

Up to yesterday we had taken 7,765 prisoners, of whom 11 are officers. We also captured eighteen machine guns.

The German official report of July 3 reads:

In the Southeastern Theatre: North of the Dniester River our troops are advancing under continuous fighting in pursuit of the enemy and penetrating by way of the line of Mariampol, Narajoa and Miasto toward the Zlota Lipa section. They have reached the Bug at several places between Kamionka and Strzumilowa and below Krylow and are quickly advancing in a northerly direction between the Bug and the Vistula.

The lowlands of the Labunka now are in our possession, after our opponents had offered stubborn resistance at certain places.

German troops also obtained a firm foothold on the northern bank of the river in the Wysnica section, between Krasnik and the mouth of the Labunka.

Between the left bank of the Vistula and the Pilica River the situation remains generally unchanged.

A Russian counter-attack southeast of Radom was repulsed.

The following Austrian official war statement was given out in Vienna on July 3:

In East Galicia the Teutonic allied troops are advancing, pursuing the enemy east of Halicz and across the Narajowska, and to the north attacking successfully on the heights east of Janozyn. On the Bug River the situation is unchanged.

Between the Vistula and the Bug Rivers the Teutonic allied troops are steadily advancing, with fierce fighting. Zamosc has been stormed. West of there the Russians everywhere have been repulsed beyond the Por Plain, which is in our possession. At several places we forced a passage of the brook.

East of Krasnik, for which fighting is still proceeding, Studzianki has been captured. The village of Wysnica, west of Krasnik, also was stormed. Here and elsewhere in this sector the enemy was repulsed.

Friday on the Por and near Krasnik, 4,800 prisoners were captured, and three machine guns were taken.

West of the Vistula there were artillery duels.

Following is the official report of the operations on the front in Galicia and Southern Poland, wirelessed July 4 from Berlin to Sayville, N. Y.:

General von Linsingen's army, in full pursuit of the enemy, is advancing toward the Zlota Lipa. Three thousand Russians were taken prisoners yesterday. Under pressure of the Germans the enemy is evacuating his positions from Narajow to Miasto, and to the north of Przemyslany from Kamionka to Krylow.

ON ZLOTA LIPA RIVER

Following is the Austrian official war statement given out from Vienna on July 6:

In Eastern Galicia the Teutonic allied troops under General von Linsingen, after two weeks of successful battles, have reached the Zlota Lipa River, the western bank of which has been cleared of the enemy. In the sectors of Kami-

H. R. H. PRINCE GEORGE
Duke of Sparta and Crown Prince of Greece
(Photo from P. S. Rogers.)

ADMIRAL SIR HENRY B. JACKSON

Who Succeeded Lord Fisher as First Sea Lord of the British Admiralty

(Photo by Elliott & Fry.)

onka Strumilowa and Krasno battles against the Russian rearguards are continuing.

Near Krylow (on the Bug River), in Southern Russian Poland, near the Galician border, the enemy has evacuated the western bank of the Bug and burned the village of Krylow.

Fighting is proceeding on both banks of the Upper Wieprz.

The Teutonic allied troops drove the enemy from positions north of the small River Por and advanced to Faras and Plonka.

The western army, commanded by Archduke Joseph Ferdinand, after several days' battle, broke through the Russian front on both sides of Krasnik and drove the Russians back with heavy losses in a northerly direction. We captured twenty-nine officers and 8,000 men and took six caissons and six machine guns.

West of the Vistula River the situation is unchanged.

The Petrograd correspondent of The London Times telegraphed on July 6:

No apprehension is entertained as to the fate of Warsaw, for the city bids fair to be protected. Even if the Germans should reach Ivangorod, this would not necessarily involve the surrender of Warsaw.

The Russian waiting game in fact has been justified. The critic of the Novoe Vremya correctly explains the withdrawal as a manœuvre deliberately undertaken with the object of accepting battle under the best conditions for the Russians. He adds that on the Vistula front the ground which offers the Russians the greatest advantage is that with Brest Litovsk as a base, Ivangorod on the right flank and a strong army occupying the flank and rear positions in relation to the right flank of General von Boehm-Ermolli's Army.

The War Department at Vienna on July 6 gave out the following official statement:

The Russians, who, in the second battle of Krasnik, were defeated by the army of Archduke Joseph Ferdinand, are retreating in a northern and northeastern direction, pursued by the Austrians who are pressing to attack.

The Austrians on Monday captured the district of Cieszanow and the heights north of Wysnica. Under pressure of our advance the enemy is retreating on the Wieprz beyond Tarnogora. Our booty in this fighting has increased to 41 officers and 11,500 men and 17 machine guns.

On the Bug River and in East Galicia the situation is unchanged.

On the Zlota Lipa and Dniester Rivers quiet prevails.

German Army Headquarters wirelessed the following report from Berlin to Sayville, N. Y., on July 7:

During pursuit of the Russians to the Zlota Lipa River from July 3 to July 5 the Germans captured 3,850 men. The number of prisoners made south of Biale River has been increased to seven officers and about 800 men.

In Poland, south of the Vistula, the Germans stormed Height 95, to the east of Dolowatka and south of Borzymow. The Russian losses were very considerable. Ten machine guns, one revolver gun and a quantity of rifles were taken.

More to the northward, near the Vistula, a Russian charge was repulsed.

The Czernowitz, Bukowina, correspondent of the Zeitung am Mittag, says:

"The scarcity of rifles with the Russians is growing greater daily. The reserves are unarmed until they begin the attack, and then they take rifles from their fallen comrades. The Russian artillery fire, however, has grown more active."

DEFEAT AT KRASNIK

From Austrian Army Headquarters in Galicia, July 11, came the following:

The relative subsidence of activity on the part of the Teutonic allies during the last week may be explained by the fact that the goal set for the Lemberg campaign already has been attained. This was the recapture of the city and the securing of strong defensive posi-

tions to the eastward and northward. These positions have now been secured along the line of the Zlota Lipa and Bug Rivers and the ridge to the northward of Krasnik.

The Russians attempted a counter-offensive from Lubin against the Austro-German positions north of Krasnik, bringing up heavy reinforcements for this purpose. Owing to this movement the Austrian troops, which had rushed beyond the positions originally selected, withdrew to the ridge, where they have been successfully resisting all Russian attacks. They feel secure in their present positions, and it is believed here that they can be easily held against whatever forces Russia can throw against them.

Indications now point to a period of quiet along the Russo-Galician front, while the Teutonic allies are preparing for operations in other quarters.

This statement from Russian General Headquarters was published in Petrograd on July 14*:*

In the direction of Lomza (Russian Poland) on the evening of July 12 and also on the 13th, the enemy developed an intensive artillery fire. On the right bank of the Pissa, on July 13, the Germans succeeded in capturing Russian trenches on a front of two versts (about one and one-third miles). They, however, were driven back by a counter-attack and the trenches were recaptured.

On both banks of the Shikva stubborn fighting has taken place. Considerable enemy forces between the Orjetz (Orzyc?) and the Lydymia adopted the offensive and the Russians, declining a decisive engagement, retreated during the night of the 13th to their second line of positions. On the left bank of the Vistula the situation is unchanged.

In the battle near Wilkolaz, south of Lublin, during the week ending July 11 the Russians captured 97 officers and 22,464 men.

In the Cholm region engagements have taken place along the Volitza River, and on the night of July 13 we captured over 150 prisoners.

On the rest of the front there have been the usual artillery engagements. On the evening of July 12 the enemy assumed the offensive on the Narew front.

PRZASNYSZ OCCUPIED

In the eastern theater: In the course of minor fights on the Windau below Koltany 425 Russians were taken prisoners.

South of the Niemen River, in the neighborhood of Kalwarya, our troops captured several outer positions at Franziskowa and Osowa and maintained them against fierce counter-attacks.

To the northeast of Suwalki the Heights of Olszauka were taken by storm.

South of Kolno we captured the village of Konsya, and the enemy positions east of this village and south of the Tartak line. Two thousand four hundred prisoners and eight machine guns fell into our hands.

Battles in the neighborhood of Przasnysz are being continued. Several enemy lines were captured by our troops, and the City of Przasnysz, for which we were fighting hotly in the last days of February, and which was strongly fortified by the Russians, we have occupied by our troops.

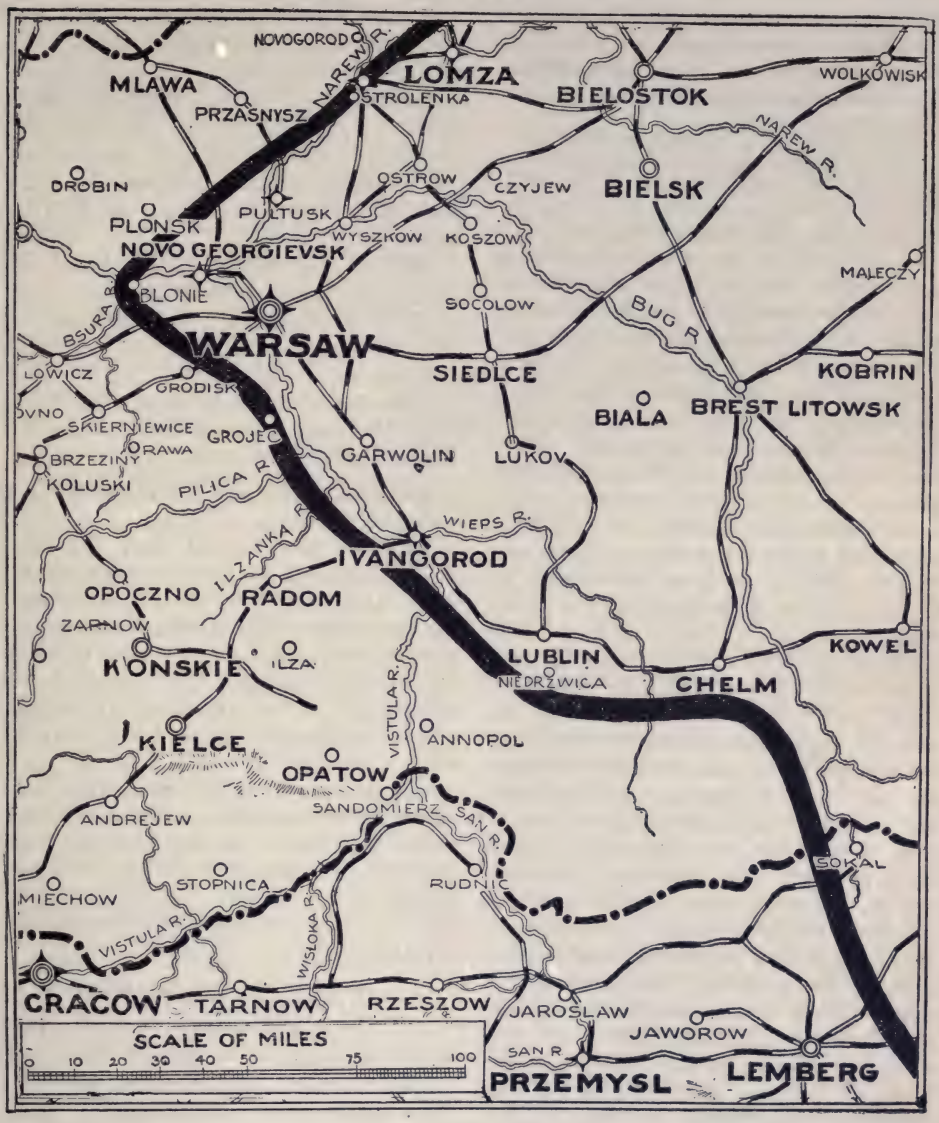
In the southeastern theater the situation generally is the same.

GERMAN "NUT-CRACKER"

A Petrograd dispatch to the London Morning Post said on July 15*:*

The Germans have opened a new campaign for the conquest of Russia. Their plan is to catch the Russian armies like a nut between nutcrackers.

The German line of advance from the northwest lies between the Mlawa-Warsaw Railway line and the River Pissa and from the south from the Galician line. On paper the German scheme is that these two fronts shall move to meet one another and everything between them must be ground to powder. But the nut to be cracked is rather a formidable area of space and well fortified, the kernel sound and healthy,



The German battle line on July 24, in Russian Poland.

being formed of the Russian armies inspired not merely with the righteousness of their cause, but the fullest confidence in themselves and absolute devotion to the proved genius of their Commander in Chief. The area referred to cannot be less than eighty miles in extent, north to south, by 120 miles west to east. That is the mere nucleus and minimum area, as contained between the Novo Georgievsk fortress in the north to the Ivangorod fortress in the south and the Russian lines on the Bzura in the west to Brest-Litovsk on the east.

The Germans have an incalculable amount of fighting to face before they win to that area, the nut to be cracked, and then the cracking is still to be done. It is all sheer frontal fighting. The Germans have been twelve months trying frontal attacks against Warsaw

on a comparatively narrow front, and in vain. What chance have they of success by dividing their forces against the united strength of Russia?

BREAKING RUSSIA'S LINES

An official German bulletin dated Berlin, July 17, reported:

The offensive movement begun a few days ago in the eastern theatre of war, under command of Field Marshal von Hindenburg, has led to great results. The army of General von Bülow, which on July 14 crossed the Windau River near and north of Kurshany, continued its victorious advance. Eleven officers and 2,450 men were taken prisoners, and three cannon and five machine guns were captured.

The army of General von Gallwitz proceeded against the Russian positions in the district south and southeast of Olawa. After a brilliant attack three Russian lines, situated behind each other northwest and northeast of Przasnysz, were pierced. Dzielin was captured and Lipa was reached and attacked by pressure exerted from both these directions. The Russians retreated, after the evacuation of Przasnysz on the 14th, to their line of defense from Ciechanow to Krasnosielo, lying behind them. On the 15th German troops also took these enemy positions by storm, and pierced the position south of Zielona, over a front of seven kilometers, forcing their opponents to retreat. They were supported by troops under General von Scholtz, which are occupied with a pursuit from the direction of Kolno. Since yesterday the Russians have been retreating on the center front, between the Pissa and Vistula Rivers, in the direction of Narew.

Southeastern Theatre of War.—After the Teutonic allies had taken during the last few days a series of Russian positions on the River Bug and between the Bug and the Vistula, important battles developed yesterday on this entire front under the leadership of Field Marshal von Mackensen. West of the Vierpz, in the district southwest of Krasnostav, German troops broke through the enemy's line. So far 28 officers and 6,380 men have fallen into our hands, and 9 machine guns have been captured.

West of the Upper Vistula the offensive has again been begun by the army of General von Woyrich.

An official statement issued by general headquarters in Vienna on July 18 says:

On the Bug River, in the region of Sokol, our troops drove the enemy from a series of stubbornly defended places. To the northeast of Sienvno we broke through the Russian front.

The enemy is evacuating his positions between the Vistula and the Kielce-Radom Railway.

An earlier bulletin, dated July 17, read as follows:

Between the Vistula and the Bug Rivers important battles have developed favorably for the allied troops. Some Austro-Hungarians, operating closely with the Germans west of Grabovetz, took an important enemy point of support after storming it several times, and pressed forward into the enemy's main position.

Southwest of Krasnostav the Germans broke through the enemy's lines.

On the Upper Bystrez and north of Krasnik our troops took advanced positions of the enemy. The offensive also was resumed successfully west of the Vistula.

BERLIN'S REJOICING

An Associated Press dispatch from Berlin via London on July 18 said:

The news of Field Marshal von Hindenburg's newest surprise for the Russians, which the War Office announces has resulted in important victories, was made known late yesterday, causing general rejoicing and the appearance of flags all over the city.

Military critics attach great significance to the breaking of the Russian lines and the consequent Russian retreat toward the Narew River, particularly as the German advance between the Pissa and Vistula rivers threatens to crumple the right flank positions of the Russians.

With Field Marshal von Mackensen proceeding against the other flank, the maintenance of communications offers a serious problem for the Russians. The breaking of the Russian line near Krasnostav, thirty-four miles south of Lublin, brings the Germans dangerously near Cholm and Lublin, both of which points are of the highest importance for the Russians in maintaining their position in the vistula region.

The following official bulletin concerning the operations was issued tonight by the War Office:

> Portions of the army of General von Buelow have defeated the Russian forces near Autz, where 3,620 men and six guns and three machine guns were captured. They are pursuing the enemy in an easterly direction.
>
> Other portions of this army are fighting to the northeast of Kurshany. East of that town an enemy advance position has been stormed.
>
> On the southeastern front the offensive was taken by the army under General von Woyrich, which made successful progress under the heavy fire of the enemy.
>
> Our troops on Saturday morning took a narrow point in the wire entanglements of a strongly fortified enemy main position, and through this opening stormed an enemy trench on a front of 2,000 meters (about a mile and a third). In the course of the day the wedge was widened and pushed forward, with tenacious hand-to-hand fighting, far into the enemy's position.
>
> In the evening the enemy's Moscow Grenadier Corps was defeated by our landwehr and reserve troops. The enemy retreated during the night behind the Iljanka River to the district south of Zwolen, suffering heavy losses in their retirement.
>
> Between the Pissa and Vistula Rivers the Russian troops are retreating and the troops of General von Schaltz and von Gallwitz are close behind them.
>
> The enemy is attacked and driven back where he offers resistance in prepared positions.
>
> Reserve troops and a levy of troops of General von Schaltz have stormed the towns of Poremky and Wykplock, and regiments of General von Gallwitz have broken through the extended positions of Mlodzi, Nome and Kaniewo. The number of prisoners was considerably increased and four guns were captured.
>
> From the north of the Vistula to the Pilica the Russians also have begun to retreat. Our troops in a short engagement during the pursuit made 620 prisoners.
>
> Between the Upper Vistula and the Bug fighting continues under the command of Field Marshal von Mackensen. The Russians have been driven by the German troops from the hills of Biclaczkowice, south of Piaski, as far as Krosnoskow, and both these places have been taken by storm. The fire of the Siberian army corps could not ward off defeat. We made more than 1000 prisoners.

WARSAW'S EVACUATION

An Associated Press dispatch from London dated July 20 recorded the doubt in the English capital of Warsaw's holding out, as follows:

The Morning Post's Budapest correspondent reports that the gradual evacuation of Warsaw has been ordered by the Russians.

Continued successes of the great Teutonic movement against the Polish capital were indicated in the German official bulletin received from Berlin this morning. This stated that the Russians were retreating along the whole front between the Vistula and the Bug. The bulletin reads:

> The Germans have occupied Tukum and Windau (Province of Courland).
>
> Between the Vistula and the Bug the battle continues with unabated violence.
>
> The Austro-Hungarians have forced a crossing of the Wolicza River in the neighborhood of Grabovetz and advanced across the Bug to the north of Sokal, the Russians having during the night retreated along the whole front between the Vistula and the Bug.
>
> The Germans captured from July 16 to July 18 16,000 prisoners and twenty-three machine guns.

That German columns have occupied Tukum, thirty-eight miles west of Riga,

Scene of German operations in Courland

and Doblen eighteen miles west of Mitau, is admitted by an official statement issued at the headquarters of the Russian general staff. The same report admits that the Austrians have gained the right bank of the Volitza and have crossed the Bug River on a front reaching to Sokal. The bulletin says:

> On the Narew front the night of the 18th the enemy took the offensive, capturing the village of Poredy, on the right bank of the Pissa River. On the left bank of the Skwa enemy attacks against the villages of Vyk and Pchetchniak were repulsed with success. West of the Omulew our troops, retiring progressively toward a bridgehead on the Narew, delivered on the evening of the 17th a rear-guard action of a stubborn character near the town of Mahoff. Near the village of Karnevo we made a brilliant counter-attack.
>
> "In the direction of Lublin enemy attacks during the 18th on the front Wilkolaz-Vychawa (east and north of Krasnik) were successfully repulsed.
>
> At dawn of the 18th the enemy captured Krasnostav, thirty-four miles south of Lublin on the Vieprz, and crossed upstream. During the course of the 19th enemy attacks between the stream flowing from Rybtchevbitze toward the village of Piaski and the Vieprz remained without result. On the right bank of the Vieprz we repulsed near Krasnostav and the River Volitza many extremely stubborn enemy attacks.
>
> Nevertheless, near the mouth of the Volitza and the village of Gaevniki the enemy succeeded in establishing himself on the right bank of this river, after which we judged it advisable to retire to our second-line positions.
>
> In the region of the village of Grabovetz on the 18th we repulsed four furious enemy attacks on a wide front, supported by a curtain of fire from his artillery.
>
> Between Geneichva and the Bug on the evening of the 17th, after a desperate fight we drove the enemy from all the trenches previously occupied by him.
>
> On the Bug energetic fighting continued against the enemy, who crossed on the 18th on the front Skomorskhy-Sokal.

"Can Warsaw be held?" is the question now being asked here.

With the German Field Marshals, von Hindenburg on the north and von Mackensen on the south, whipping forward the two ends of a great arc around the city, it is realized in England that Grand Duke Nicholas, Commander in Chief of the Russian armies, has the most severe task imposed on him since the outbreak of the European war, and the military writers of some of the London papers seem to think that the task is well-nigh impossible.

There was sustained confidence that Germany's previous violent attacks along the Bzura-Rawka front would never pierce the Russian line, but the present colossal co-ordinate movement was developed with such suddenness, and has been carried so far without meeting serious Russian resistance, that more and more the British press is discounting the fall of the Polish capital, and, while not giving up all hope of its retention, is pointing out the enormous difficulty the Russian armies have labored under from the start by the existence of such a salient.

An Associated Press dispatch from London on July 21 *said:*

From the shores of the Gulf of Riga in the north to that part of Southern

Poland into which they drove the Russians back from Galicia, the Austro-German armies are still surging forward, and if Warsaw can be denied them it will be almost a miracle.

This seems to be the opinion even among those in England who heretofore have been hopeful that the Russians would turn and deliver a counter-blow, and news of the evacuation of the Polish capital, followed by the triumphant entry of the Germans amid such scenes as were enacted at Przemysl and Lemberg, would come as no surprise.

The German official statement, beginning at the northern tip of the eastern battle line, records the progress of the German troops to within about fifty miles of Riga. Then, following the great battle arc southward, chronicles further successes in the sector northeast of Warsaw, culminating in the capture of Ostrolenka, one of the fortresses designed to shield the capital.

The acute peril to Warsaw is accentuated by the Russian official communication which says that German columns are within artillery range of the fortress of Novo Georgievsk, the key to the capital from the northwest, and only about twenty miles from it.

Immediately southwest of the city, seventeen miles from it, Blonie has fallen, and further south Grojec, twenty-six miles distant, while German cavalry have captured Radom, capital of the province of that name, on the railroad to the great fortress of Ivangorod. The Lublin-Chelm Railway is still in the hands of the Russians, so far as is known, but the Russian Commander-in-Chief has issued, through the Civil Governor, an order that in case of a retreat from the town of Lublin, the male population is to attach itself to the retiring troops.

The belief is expressed in Danish military circles, according to a Copenhagen dispatch to the Exchange Telegraph Company, that the Germans intend to use Windau and Tukum as bases for operations designed to result in the capture of Riga, which would be used as a new naval base after the Gulf of Riga had been cleared of mines.

OSTROLENKA FORT TAKEN

From Berlin on July 20 came this report from the German War Office:

.Eastern theatre of war: In Courland the Russians were repulsed near Grosschmarden, east of Tukum, and near Gruendorf and Usingen. East of Kurshany the enemy also is retreating before our attack.

North of Novgorod, on the Narew, German troops captured enemy positions north of the confluence of the Skroda and Pissa rivers. Fresh Landsturm troops who were under fire for the first time especially distinguished themselves. North of the mouth of the Skwa we reached the Narew. The permanent fortifications of Ostrolenka, on the northwest bank of the river, were captured.

South of the Vistula our troops advanced into hostile positions to Blonie and Grojec. (Blonie is seventeen miles west of Warsaw, and Grojec twenty-six miles south of the city.) In rearguard fighting the Russians lost 560 prisoners and two machine guns.

Southeastern theatre of war: German Landwehr and reserve troops of the army of General von Woyrich repulsed superior forces of the enemy from their position at Ilzanka. All counter attacks made by Russian reserves, which were brought up quickly, were repulsed. We captured more than 5,000 prisoners. Our troops are closely pursuing the enemy. Our cavalry already has reached the railway line from Radom to Ivangorod.

Between the upper Vistula and the Bug we are following the retreating enemy.

A bulletin, issued early on July 20, had announced the capture of the Baltic port of Windau, thus bringing the Germans within a few miles of Riga, seat of the Governor General of the Baltic Provinces. It read:

German troops occupied Tukum and captured Windau. (Windau is a seaport in Courland on the Baltic Sea at the mouth of the Windau River, 100 miles northwest of Mitau.) Pursuing the enemy, who was defeated on the Aa River at Alt Autz, our troops yesterday

reached the district of Hofzumberge and northwest of Mitau, where the enemy occupied previously prepared positions.

East of Popeliany and Kurszany the fighting continues.

Between the Pissa and the Skwa the Russians evacuated a position which had been penetrated at several points by our troops, and are retreating toward the Narew. The German reserve Landwehr, fighting in this district of woody and marshy ground, which is extremely favorable to the resistance of the enemy, accomplished notable deeds.

The army of General von Gallwitz, advancing further, is now standing with all its troops on the Narew line southwest of Ostrolenka and Novo Georgievsk (about ten miles northwest of Warsaw). The Russians who did not find protection in their fortifications and bridgehead positions already have retreated across the Narew. (The Narew joins the Bug at Sierock, eighteen miles north of Warsaw.) The number of prisoners taken by us has been increased to 101 officers and 28,760 men.

In Poland, between the Vistula and the Pilica, the Russians are retreating eastward.

In the southeastern theatre: The enemy, defeated on the 17th by the army under General von Woyrisch northwest of Sienno, attempted to arrest our pursuit in his previously prepared positions behind the Ilzanka sector. Yesterday afternoon the Silesian Landwehr stormed the enemy advanced positions near Ciepilow. The same troops during the night entered the line near Krasanow and Baranow, which also is wavering with a decision imminent.

Between the upper Vistula and the Bug the battle of the allied troops under Field Marshal von Mackensen is proceeding with unabated violence. At the eruption point near Pilaskovice and Krasnostaw the Russians made desperate efforts to avert a defeat. Fresh troops sent against ours were defeated, however.

Further east, in the Grabovetz district, allied troops forced a crossing of the Volitza. Austro-Hungarian troops advanced across the Bug to a point north of Sokol. Under pressure of our pursuit the enemy retreated during the night on the entire front, stopping only at the eruption point near Krasnostaw, where he attempted some resistance, but suffered a severe defeat.

German troops and the corps under the command of Field Marshal von Arz captured, from the 16th to the 18th, 16,250 prisoners and twenty-three machine guns.

According to written orders which have come into our possession the commanders of the enemy were resolved to maintain, without regard to losses, the positions which we now have captured.

RUSSIAN NATION IN PRAYER

A Petrograd dispatch to The London Times reported on July 21:

Novo Georgievsk, one of the greatest Russian fortresses, is effectively sentinelling Warsaw from the northwest. The range of its great guns attains the Bzura line and the German advance column on the Narew. The fight for the possession of the right bank of this river is expected to take some time.

Meanwhile the advance of the Teutons on the southern flank of the Warsaw salient is being warmly contested south of the Lublin and Cholm Railway. But here the assailants are believed to have reformed the phalanx which pierced the Russian line on the Dunajec and hope to repeat their exploit. It is difficult, however, to move huge forces and heavy guns without a railway, and here also the Russians are expected to check the foe.

Evidently the last word has not yet been said before the Russians withdraw from the positions guarding the Polish capital, but the public are prepared for the worst, and today throughout the empire millions of worshippers are joining their prayers in intercession for victory.

The London Daily Mail's Petrograd correspondent, telegraphing on July 21, *said:*

Yesterday evening the bells in all the churches throughout Russia clanged a

call to prayer for a twenty-four hours' continual service of intercession for victory.

Today, in spite of the heat, the churches were packed. Hour after hour the people stand wedged together while the priests and choirs chant interminable litanies. Outside the Kamian Cathedral here an open air mass is being celebrated in the presence of an enormous crowd.

MORE TEUTONIC VICTORIES

The War Office at Berlin on July 21 *gave out the following account of operations on the Russian front:*

In the Eastern Theatre: To the east of Popeljany-Kurtschany the enemy is withdrawing before our advancing troops. To the west of Shavli the last hostile intrenchment has been stormed and occupied, and the pursuit continues eastward.

On the Dubyssa, east of Rossieny, a German attack broke through the Russian line. Here, too, the enemy is falling back.

South of the road of Mariampol-Kovno we attacked and captured the villages of Kiekieryszki and Janowka. Three Russian positions lying one behind the other were captured.

Likewise attacks by our Landwehr against positions held by the enemy north of Nocogorod (on the Narew) were completely successful. The Russians retreated, leaving 2,000 prisoners and two machine guns in our hands.

Further south on the Narew River a strong outwork at Rozan was stormed. We took 560 prisoners and captured three machine guns.

The enemy endeavored to offer obstinate resistance on the Narew. His desperate counter attacks with hastily gathered troops on the bridgehead position of Rozan, Pultusk, and Novo Georgievsk failed. The Russian losses were heavy. We took 1,000 prisoners.

The Blonie-Grojec position offered the enemy only brief respite. Under the compulsion of our troops, who had been reinforced from all sides, the Russians began to give up their forfeited positions to the west of Grojec and to retire to the eastward.

In the Southeastern War Theatre: German troops under General von Wyrsch yesterday reached the advanced bridgehead positions South of Ivangorod. An immediate attack brought them into possession of a hostile line near Wladislavow. Fighting continues for the adjoining positions.

Between the Vistula and Bug Rivers the enemy has again opposed Field Marshal von Mackensen's army.

Despite stubborn resistance Austro-Hungarian troops near Skrzyniec, Niedrzwica and Mala, southwest of Lublin, and German detachments southeast and north of Krasnostava, have entered hostile positions. The attack is progressing.

The War Office at Berlin on July 23 *issued the following:*

Eastern theatre of war: In Courland there is continual fighting. We are pursuing eastward the retreating Russians. Yesterday we captured three machine guns and many ammunition cars and field kitchens.

Our troops advanced closer to the Narew bridgehead position. Before Rozan we stormed at the point of the bayonet the village of Miluny and the fortification at Izygi. At the latter place we captured 290 prisoners. Night sorties from Novo Georgievsk failed.

Southeastern theatre of war: The west bank of the Vistula was cleared of the enemy from Janowiec, west of Kazmierz, to Granica. In the wooded ground southeast of Kozienca fighting is proceeding with Russian rear guards.

Between the Vistula and the Bug the Teutonic allies succeeded in breaking the obstinate resistance of the enemy at several points and forced the Russians to retreat.

Granica is ten kilometers south of Ivangorod.

An Associated Press dispatch from London, dated July 24, *reported:*

The Austrians and Germans are pushing their three great attacks against the Russian armies defending Warsaw with

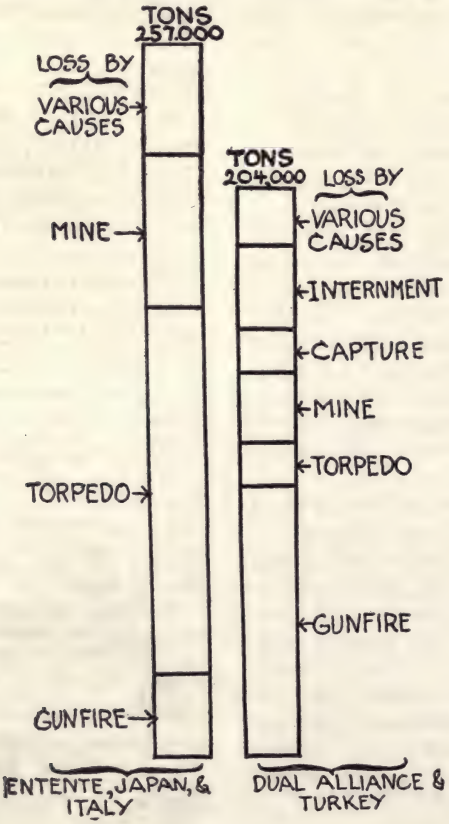
undiminished energy, and at some points report that progress has been made.

They are operating, however, through country which the retiring troops have laid waste and in which what roads there are, are little suited for the movement of the heavy artillery which is necessary for the bombardment of the great fortresses that bar their way.

It is not expected, therefore, that decisive actions on any of the fronts will be fought for a few days yet, although the battle between the Vistula and the Bug Rivers, where the German Field Marshal von Mackensen's army is advancing toward the Lublin-Chelm Railroad, has about reached a climax. Here, according to the German official communication issued this afternoon, the Germans have succeeded in breaking the obstinate resistance of the Russians at several points and forced them to retreat.

Naval Losses During the War

The following diagram, compiled mainly from information given in a June number of the Naval and Military Record and appearing in the London Morning Post of July 8, 1915, shows the different causes of loss to each side in tonnage of capital ships, gunboats, destroyers, submarines, torpedo-boats, and armed merchantmen to the end of May. The diagram being drawn to scale the true proportion of each loss from each cause can be accurately gauged at a glance. It will be seen that the Triple Entente and Japan have had no loss from capture or internment, that the Entente's characteristic of fighting has been "above board," *i.e.*, by gunfire, while that of the enemy has been by submarines and mines.



Battles in the West

Sir John French's Own Story

France's "Eyewitness" Reports and Germany's Offensive in the Argonne

Since June 15, 1915, the British army, reinforced by divisions of the "new" army now in France, has held practically the same position on the front to the north and south of Ypres. The subjoined report by Sir John French, Commanding-in-Chief the British forces in France, published July 12, covers the operations from April 5 down to June 15, and deals particularly with the great poison-gas attacks by the enemy, the capture and loss of Hill 60, the second battle of Ypres, and the battle of Festubert. It embodies the story by Sir Herbert Plumer of the terrible fighting that began May 5. France's official reports, following, tell of the battle of Hilgenfirst in the Vosges, the week's battle in the Fecht valley, the 120 days' struggle between Bethune and Arras, and the battle of Fontenelle. The Crown Prince's "drive" in the Argonne resulting in German advantages is also dealt with.

FROM THE FIELD-MARSHAL COMMANDING-IN-CHIEF THE BRITISH ARMY IN FRANCE

To the Secretary of State for War, War Office, London, S. W.

GENERAL HEADQUARTERS,
June 15, 1915.

My Lord,

I HAVE the honor to report that since the date of my last dispatch (April 5, 1915) the Army in France under my command has been heavily engaged opposite both flanks of the line held by the British Forces.

1. In the North the town and district of Ypres has once more in this campaign been successfully defended against vigorous and sustained attacks made by large forces of the enemy and supported by a mass of heavy and field artillery, which, not only in number, but also in weight and caliber, is superior to any concentration of guns which has previously assailed that part of the line.

In the South a vigorous offensive has again been taken by troops of the First Army, in the course of which a large area of entrenched and fortified ground has been captured from the enemy, whilst valuable support has been afforded to the attack which our Allies have carried on with such marked success against the enemy's positions to the east of Arras and Lens.

2. I much regret that during the period under report the fighting has been characterized on the enemy's side by a cynical and barbarous disregard of the well-known usages of civilized war and a flagrant defiance of The Hague Convention.*

* In a long statement seeking to justify the use of asphyxiating gases in warfare the semi-official Wolff Telegraph Bureau asserted in German newspapers of June 25 that the Allies first used such gases against the Germans, and it cites French documents as proof that France in February, months before the German advance at Ypres, made extensive preparations for the application of gases and for counteracting their effects on the attacking troops.

After quoting the official German war report of April 16 that the French were making increased use of asphyxiating bombs, the statement says:

"For every one who has kept an unbiased judgment, these official assertions of the strictly accurate and truthful German military administration will be sufficient to prove the prior use of asphyxiating gases by our opponents. But let whoever still doubts consider the following instructions for the systematic preparation of this means of warfare by the French, issued by the French War Ministry, under date of Feb. 21, 1915:

Minister of War, Feb. 21, 1915.

Remarks concerning shells with stupefying gases:

The so-called shells with stupefying gases that are being manufactured by our central factories contain a fluid which streams forth after the explosion, in the form of vapors that irritate the eyes, nose, and throat. There are two kinds: hand grenades and cartridges.

Hand Grenades.—The grenades have the form of an egg; their diameter in the middle is six centimeters, their height twelve centimeters, their weight 400 grams. They are intended for short distances, and have an appliance for throwing by hand. They are equipped with an inscription giving directions for use. They are lighted with a small bit of material for friction pasted on the directions, after which they must be thrown away. The explosion follows seven seconds after lighting. A small cover of brass and a top screwed on protect the lighted matter. Their purpose is to make untenable the surroundings of the place where they burst. Their effect is often considerably impaired by a strong rising wind.

Cartridges.—The cartridges have a cylindrical form. Their diameter is twenty-eight millimeters, their height ten centimeters, their weight 200 grams. They are intended for use at longer distances than can be negotiated with the hand grenades. With an angle of twenty-five degrees at departure they will carry 230 meters. They have central lighting facilities and are fired with ignition bullet guns. The powder lights a little internal ignition mass by means of which the cartridges are caused to explode five seconds after leaving the rifle. The cartridges have the same purpose as the hand grenades but because of their very small amount of fluid they must be fired in great numbers at the same time.

Precautionary measures to be observed in attacks on trenches into which shells with asphyxiating gases have been thrown. —The vapors spread by means of the shells with asphyxiating gases are not deadly, at least when small quantities are used and their effect is only momentary. The duration of the effect depends upon the atmospheric conditions.

It is advisable therefore to attack the trenches into which such hand grenades have been thrown and which the enemy has nevertheless not evacuated before the vapors are completely dissipated. The attacking troops, moreover, must wear protective goggles and in addition be instructed that the unpleasant sensations in nose and throat are not dangerous and involve no lasting disturbance.

"Here we have a conclusive proof that the French in their State workshops manufactured shells with asphyxiating gases fully half a year ago at least," says the semi-official Telegraph Bureau. "The number must have been so large that the French War Ministry at last found itself obliged to issue written instructions concerning the use of this means of warfare. What hypocrisy when the same people grow 'indignant' because the Germans much later followed them on the path they had pointed out! Very characteristic is the twist of the French official direction: 'The vapors spread by the shells with asphyxiating gases are not deadly, at least not when used in small quantities.' It is precisely this limitation that contains the unequivocal confession that the French asphyxiating gases work with deadly effect when used in large quantities."

All the scientific resources of Germany have apparently been brought into play to produce a gas of so virulent and poisonous a nature that any human being brought into contact with it is first paralyzed and then meets with a lingering and agonizing death.

The enemy has invariably preceded, prepared and supported his attacks by a discharge in stupendous volume of these poisonous gas fumes whenever the wind was favorable.

Such weather conditions have only prevailed to any extent in the neighborhood of Ypres, and there can be no doubt that the effect of these poisonous fumes materially influenced the operations in that theater, until experience suggested effective counter-measures, which have since been so perfected as to render them innocuous.

The brain power and thought which has evidently been at work before this unworthy method of making war reached the pitch of efficiency which has been demonstrated in its practice shows that the Germans must have harbored these designs for a long time.

As a soldier I cannot help expressing the deepest regret and some surprise that an Army which hitherto has claimed to be the chief exponent of the chivalry of war should have stooped to employ such devices against brave and gallant foes.

BATTLE OF HILL 60

3. On the night of Saturday, April 17, a commanding hill which afforded the enemy excellent artillery observation

toward the west and north-west was successfully mined and captured.

This hill, known as Hill 60, lies opposite the northern extremity of the line held by the 2d Corps.

The operation was planned and the mining commenced by Major-General Bulfin before the ground was handed over to the troops under Lieutenant-General Sir Charles Fergusson, under whose supervision the operation was carried out.

The mines were successfully fired at 7 P. M. on the 17th inst., and immediately afterwards the hill was attacked and gained, without difficulty, by the 1st Battalion Royal West Kent Regiment and the 2d Battalion King's Own Scottish Borderers. The attack was well supported by the Divisional Artillery, assisted by French and Belgian batteries.

During the night several of the enemy's counter-attacks were repulsed with heavy loss, and fierce hand-to-hand fighting took place; but on the early morning of the 18th the enemy succeeded in forcing back the troops holding the right of the hill to the reverse slope, where, however, they hung on throughout the day.

On the evening of the 18th these two battalions were relieved by the 2d Battalion West Riding Regiment and the 2d Battalion King's Own Yorkshire Light Infantry, who again stormed the hill under cover of heavy artillery fire, and the enemy was driven off at the point of the bayonet.

In this operation fifty-three prisoners were captured, including four officers.

On the 20th and following days many unsuccessful attacks by the enemy were made on Hill 60, which was continually shelled by heavy artillery.

On May 1 another attempt to recapture Hill 60 was supported by great volumes of asphyxiating gas, which caused nearly all the men along a front of about 400 yards to be immediately struck down by its fumes.

The splendid courage with which the leaders rallied their men and subdued the natural tendency to panic (which is inevitable on such occasions), combined with the prompt intervention of supports, once more drove the enemy back.

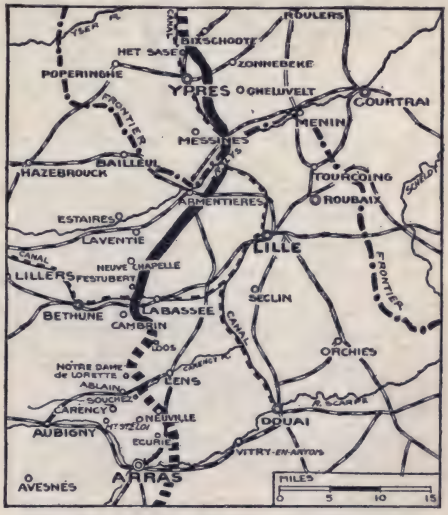
A second and more severe "gas" attack, under much more favorable weather conditions, enabled the enemy to recapture this position on May 5.

The enemy owes his success in this last attack entirely to the use of asphyxiating gas. It was only a few days later that the means, which have since proved so effective, of counteracting this method of making war were put into practice. Had it been otherwise, the enemy's attack on May 5 would most certainly have shared the fate of all the many previous attempts he had made.

SECOND BATTLE OF YPRES

4. It was at the commencement of the second battle of Ypres on the evening of April 22, referred to in paragraph 1 of his report, that the enemy first made use of asphyxiating gas.

Some days previously I had complied with General Joffre's request to take over the trenches occupied by the



The British battle line in Flanders, Belgium.

French, and on the evening of the 22d the troops holding the lines east of Ypres were posted as follows:

From Steenstraate to the east of Langemarck, as far as the Poelcappelle Road, a French Division.

Thence, in a south-easterly direction

toward the Passchendaele-Becelaere Road, the Canadian Division.

Thence a Division took up the line in a southerly direction east of Zonnebeke to a point west of Becelaere, whence another Division continued the line south-east to the northern limit of the Corps on its right.

Of the 5th Corps there were four battalions in Divisional Reserve about Ypres; the Canadian Division had one battalion of Divisional Reserve and the 1st Canadian Brigade in Army Reserve. An Infantry Brigade, which had just been withdrawn after suffering heavy losses on Hill 60, was resting about Vlamernighe.

Following a heavy bombardment, the enemy attacked the French Division at about 5 P. M., using asphyxiating gases

The Arras region, showing battle line and scene of fiercest battle in recent months.

for the first time. Aircraft reported that at about 5 P. M. thick yellow smoke had been seen issuing from the German trenches between Langemarck and Bixschoote. The French reported that two simulaneous attacks had been made east of the Ypres-Staden Railway, in which these asphyxiating gases had been employed.

What follows almost defies description. The effect of these poisonous gases was so virulent as to render the whole of the line held by the French Division mentioned above practically incapable of any action at all. It was at first impossible for any one to realize what had actually happened. The smoke and fumes hid everything from sight, and hundreds of men were thrown into a comatose or dying condition, and within an hour the whole position had to be abandoned, together with about fifty guns.

I wish particularly to repudiate any idea of attaching the least blame to the French Division for this unfortunate incident.

After all the examples our gallant Allies have shown of dogged and tenacious courage in the many trying situations in which they have been placed throughout the course of this campaign it is quite superfluous for me to dwell on this aspect of the incident, and I would only express my firm conviction that, if any troops in the world had been able to hold their trenches in the face of such a treacherous and altogether unexpected onslaught, the French Division would have stood firm.

THE CANADIANS' PART

The left flank of the Canadian Division was thus left dangerously exposed to serious attack in flank, and there appeared to be a prospect of their being overwhelmed and of a successful attempt by the Germans to cut off the British troops occupying the salient to the East.

In spite of the danger to which they were exposed the Canadians held their ground with a magnificent display of tenacity and courage; and it is not too much to say that the bearing and conduct of these splendid troops averted a disaster which might have been attended with the most serious consequences.

They were supported with great promptitude by the reserves of the divisions holding the salient and by a brigade which had been resting in billets.

Throughout the night the enemy's attacks were repulsed, effective counter-

attacks were delivered, and at length touch was gained with the French right, and a new line was formed.

The 2d London Heavy Battery, which had been attached to the Canadian Division, was posted behind the right of the French Division, and, being involved in their retreat, fell into the enemy's hands. It was recaptured by the Canadians in their counter-attack, but the guns could not be withdrawn before the Canadians were again driven back.

During the night I directed the Cavalry Corps and the Northumbrian Division, which was then in general reserve, to move to the west of Ypres, and placed these troops at the disposal of the General Officer Commanding the Second Army. I also directed other reserve troops from the 3d Corps and the First Army to be held in readiness to meet eventualities.

In the confusion of the gas and smoke the Germans succeeded in capturing the bridge at Steenstraate and some works south of Lizerne, all of which were in occupation by the French.

The enemy having thus established himself to the west of the Ypres Canal, I was somewhat apprehensive of his succeeding in driving a wedge between the French and Belgian troops at this point. I directed, therefore, that some of the reinforcements sent north should be used to support and assist General Putz, should he find difficulty in preventing any further advance of the Germans west of the canal.

At about ten o'clock on the morning of the 23d connection was finally ensured between the left of the Canadian Division and the French right, about 800 yards east of the canal; but as this entailed the maintenance by the British troops of a much longer line than that which they had held before the attack commenced on the previous night, there were no reserves available for counter-attack until reinforcements, which were ordered up from the Second Army, were able to deploy to the east of Ypres.

Early on the morning of the 23d I went to see General Foch, and from him I received a detailed account of what had happened, as reported by General Putz. General Foch informed me that it was his intention to make good the original line and regain the trenches which the French Division had lost. He expressed the desire that I should maintain my present line, assuring me that the original position would be re-established in a few days. General Foch further informed me that he had ordered up large French reinforcements, which were now on their way, and that troops from the North had already arrived to reinforce General Putz.

I fully concurred in the wisdom of the General's wish to re-establish our old line, and agreed to co-operate in the way he desired, stipulating, however, that if the position was not re-established within a limited time I could not allow the British troops to remain in so exposed a situation as that which the action of the previous twenty-four hours had compelled them to occupy.

During the whole of the 23d the enemy's artillery was very active, and his attacks all along the front were supported by some heavy guns which had been brought down from the coast in the neighborhood of Ostend.

The loss of the guns on the night of the 22d prevented this fire from being kept down, and much aggravated the situation. Our positions, however, were well maintained by the vigorous counter-attacks made by the 5th Corps.

During the day I directed two brigades of the 3d Corps, and the Lahore Division of the Indian Corps, to be moved up to the Ypres area and placed at the disposal of the Second Army.

In the course of these two or three days many circumstances combined to render the situation east of the Ypres Canal very critical and most difficult to deal with.

The confusion caused by the sudden retirement of the French Division, and the necessity for closing up the gap and checking the enemy's advance at all costs, led to a mixing up of units and a sudden shifting of the areas of command, which was quite unavoidable. Fresh units, as they came up from the South, had to be pushed into the firing line in an area swept by artillery fire,

which, owing to the capture of the French guns, we were unable to keep down.

HEAVY CASUALTIES

All this led to very heavy casualties, and I wish to place on record the deep admiration which I feel for the resource and presence of mind evinced by the leaders actually on the spot.

The parts taken by Major-General Snow and Brigadier-General Hull were reported to me as being particularly marked in this respect.

An instance of this occurred on the afternoon of the 24th, when the enemy succeeded in breaking through the line at St. Julien.

Brigadier-General Hull, acting under the orders of Lieutenant-General Alderson, organized a powerful counter-attack with his own brigade and some of the nearest available units. He was called upon to control, with only his brigade staff, parts of battalions from six separate divisions which were quite new to the ground. Although the attack did not succeed in retaking St. Julien, it effectually checked the enemy's further advance.

It was only on the morning of the 25th that the enemy were able to force back the left of the Canadian Division from the point where it had originally joined the French line.

During the night, and the early morning of the 25th, the enemy directed a heavy attack against the Division at Broodseinde cross-roads, which was supported by a powerful shell fire, but he failed to make any progress.

During the whole of this time the town of Ypres and all the roads to the East and West were uninterruptedly subjected to a violent artillery fire, but in spite of this the supply of both food and ammunition was maintained throughout with order and efficiency.

During the afternoon of the 25th many German prisoners were taken, including some officers. The hand-to-hand fighting was very severe, and the enemy suffered heavy loss.

During the 26th the Lahore Division and a Cavalry Division were pushed up into the fighting line, the former on the right of the French, the latter in support of the 5th Corps.

In the afternoon the Lahore Division, in conjunction with the French right, succeeded in pushing the enemy back some little distance toward the north, but their further advance was stopped owing to the continual employment by the enemy of asphyxiating gas.

On the right of the Lahore Division the Northumberland Infantry Brigade advanced against St. Julien and actually succeeded in entering, and for a time occupying, the southern portion of that village. They were, however, eventually driven back, largely owing to gas, and finally occupied a line a short way to the south. This attack was most successfully and gallantly led by Brigadier-General Riddell, who, I regret to say, was killed during the progress of the operation.

Although no attack was made on the south-eastern side of the salient, the troops operating to the east of Ypres were subjected to heavy artillery fire from this direction, which took some of the battalions, which were advancing north to the attack, in reverse.

Some gallant attempts made by the Lahore Division on the 27th, in conjunction with the French, pushed the enemy further north; but they were partially frustrated by the constant fumes of gas to which they were exposed. In spite of this, however, a certain amount of ground was gained.

The French had succeeded in retaking Lizerne, and had made some progress at Steenstraate and Het Sas; but up to the evening of the 28th no further progress had been made toward the recapture of the original line.

I sent instructions, therefore, to Sir Herbert Plumer, who was now in charge of the operation, to take preliminary measures for the retirement to the new line which had been fixed upon.

STRONG REINFORCEMENTS

On the morning of the 29th I had another interview with General Foch, who informed me that strong reinforce-

COUNT ZEPPELIN

Inventor of the Air-ship that has Still to Demonstrate its Efficiency as an Engine of War

GENERAL ERICH VON FALKENHAYN

Chief of the General Staff of the German Army

(Photo from Ruschin.)

ments were hourly arriving to support General Putz, and urged me to postpone issuing orders for any retirement until the result of his attack, which was timed to commence at daybreak on the 30th, should be known. To this I agreed, and instructed Sir Herbert Plumer accordingly.

No substantial advance having been made by the French, I issued orders to Sir Herbert Plumer at one o'clock on May 1 to commence his withdrawal to the new line.

The retirement was commenced the following night, and the new line was occupied on the morning of May 4.

I am of opinion that this retirement, carried out deliberately with scarcely any loss, and in the face of an enemy in position, reflects the greatest possible credit on Sir Herbert Plumer and those who so efficiently carried out his orders.

The successful conduct of this operation was the more remarkable from the fact that on the evening of May 2, when it was only half completed, the enemy made a heavy attack, with the usual gas accompaniment, on St. Julien and the line to the west of it.

An attack on a line to the east of Fortuin was made at the same time under similar conditions.

In both cases our troops were at first driven from their trenches by gas fumes, but on the arrival of the supporting battalions and two brigades of a cavalry division, which were sent up in support from about Potijze, all the lost trenches were regained at night.

On May 3, while the retirement was still going on, another violent attack was directed on the northern face of the salient. This was also driven back with heavy loss to the enemy.

Further attempts of the enemy during the night of the 3d to advance from the woods west of St. Julien were frustrated entirely by the fire of our artillery.

During the whole of the 4th the enemy heavily shelled the trenches we had evacuated, quite unaware that they were no longer occupied. So soon as the retirement was discovered the Germans commenced to entrench opposite our new line and to advance their guns to new positions. Our artillery, assisted by aeroplanes, caused him considerable loss in carrying out these operations.

Up to the morning of the 8th the enemy made attacks at short intervals, covered by gas, on all parts of the line to the east of Ypres, but was everywhere driven back with heavy loss.

Throughout the whole period since the first break of the line on the night of April 22 all the troops in this area had been constantly subjected to violent artillery bombardment from a large mass of guns with an unlimited supply of ammunition. It proved impossible whilst under so vastly superior fire of artillery to dig efficient trenches, or to properly reorganize the line, after the confusion and demoralization called by the first great gas surprise and the subsequent almost daily gas attacks. Nor was it until after this date (May 8) that effective preventatives had been devised and provided. In these circumstances a violent bombardment of nearly the whole of the 5th Corps front broke out at 7 A. M. on the morning of the 8th, which gradually concentrated on the front of the Division between north and south of Frezenberg. This fire completely obliterated the trenches and caused enormous losses.

The artillery bombardment was shortly followed by a heavy infantry attack, before which our line had to give way.

SIR H. PLUMER'S STORY*

I relate what happened in Sir Herbert Plumer's own words:

"The right of one brigade was broken about 10.15 A. M.; then its centre, and then part of the left of the brigade in the next section to the south. The Princess Patricia's Canadian Light Infantry, however, although suffering very heavily, stuck to their fire or support

* General Sir Herbert Charles Onslow Plumer, K.C.B., was born in 1857. He entered the York and Lancaster Regiment in 1876, and served with distinction in the Sudan and South Africa. He was Q.M.G. and third military member of the Army Council, 1904-5, and commanded the 5th Division Irish Command, 1906-9. He was knighted in 1906.

trenches throughout the day. At this time two battalions were moved to General Headquarters second line astride the Menin road to support and cover the left of their division.

"At 12.25 P. M. the center of a brigade further to the left also broke; its right battalion, however, the 1st Suffolks, which had been refused to cover a gap, still held on, and were apparently surrounded and overwhelmed. Meanwhile, three more battalions had been moved up to reinforce, two other battalions were moved up in support to General Headquarters line and an infantry brigade came up to the grounds of Vlamertinghe Chateau in corps reserve.

"At 11.30 A. M. a small party of Germans attempted to advance against the left of the British line, but were destroyed by the 2d Essex Regiment.

"A counter-attack was launched at 3.30 P. M. by the 1st York and Lancaster Regiment, 3d Middlesex Regiment, 2d East Surrey Regiment, 2d Royal Dublin Fusiliers, and the 1st Royal Warwickshire Regiment. The counter-attack reached Frezenberg, but was eventually driven back and held up on a line running about north and south through Verlorenhoek, despite repeated efforts to advance. The 12th London Regiment on the left succeeded at great cost in reaching the original trench line, and did considerable execution with their machine gun.

"The 7th Argyll and Sutherland Highlanders and the 1st East Lancashire Regiment attacked in a northeasterly direction toward Wieltje, and connected the old trench line with the ground gained by the counter-attack, the line being consolidated during the night.

"During the night orders were received that two Cavalry Divisions would be moved up and placed at the disposal of the 5th Corps, and a Territorial Division would be moved up to be used if required.

"On the 9th the Germans again repeated their bombardment. Very heavy shell fire was concentrated for two hours on the trenches of the 2d Gloucestershire Regiment and 2d Cameron Highlanders, followed by an infantry attack which was successfully repulsed. The Germans again bombarded the salient, and a further attack in the afternoon succeeded in occupying 150 yards of trench. The Gloucesters counter-attacked, but suffered heavily, and the attack failed. The salient being very exposed to shell fire from both flanks, as well as in front, it was deemed advisable not to attempt to retake the trench at night, and a retrenchment was therefore dug across it.

"At 3 P. M. the enemy started to shell the whole front of the center Division, and it was reported that the right Brigade of this Division was being heavily punished, but continued to maintain its line.

"The trenches of the Brigades on the left center were also heavily shelled during the day and attacked by infantry. Both attacks were repulsed.

"On the 10th instant the trenches on either side of the Menin-Ypres road were shelled very severely all the morning. The 2d Cameron Highlanders, 9th Royal Scots, and the 3d and 4th King's Royal Rifles, however, repulsed an attack made, under cover of gas, with heavy loss. Finally, when the trenches had been practically destroyed and a large number of the garrison buried, the 3d King's Royal Rifles and 4th Rifle Brigade fell back to the trenches immediately west of Bellewaarde Wood. So heavy had been the shell fire that the proposal to join up the line with a switch through the wood had to be abandoned, the trees broken by the shells forming an impassable entanglement.

"After a comparatively quiet night and morning (10th-11th) the hostile artillery fire was concentrated on the trenches of the 2d Cameron Highlanders and 1st Argyll and Sutherland Highlanders at a slightly more northern point than on the previous day. The Germans attacked in force and gained a footing in part of the trenches, but were promptly ejected by a supporting company of the 9th Royal Scots. After a second short artillery bombardment the Germans again attacked about 5.15 P.M., but were again repulsed by rifle and machine-gun fire. A third bombardment

followed, and this time the Germans succeeded in gaining a trench—or rather what was left of it—a local counter-attack failing. However, during the night the enemy were again driven out. The trench by this time being practically non-existent, the garrison found it untenable under the very heavy shell fire the enemy brought to bear upon it, and the trench was evacuated. Twice more did the German snipers creep back into it, and twice more they were ejected. Finally, a retrenchment was made, cutting off the salient which had been contested throughout the day. It was won owing solely to the superior weight and number of the enemy's guns, but both our infantry and our artillery took a very heavy toll of the enemy, and the ground lost has proved of little use to the enemy.

"On the remainder of the front the day passed comparatively quietly, though most parts of the line underwent intermittent shelling by guns of various calibers.

"With the assistance of the Royal Flying Corps the 31st Heavy Battery scored a direct hit on a German gun, and the North Midland Heavy Battery got on to some German howitzers with great success.

"With the exception of another very heavy burst of shell fire against the right Division early in the morning the 12th passed uneventfully.

"On the night of the 12th-13th the line was reorganized, the center Division retiring into Army Reserve to rest, and their places being taken in the trenches by the two Cavalry Divisions; the Artillery and Engineers of the center Division forming with them what was known as the 'Cavalry Force,' under the command of General De Lisle.

"On the 13th, the various reliefs having been completed without incident, the heaviest bombardment yet experienced broke out at 4.30 A. M., and continued with little intermission throughout the day. At about 7.45 A. M. the Cavalry Brigade astride the railway, having suffered very severely, and their trenches having been obliterated, fell back about 800 yards. The North Somerset Yeomanry, on the right of the Brigade, although also suffering severely, hung on to their trenches throughout the day, and actually advanced and attacked the enemy with the bayonet. The Brigade on its right also maintained its position; as did also the Cavalry Division, except the left squadron, which, when reduced to sixteen men, fell back. The 2d Essex Regiment, realizing the situation, promptly charged and retook the trench, holding it till relieved by the cavalry. Meanwhile a counter-attack by two cavalry brigades was launched at 2.30 P. M., and succeeded, in spite of very heavy shrapnel and rifle fire, in regaining the original line of trenches, turning out the Germans who had entered it, and in some cases pursuing them for some distance. But a very heavy shell fire was again opened on them, and they were again compelled to retire to an irregular line in rear, principally the craters of shell holes. The enemy in their counter-attack suffered very severe losses.

"The fighting in other parts of the line was little less severe. The 1st East Lancashire Regiment were shelled out of their trenches, but their support company and the 2d Essex Regiment, again acting on their own initiative, won them back. The enemy penetrated into the farm at the north-east corner of the line, but the 1st Rifle Brigade, after a severe struggle, expelled them. The 1st Hampshire Regiment also repelled an attack, and killed every German who got within fifty yards of their trenches. The 5th London Regiment, despite very heavy casualties, maintained their position unfalteringly. At the southern end of the line the left brigade was once again heavily shelled, as indeed was the whole front. At the end of a very hard day's fighting, our line remained in its former position, with the exception of the short distance lost by one cavalry division. Later, the line was pushed forward, and a new line was dug in a less exposed position, slightly in rear of that originally held. The night passed quietly.

"Working parties of from 1,200 to 1,800 men have been found every night by a Territorial Division and other units

for work on rear lines of defence, in addition to the work performed by the garrisons in reconstructing the front line trenches which were daily destroyed by shell fire.

"The work performed by the Royal Flying Corps has been invaluable. Apart from the hostile aeroplanes actually destroyed, our airmen have prevented a great deal of aerial reconnaissance by the enemy, and have registered a large number of targets with our artillery.

"There have been many cases of individual gallantry. As instances, may be given the following:

"During one of the heavy attacks made against our infantry gas was seen rolling forward from the enemy's trenches. Private Lynn, of the 2d Lancashire Fusiliers, at once rushed to the machine-gun without waiting to adjust his respirator. Single-handed he kept his gun in action the whole time the gas was rolling over, actually hoisting it on the parapet to get a better field of fire. Although nearly suffocated by the gas, he poured a stream of lead into the advancing enemy and checked their attack. He was carried to his dug-out, but, hearing another attack was imminent, he tried to get back to his gun. Twenty-four hours later he died in great agony from the effects of the gas.

"A young subaltern in a cavalry regiment went forward alone one afternoon to reconnoiter. He got into a wood 1,200 yards in front of our lines, which he found occupied by Germans, and came back with the information that the enemy had evacuated a trench and were digging another — information which proved most valuable to the artillery as well as to his own unit.

"A patrol of two officers and a non-commissioned officer of the 1st Cambridgeshires went out one night to reconnoiter a German trench 350 yards away. Creeping along the parapet of the trench they heard sounds indicating the presence of six or seven of the enemy. Further on they heard deep snores apparently proceeding from a dug-out immediately beneath them. Although they knew that the garrison of the trench outnumbered them they decided to procure an identification. Unfortunately in pulling out a clasp knife with which to cut off the sleeper's identity disc, one of the officer's revolvers went off. A conversation in agitated whispers broke out in the German trench, but the patrol crept safely away, the garrison being too startled to fire.

"Despite the very severe shelling to which the troops had been subjected, which obliterated trenches and caused very many casualties, the spirit of all ranks remains excellent. The enemy's losses, particularly on May 10 and 13, have unquestionably been serious. On the latter day they evacuated trenches (in face of the cavalry counter-attack) in which were afterwards found quantities of equipment and some of their own wounded. The enemy have been seen stripping our dead, and on three occasions men in khaki have been seen advancing."

JOINT BRITISH AND FRENCH ATTACKS

The fight went on by the exchange of desultory shell and rifle fire, but without any remarkable incident until the morning of May 24. During this period, however, the French on our left had attained considerable success. On May 15 they captured Steenstraate and the trenches in Het Sas, and on May 16 they drove the enemy headlong over the canal, finding 2,000 German dead. On May 17 they made a substantial advance on the east side of the canal, and on May 20 they repelled a German counter-attack, making a further advance in the same direction, and taking 100 prisoners.

On the early morning of May 24 a violent outburst of gas against nearly the whole front was followed by heavy shell fire, and the most determined attack was delivered against our position east of Ypres.

The hour the attack commenced was 2.45 A. M. A large proportion of the men were asleep, and the attack was too sudden to give them time to put on their respirators.

The 2d Royal Irish and the 9th Argyll and Sutherland Highlanders, overcome

by gas fumes, were driven out of a farm held in front of the left Division, and this the enemy proceeded to hold and fortify.

All attempts to retake this farm during the day failed, and during the night of May 24-25 the General Officer Commanding the left Division decided to take up a new line which, although slightly in rear of the old one, he considered to be a much better position. This operation was successfully carried out.

Throughout the day the whole line was subjected to one of the most violent artillery attacks which it had ever undergone; and the 5th Corps and the Cavalry Divisions engaged had to fight hard to maintain their positions. On the following day, however, the line was consolidated, joining the right of the French at the same place as before, and passing through Wieltje (which was strongly fortified) in a southerly direction on to Hooge, where the cavalry have since strongly occupied the chateau, and pushed our line further east.

In pursuance of a promise which I made to the French Commander-in-Chief to support an attack which his troops were making on May 9 between the right of my line and Arras, I directed Sir Douglas Haig to carry out on that date an attack on the German trenches in the neighborhood of Rougebanc (north-west of Fromelles) by the 4th Corps, and between Neuve Chapelle and Givenchy by the 1st and Indian Corps.

The bombardment of the enemy's positions commenced at 5 A. M.

Half an hour later the 8th Division of the 4th Corps captured the first line of German trenches about Rougebanc, and some detachments seized a few localities beyond this line. It was soon found, however, that the position was much stronger than had been anticipated and that a more extensive artillery preparation was necessary to crush the resistance offered by his numerous fortified posts.

Throughout May 9 and 10 repeated efforts were made to make further progress. Not only was this found to be impossible, but the violence of the enemy's machine-gun fire from his posts on the flanks rendered the captured trenches so difficult to hold that all the units of the 4th Corps had to retire to their original position by the morning of May 10.

GENERAL PLAN OF ATTACK

The 1st and Indian Divisions south of Neuve Chapelle met with no greater success, and on the evening of May 10 I sanctioned Sir Douglas Haig's proposal to concentrate all our available resources on the southern point of attack.

The 7th Division was moved round from the 4th Corps area to support this attack, and I directed the General Officer Commanding the First Army to delay it long enough to insure a powerful and deliberate artillery preparation.

The operations of May 9 and 10 formed part of a general plan of attack which the Allies were conjointly conducting on a line extending from the north of Arras to the south of Armentieres; and, although immediate progress was not made during this time by the British forces, their attack assisted in securing the brilliant successes attained by the French forces on their right, not only by holding the enemy in their front, but by drawing off a part of the German reinforcements which were coming up to support their forces east of Arras.

On May 15 I moved the Canadian Division into the 1st Corps area and placed them at the disposal of Sir Douglas Haig.

The infantry of the Indian Corps and the 2d Division of the 1st Corps advanced to the attack of the enemy's trenches which extended from Richebourg L'Avoué in a south-westerly direction.

Before daybreak the 2d Division had succeeded in capturing two lines of the enemy's trenches, but the Indian Corps were unable to make any progress owing to the strength of the enemy's defenses in the neighborhood of Richebourg L'Avoué.

BATTLE OF FESTUBERT

At daybreak the 7th Division, on the night of the 2d, advanced to the attack, and by 7 A. M. had entrenched them-

selves on a line running nearly north and south, halfway between their original trenches and La Quinque Rue, having cleared and captured several lines of the enemy's trenches, including a number of fortified posts.

As it was found impossible for the Indian Corps to make any progress in face of the enemy's defenses, Sir Douglas Haig directed the attack to be suspended at this point and ordered the Indian Corps to form a defensive flank.

The remainder of the day was spent in securing and consolidating positions which had been won, and endeavoring to unite the inner flanks of the 7th and 2d Divisions, which were separated by trenches and posts strongly held by the enemy.

Various attempts which were made throughout the day to secure this object had not succeeded at nightfall in driving the enemy back.

The German communications leading to the rear of their positions were systematically shelled throughout the night.

About 200 prisoners were captured on May 16.

Fighting was resumed at daybreak; and by eleven o'clock the 7th Division had made a considerable advance, capturing several more of the enemy's trenches. The task allotted to this Division was to push on in the direction of Rue D'Ouvert, Chateau St. Roch and Canteleux.

The 2d Division was directed to push on when the situation permitted toward the Rue de Marais and Violaines.

The Indian Division was ordered to extend its front far enough to enable it to keep touch with the left of the 2d Division when they advanced.

On this day I gave orders for the 51st (Highland) Division to move into the neighborhood of Estaires to be ready to support the operations of the First Army.

At about noon the enemy was driven out of the trenches and posts which he occupied between the two Divisions, the inner flanks of which were thus enabled to join hands.

By nightfall the 2d and 7th Divisions had made good progress, the area of captured ground being considerably extended to the right by the successful operations of the latter.

The state of the weather on the morning of May 18 much hindered an effective artillery bombardment, and further attacks had, consequently, to be postponed.

Infantry attacks were made throughout the line in the course of the afternoon and evening, but, although not very much progress was made, the line was advanced to the La Quinque Rue-Bethune Road before nightfall.

On May 19 the 7th and 2d Divisions were drawn out of the line to rest. The 7th Division was relieved by the Canadian Division and the 2d Division by the 51st (Highland) Division.

Sir Douglas Haig placed the Canadian and 51st Divisions, together with the artillery of the 2d and 7th Divisions, under the command of Lieutenant-General Alderson, whom he directed to conduct the operations which had hitherto been carried on by the General Officer Commanding First Corps; and he directed the 7th Division to remain in Army Reserve.

During the night of May 19-20 a small post of the enemy in front of La Quinque Rue was captured.

During the night of May 20-21 the Canadian Division brilliantly carried on the excellent progress made by the 7th Division by seizing several of the enemy's trenches and pushing forward their whole line several hundred yards. A number of prisoners and some machine guns were captured.

On May 22 the 51st (Highland) Division was attached to the Indian Corps, and the General Officer Commanding the Indian Corps took charge of the operations at La Quinque Rue, Lieutenant-General Alderson with the Canadians conducting the operations to the north of that place.

On this day the Canadian Division extended their line slightly to the right and repulsed three very severe hostile counter-attacks.

On May 24 and 25 the 47th Division (2d London Territorial) succeeded in taking some more of the enemy's

trenches and making good the ground gained to the east and north.

I had now reason to consider that the battle, which was commenced by the First Army on May 9 and renewed on May 16, having attained for the moment the immediate object I had in view, should not be further actively proceeded with; and I gave orders to Sir Douglas Haig to curtail his artillery attack and to strengthen and consolidate the ground he had won.

In the battle of Festubert above described the enemy was driven from a position which was strongly entrenched and fortified, and ground was won on a front of four miles to an average depth of 600 yards.

The enemy is known to have suffered very heavy losses, and in the course of the battle 785 prisoners and ten machine guns were captured. A number of machine guns were also destroyed by our fire.

During the period under report the Army under my command has taken over trenches occupied by some other French divisions.

I am much indebted to General D'Urbal, commanding the 10th French Army, for the valuable and efficient support received throughout the battle of Festubert from three groups of French 75 centimetre guns.

In spite of very unfavorable weather conditions, rendering observation most difficult, our own artillery did excellent work throughout the battle.

As an instance of the successful attempts to deceive the enemy in this respect it may be mentioned that on the afternoon of May 24 a bombardment of about an hour was carried out by the 6th Division with the object of distracting attention from the Ypres salient.

Considerable damage was done to the enemy's parapets and wire; and that the desired impression was produced on the enemy is evident from the German wireless news on that day, which stated, "West of Lille the English attempts to attack were nipped in the bud."

I have much pleasure in again expressing my warm appreciation of the admirable manner in which all branches of the Medical Services now in the field, under the direction of Surgeon-General Sir Arthur Sloggett, have met and dealt with the many difficult situations resulting from the operations during the last two months.

The medical units at the front were frequently exposed to the enemy's fire, and many casualties occurred amongst the officers of the regimental Medical Service. At all times the officers, non-commissioned officers and men, and nurses carried out their duties with fearless bravery and great devotion to the welfare of the sick and wounded.

The whole organization of the Medical Services reflects the highest credit on all concerned.

I have once more to call your Lordship's attention to the part taken by the Royal Flying Corps in the general progress of the campaign, and I wish particularly to mention the invaluable assistance they rendered in the operations described in this report, under the able direction of Major-General Sir David Henderson.

The Royal Flying Corps is becoming more and more an indispensable factor in combined operations. In co-operation with the artillery, in particular, there has been continuous improvement both in the methods and in the technical material employed. The ingenuity and technical skill displayed by the officers of the Royal Flying Corps in effecting this improvement have been most marked.

Since my last dispatch there has been a considerable increase both in the number and in the activity of German aeroplanes in our front. During this period there have been more than sixty combats in the air, in which not one British aeroplane has been lost. As these flights take place almost invariably over or behind the German lines, only one hostile aeroplane has been brought down in our territory. Five more, however, have been definitely wrecked behind their own lines, and many have been chased down and forced to land in most unsuitable ground.

In spite of the opposition of hostile aircraft, and the great number of anti-

aircraft guns employed by the enemy, air reconnaissance has been carried out with regularity and accuracy.

I desire to bring to your Lordship's notice the assistance given by the French military authorities, and in particular by General Hirschauer, Director of the French Aviation Service, and his assistants, Colonel Bottieaux and Colonel Stammler, in the supply of aeronautical material, without which the efficiency of the Royal Flying Corps would have been seriously impaired.

In this dispatch I wish again to remark upon the exceptionally good work done throughout this campaign by the Army Service Corps and by the Army Ordnance Department, not only in the field, but also on the lines of communication and at the base ports.

To foresee and meet the requirements in the matter of ammunition, stores, equipment, supplies, and transport has entailed on the part of the officers, noncommissioned officers and men of these services a sustained effort which has never been relaxed since the beginning of the war, and which has been rewarded by the most conspicuous success.

The close co-operation of the Railway Transport Department, whose excellent work, in combination with the French Railway Staff, has ensured the regularity of the maintenance services, has greatly contributed to this success.

The degree of efficiency to which these services have been brought was well demonstrated in the course of the second battle of Ypres.

The roads between Poperinghe and Ypres, over which transport, supply and ammunition columns had to pass, were continually searched by hostile heavy artillery during the day and night; whilst the passage of the canal through the town of Ypres, and along the roads east of that town, could only be effected under most difficult and dangerous conditions as regards hostile shell fire. Yet, throughout the whole five or six weeks during which these conditions prevailed the work was carried on with perfect order and efficiency.

THE "NEW" BRITISH ARMY

Since the date of my last report some divisions of the "New" Army have arrived in this country.

I made a close inspection of one division, formed up on parade, and have at various times seen several units belonging to others.

These divisions have as yet had very little experience in actual fighting; but, judging from all I have seen, I am of opinion that they ought to prove a valuable addition to any fighting force.

As regards the infantry, their physique is excellent, whilst their bearing and appearance on parade reflects great credit on the officers and staffs responsible for their training. The units appear to be thoroughly well officered and commanded. The equipment is in good order and efficient.

Several units of artillery have been tested in the firing line behind the trenches, and I hear very good reports of them. Their shooting has been extremely good, and they are quite fit to take their places in the line.

The Pioneer Battalions have created a very favorable impression, the officers being keen and ingenious, and the men of good physique and good diggers. The equipment is suitable. The training in field works has been good, but, generally speaking, they require the assistance of Regular Royal Engineers as regards laying out of important works. Man for man in digging the battalions should do practically the same amount of work as an equivalent number of sappers, and in riveting, entanglements, etc., a great deal more than the ordinary infantry battalions.

During the months of April and May several divisions of the Territorial Force joined the Army under my command.

Experience has shown that these troops have now reached a standard of efficiency which enables them to be usefully employed in complete divisional units.

Several divisions have been so employed; some in the trenches, others in the various offensive and defensive operations reported in this dispatch.

In whatever kind of work these units have been engaged, they have all borne an active and distinguished part, and have proved themselves thoroughly reliable and efficient.

The opinion I have expressed in former dispatches as to the use and value of the Territorial Force has been fully justified by recent events.

The Prime Minister was kind enough to accept an invitation from me to visit the Army in France, and arrived at my Headquarters on May 30.

Mr. Asquith made an exhaustive tour of the front, the hospitals and all the administrative arrangements made by Corps Commanders for the health and comfort of men behind the trenches.

It was a great encouragement to all ranks to see the Prime Minister amongst them; and the eloquent words which on several occasions he addressed to the troops had a most powerful and beneficial effect.

As I was desirous that the French Commander-in-Chief should see something of the British troops, I asked General Joffre to be kind enough to inspect a division on parade.

The General accepted my invitation, and on May 27 he inspected the 7th Division, under the command of Major-General H. de la P. Gough, C.B., which was resting behind the trenches.

General Joffre subsequently expressed to me in a letter the pleasure it gave him to see the British troops, and his appreciation of their appearance on parade. He requested me to make this known to all ranks.

The Moderator of the Church of Scotland, the Right Rev. Dr. Wallace Williamson, Dean of the Order of the Thistle, visited the Army in France between May 7 and 17, and made a tour of the Scottish regiments with excellent results.

In spite of the constant strain put upon them by the arduous nature of the fighting which they are called upon to carry out daily and almost hourly, the spirit which animates all ranks of the Army in France remains high and confident.

They meet every demand made upon them with the utmost cheerfulness.

This splendid spirit is particularly manifested by the men in hospital, even amongst those who are mortally wounded.

The invariable question which comes from lips hardly able to utter a sound is, "How are things going on at the front?"

In conclusion, I desire to bring to your Lordship's special notice the valuable services rendered by General Sir Douglas Haig in his successful handling of the troops of the First Army throughout the Battle of Festubert, and Lieutenant-General Sir Herbert Plumer for his fine defence of Ypres throughout the arduous and difficult operations during the latter part of April and the month of May.

I have the honor to be your Lordship's most obedient servant,

J. D. P. FRENCH,
Field-Marshal, Commanding-in-Chief, the British Army in France.

France's "Eyewitness" Reports

HILGENFIRST

The following details published in Paris on July 11 by an official "Eyewitness" with the French army of the desperate fighting which resulted in the capture of the summit of Hilgenfirst, more than 3,000 feet high, in the Langenfeldkopf region, in the Vosges Mountains, are given in an account of the struggle written by an official eyewitness with the French army.

In the fight for the capture of the eminence of Hilgenfirst, one company of our advance guard which forced a breach in the German lines was cut off from its battalion as the result of a

German counter-attack. This company, nevertheless, succeeded in maintaining the conquered position four days until finally relieved.

On June 14 the Sixth Company of the Seventh Battalion crawled from its trenches and deployed toward a clearing in the woods opposite. It then charged, taking the German trenches. The Germans fled to the woods, leaving a quick-firer. Our men immediately began fortifying the position, but our sentries reported that German patrols had been seen encircling the French. Other companies were ordered forward immediately to support the one in the trench.

Meanwhile large German reinforcements had been brought up, making it impossible to reach our men. The captain in the trench, realizing that he was surrounded, ordered some of his men to form a hollow square and defend the position while others dug trenches on four sides. The Germans attacked in great force with quick firers and rifles, but withdrew at nightfall after a battle lasting two hours. Our men defending the position numbered 137, including five officers. One officer and twenty-seven men were wounded.

The following day, despite a well-directed fire from our main positions, the Germans again attacked in large numbers, advancing in columns of four. The situation now began to look critical, but at the crucial moment a hail of shrapnel from our 75.8 completely decimated one advancing column. The edge of the wood out of which the column advanced was piled high with German bodies and the remainder of the force scattered in flight.

In the afternoon the Germans again prepared for an attack, but the attempt was frustrated by our infantry fire. During the night the captain told off men to rest in squads, the others being constantly on the alert. At dawn a second lieutenant and a few men surprised a small German scouting detachment of twenty men commanded by a non-commissioned officer. Our men threw themselves upon the Germans, killing the officer and two men, the others taking to their heels at top speed.

At 10 o'clock the main body of our troops succeeded in establishing communications with the isolated company which called for help in the provincial dialect. We answered that we would attack at nightfall, but that the attack would be preceded by a heavy bombardment.

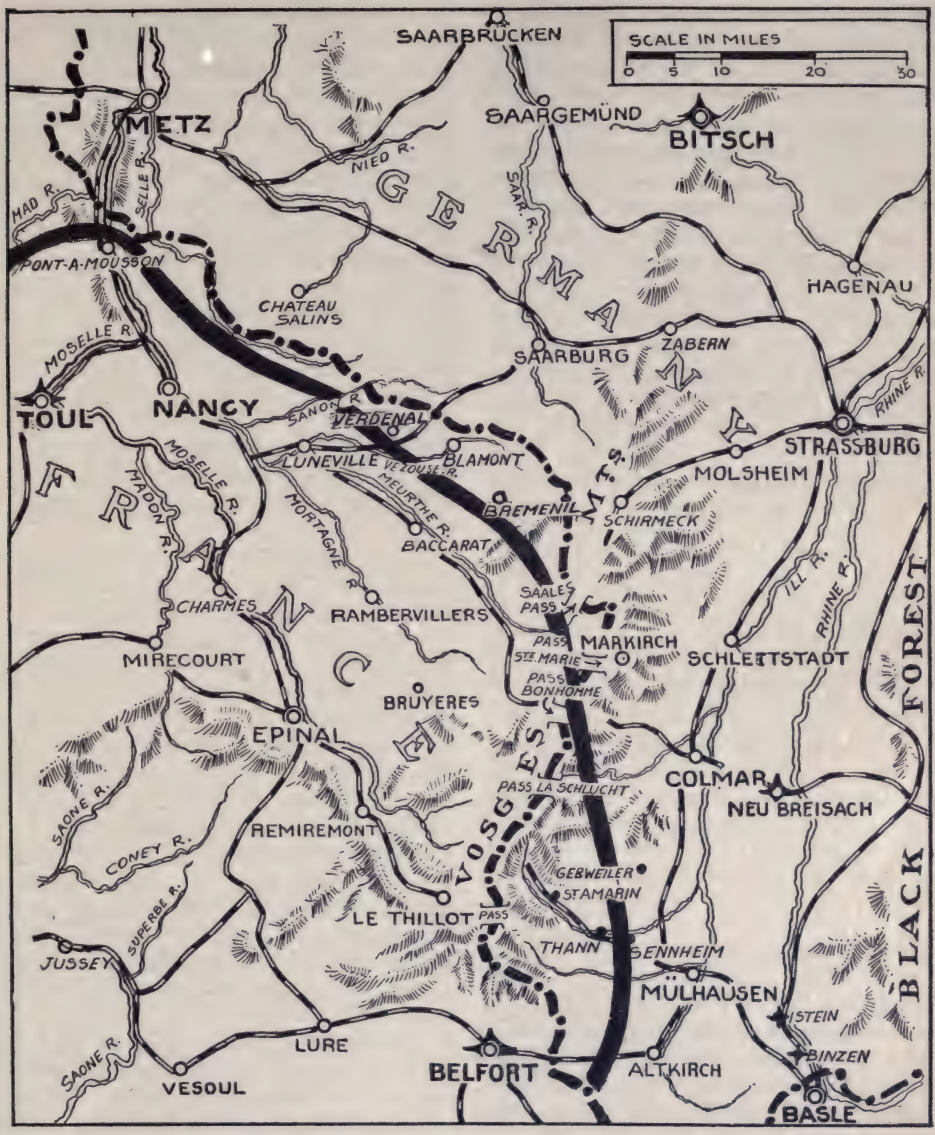
Accordingly, they constructed heavy bomb-proof shelters on the four sides of the square and anxiously waited. At 9 o'clock the attack was begun with artillery, quick firers and rifles, but it was insufficient to drive out the Germans, who had in the meanwhile established well-protected trenches and, with an excellent telephone system, made any surprise movement impossible.

The company's rations were now becoming very low. Delirious cries of the wounded added to the discomfiture of the men. The following morning a German patrol tried to take the position by storm, and some of the men succeeded even in mounting the parapet. These were driven off by a quick firer which had been captured from the Germans. On other advancing troops of the enemy huge boulders, dug from the hillside, were rolled down and we succeeded in dispersing the attack.

Another attack was prepared by us for that night, but the danger was great on account of the narrowness of the position occupied by the company. The captain of the company was ordered to light fires at the opposite ends of his position, so that our artillery could better regulate its fire, as there was great danger of killing our own men.

The artillery opened a crushing fire, and the Germans began to retreat. As they passed the company's position their men were mowed down by the exactness of the fire of our troops, and finally the brave company was delivered.

The general in command of the army in the Vosges said, in complimenting the men for their bravery, the company henceforth should be called "Company Sid Ibrahim."



Battle line in the Vosges, July 20

BATTLE OF FONTENELLE

The official French "Eyewitness" at the front reported on July 18 giving details of the French success in the battle of Fontenelle, in the Vosges. The scene of the conflict is in the neighborhood of the village of Senones and the forest of Ormont, and the ground is described as undulating and cut by deep ravines.

It was in this region, says the observer, that the Germans, after the battle of the Marne, took up a position on a summit commanding the surrounding countryside. This hill was Height 627, which is known as Fontenelle.

On June 22, after severe losses, the enemy succeeded in occupying Fontenelle, says the observer. Although we counter-attacked vigorously, taking

142 prisoners, the enemy held the summit. General Van Kuderzen, in a report dated July 3, said that after a careful inspection of the German works and trenches he finally believed that the hill had been transformed into an impregnable fortress, and that its capture would necessitate tremendous losses.

On July 8 all necessary preparations for the attack had been completed. The same day, at nightfall, three columns, aided by a remarkably accurate artillery fire, took a portion of the enemy's trenches. In the center we also attacked, forcing the enemy to the west of Launois in ten minutes. The attack on the left proceeded more slowly, but, aided by gathering darkness, we took possession of the northwestern portion of the hill.

At daybreak not only the whole of the summit had been retaken, but a majority of the German defenses as far as the road from Launois to Moyen-Moutier. Thanks to our artillery, all preparations for counter-attacks were immediately stopped.

During the battles of July 8 and 9 we took 881 prisoners, including 21 officers. When questioned the prisoners gave great praise to our excellent artillery marksmanship, saying: "We did not believe there could be such a hell of fire."

BETWEEN BETHUNE AND ARRAS

An Associated Press dispatch dated on the heights of Notre Dame de Lorette, near Arras, July 10, *gave the following account of the* 120 *days' fight ended successfully by the use of high explosives:*

After fighting 120 days for the hill country between Bethune and Arras, the French forces are in possession of all the eminences looking out upon the plain of Flanders. Lille, Douai, and Chambrai all are visible from here.

Every position along the broad national road between Arras and Bethune has been won except Souchez, and last night another quarter mile of trenches in the Souchez web was torn away. The attack was made under parachute rocket lights, the French burning bluish white and the Germans greenish white, covering the scene of the desperate conflict with a ghastly glow.

The most desperate fighting has been along the short ten-mile front from Arras to Aix-Noulette, which began March 9 with the taking of a few hundred yards of trenches on the watershed of Notre Dame de Lorette, where there are the ruins of an old Merovingian military road. Every day since then some section of the German trenches has been taken, lost, or retaken.

Each side has been employing formidable artillery both of small and heavy calibre, the French guns being somewhat more numerous and served with unlimited quantities of high explosive shells.

A correspondent of The Associated Press today went through five or six miles of the trenches formerly held by the Germans and reconstructed by the French, who now have abandoned them to move forward. Upward of 100,000 Germans have fallen or been captured in these trenches, according to the French official count, since the second week of March. The French losses, the correspondent was confidentially informed, while serious, have been much smaller than those of the Germans. There are thickets of little crosses made of twigs tied together, marking the graves between the trenches. Some of these graves have been torn up by the shell fire.

Almost every square yard of this region is marked by miniature craters caused by exploding shells. Spots where shells penetrated the earth without exploding are indicated by signs bearing the words "Live Shell."

One line of the German works was just below the summit of a steep slope which, from the nature of the ground, could not be shelled without danger to the French position a little higher up. The Germans were sheltered in dugouts under the hillside, and their French assailants, sliding or jumping down into the trenches, were shot or bayoneted from caves. The line was finally taken by tossing grenades by the bas-

ketful into the trenches until most of the defenders in the concaved shelters were killed or wounded. Every curve or angle in the miles of labyrinthine cuttings has its story of tragedy and heroism.

In the party which went over this ground and into the firing trenches within calling distance of the German lines with The Associated Press correspondent were Owen Johnson, Arnold Bennett, Walter Hale and George H. Mair, the last representing the British Foreign Office. As they approached the lines one shell from a four-inch gun burst within twenty-five yards of them, while others exploded only thirty or forty yards away. This incident seemed greatly to amuse the soldiers in the trenches, who laughed heartily at the embarrassment of the civilians.

The visitors were invited by the soldiers into their shelters, which are dry caves with narrow entrances and with clay floors covered with matting or sacking and faintly illuminated by the light which filters in from the entrance or by bits of candle on the inside. Men who had been on duty throughout the night were sleeping in these caves.

The men on the firing line express the utmost confidence that what was done yesterday and this morning they can keep on doing until the war has been won. They never hear the vague, unverified reports circulated in Paris, sometimes of tremendous and impossible victories, sometimes sinister hints of disaster. They know what they have done since March 9, when they were ordered to act on this part of the Aisne. They talk as a matter of course of another winter campaign, because, they say, it will take another year to break the German power.

ARRAS' GRASS-GROWN STREETS

An Associated Press dispatch of July 9 from Arras via Paris reads:

Shells have been dropping into Arras at intervals today, as they have been for 250 days. Each twenty-four hours a few more buildings crumple or burn, although the Fire Department still is efficient in extinguishing flames.

One thousand civilians out of a former population of 35,000 are still here. There were 4,000 in December when The Associated Press correspondent first visited the town. A few scores of the inhabitants have been killed or wounded, while the others have been persuaded by the military authorities to go away. None of those remaining thinks of sleeping anywhere except in a cellar. The rest of their time they spend out of doors, when no shells are falling.

The streets, which formerly were filled with traffic, are now grassgrown. Two postmen deliver the mail, which comes regularly once a day by military post. Several shops located underground are open for business. Displayed on cellar doors are baskets of fresh vegetables, which can be bought at about the same prices as in Paris. Inside the principal grocery are many standard brands of American, French, and British canned goods.

About half the outer walls of the beautiful City Hall are still standing, but there remains only one jagged corner of the imposing belfry which once adorned the great square of Arras. A citizen occupying a cellar on the other side of the square counted the shells which struck the belfry, and says it took 360 to shatter the beautiful bit of architecture.

ARRAS CATHEDRAL

An Associated Press dispatch from Paris dated July 13 reports:

Since June 27 the Germans have systematically bombarded various parts of Arras with projectiles of all calibres, says an official communication given out today by the French War Department.

On June 27 the bombardment was extremely violent and was executed by six-inch, eight-inch and seventeen-inch guns, between the hours of 8 A. M. and 2 P. M., and between 6 P. M. and 7:30 P. M. The fire was directed particularly at the citadel and neighboring streets.

On July 3, toward 6:30 o'clock in the

evening, a further bombardment took place in which incendiary shells were used, and they started a most violent fire.

On July 5 at 4:30 P. M., the statement continues, the enemy recommenced its bombardment of the city, concentrating its fire upon the environs of the cathedral, more especially upon St. Vaast, the ancient Bishop's palace, which had been transformed into a museum. Incendiary shells set the building on fire, and the use of fuse shells from three-inch and four-inch guns prevented our organizing to combat the fire, which soon assumed great proportions and completely destroyed the palace. During the night there was an intermittent bombardment.

On July 6, about 7 A. M., shells fell on the Cathedral, the roof of which took fire, and, despite the efforts of our troops, was entirely consumed, as were the Cathedral organs.

The departmental archives, which had been deposited in the Palace of St. Vaast, had been placed in the cellar of the palace before the bombardment and were saved. The sacred ornaments and part of the furnishings in the Cathedral were removed.

IN THE FECHT VALLEY

The French official "Eyewitness" reported on July 15 the French victory in the battle of Metzeral in upper Alsace, as follows:

The operations by which our troops captured the towns of Metzeral and Sondernach, which are situated in the Fecht Valley, have been remarkable because of the means employed and the results obtained, and as the Alpine troops have been forced to surmount all possible difficulties.

Metzeral, the eyewitness explains, is situated in a valley surrounded by high hills, the sides of which dropped precipitously down to the Fecht region. On these hills was stationed artillery, to the rear of which, within easy access, large reinforcements could be massed and brought to the front when needed. He continued:

From prisoners we learned that the Germans considered their position impregnable. It was surrounded by several lines of trenches and barbed wire entanglements. We made long preparations for the attack, concentrating troops and bringing supplies up the Vosges through winding, narrow, and hastily constructed roads, twenty miles in length. New trenches were dug, mines laid, and various other details attended to.

On June 15, after prolonged and heavy artillery fire on both sides of the valley, the attack was begun against Hill 830, on which we captured trenches situated on the slopes, taking two companies prisoners. A portion of the trenches on Braunkopf also fell into our hands.

At Eichwald we gained less, as here the German fortifications were strongest. At Anlass, also, although many grenades were thrown, the fortifications were of such a character as to make it impossible to break through.

On the day following the attack was resumed, with the purpose of gaining us all the positions on Braunkopf and Hill 830. We began at this point to encircle Eichwald, as the road to Metzeral now lay open. The Germans remained at Anlass, where our attack always stopped, and with their fire across the valley on Braunkopf made it impossible for us to proceed.

All our efforts were now concentrated on Anlass. We attacked on June 18 and 19, and on the 20th the German positions fell into our hands. Our troops continued on down the valley, capturing 6 officers, 11 non-commissioned officers, and 140 men.

An attack directed at the same time against Winterhagel, situated to the south of Anlass, was marked by a sad incident. A small group of chasseurs who succeeded in breaking through the barbed-wire entanglements found themselves under a crossfire of quick-firers. The men tried to construct a shelter with the tools they carried. The Germans cried "Surrender!" Not one man answered. The quick-fierers accomplished their work, and the men were

found lying with faces to the ground, as if they had dropped when drawn up in line for parade.

Our attacks were now centred on Metzeral. The factory at Steinbruck was taken on the night of June 17, and a battalion entered Altenkof the day following. On June 21 our men came down from Braunkopf, surrounded the village on the north, and took the railway station. The Germans in Metzeral, threatened with capture, placed quick-firers in several houses to protect their retreat and prepared to set the place on fire. Our artillery quickly demolished the houses in which German artillery had been placed, and our troops entered the flaming streets from the north and west. The village was burned.

On the two following nights, while our troops harassed the retreating enemy, Winterhagel and Sondernach fell into our hands and our line was established along the length of the valley of the Fecht as far as Sondernach.

The action resulted in the capture of 20 officers, 53 non-commissioned officers, and 638 men.

The Crown Prince in the Argonne

An Associated Press dispatch from Paris stated on June 30 that the German attempt to divert the attention of the French from the latter's offensive in the region north of Arras has been productive of gains in the Argonne, where a three-days' bombardment of the French trenches was followed by the capture of French positions near Bagatelle. Elsewhere, particularly on the Yser, to the north of Arras, north of Verdun and near Metzeral in Alsace, there have been artillery exchanges without notable results.

The dispatch recorded the following French official communication, issued June 30:

In the Argonne, after a bombardment lasting three days, the Germans attacked our positions on the road between Binarville and Le Four de Paris, but were twice repulsed. They succeeded only in their third attack in gaining a foothold in some parts of our lines near Bagatelle, and they were everywhere else thrown back after a violent engagement.

There has been a bombardment on the front north of Verdun, in the Bois d'Ailly, as well as in the region of Metzeral.

On July 4 Berlin's official report said:

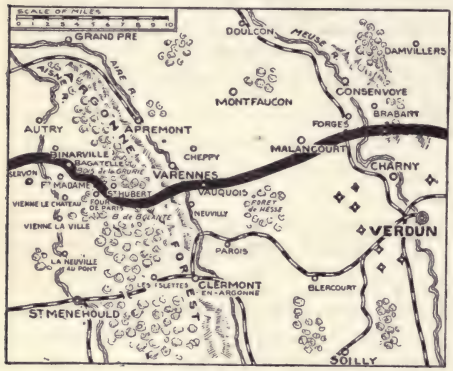
In the Argonne the Germans continue their offensive. Our booty has increased considerably, and amounted on July 1 and 2 to 2,556 prisoners—among them 37 officers—25 machine guns, 72 mine throwers, and one revolver gun.

It was reported from London on July 14 that the attack of the German Crown Prince's army in the Argonne, having for its objective the investment of the French forts of the Verdun area, had resulted in an advance of two-thirds of a mile and the capture of 2,581 prisoners and several pieces of artillery, according to German official reports. A communiqué issued in Paris, while admitting the German success, asserts that nowhere did the assailants gain more than a quarter of a mile and announces that the Crown Prince's offensive had been definitely checked.

Following is the text of the German official statement of July 14:

In the Argonne a German attack resulted in complete success northeast of Vienne-le-Château. Our troops took by storm the enemy positions in the hills extending over a width of three kilometers (about a mile and three-quarters) and a depth of one kilometer. Hill No. 285, La Fille Morte, is in our possession. Two thousand five hundred and eighty-one uninjured prisoners, including fifty-one officers, fell into our

hands. In addition, 300 wounded were taken under our care. Two field cannon, two revolver cannon, six machine guns, and a large quantity of tools were captured. Our troops advanced as far as the positions of the French artillery and rendered eight cannon useless. These are now standing between the French and German lines.



Scene of the German Crown Prince's drive in the Argonne.

The official statement issued at Berlin on July 15 *says:*

The French made repeated attempts yesterday, which lasted into the night, to recapture the positions we took from them in the Forest of Argonne. Notwithstanding the employment of large quantities of ammunition and of strong forces recently brought up, all their attacks broke down. In many places there was bitter fighting with hand grenades and encounters at close quarters.

The enemy paid for his unsuccessful efforts with extraordinarily heavy losses. The number of French prisoners has been increased to 68 officers and 3,688 men.

The success of our troops was all the more remarkable as, according to corresponding statements made by prisoners, the French had prepared for a great attack against our positions on the Argonne front on July 14, their national festival day.

The text of the German official statement published July 16 *is as follows:*

French attacks delivered yesterday and the day before to the west of the Argonne Forest failed in the face of the North German Landwehr, who inflicted large and sanguinary losses on the enemy in bitter hand-to-hand fighting. We captured 462 prisoners.

Since June 20 our troops have fought continually in the Argonne and to the west of that forest, with the exception of short interruptions. In addition to the gain in territory and booty in materials a total of 116 officers and 7,009 French prisoners has been reached up to the present.

On our front which joins the Argonne to the east, lively artillery battles are in progress. Attacks made by the enemy in this region were repulsed without difficulty.

In a dispatch from Berlin, dated July 16, *by Wireless to Sayville, N. Y., it is reported that in the news items given out by the Overseas News Agency was the following:*

German military tacticians point out that the German victory in the Forest of Argonne, in France, is of special importance, as it shows that the connections toward Western France are gradually being cut.

The large amount of war materials captured by the Germans in the last battle illustrates the importance attributed to the positions by the French commanders. The French, however, were unable to resist the terrific offensive of the Crown Prince's army.

Gallipoli's Shambles

Allied Operations Around the Turks' Fortress of Achi Baba

The subjoined narratives, official and semi-official, show clearly the formidable nature of the Allies' land undertaking in the attempt to force the passage of the Dardanelles. It will be noted that Compton Mackenzie, the novelist, has temporarily replaced E. Ashmead-Bartlett as the British press "eyewitness" on the peninsula, and that General Sir Ian Hamilton's reports have for the first time begun to appear. A notable sketch of his career appears in the Atlantic Monthly for July by the pen of Alfred G. Gardiner. A poet and a man of romantic ancestry and taste, experienced in commands in India, in Egypt, and in South Africa, General Hamilton was called by the late Lord Roberts the ablest commander in the field. For his qualities of daring and inspiration, as well as for his coolness in directing the complex movements of the battlefield, he was chosen for this most dangerous and bloody of enterprises against the German-officered Turks.*

Mr. Mackenzie estimates the losses of the Turks up to June 30 at not less than 70,000. Prime Minister Asquith in the House of Commons, on July 1, announced that the British naval and military losses up to May 31 aggregated 38,635 officers and men. Yet the great fortress of Achi Baba, by that time one of the most powerful in the world, was untaken up to July 20, and the French and British Allies held but a small corner of the area to be conquered.

BATTLE OF THE LONGEST DAY

By Compton Mackenzie

Authorized Press Representative at the Dardanelles.

Dardanelles, via Alexandria,
June 30, 1915.

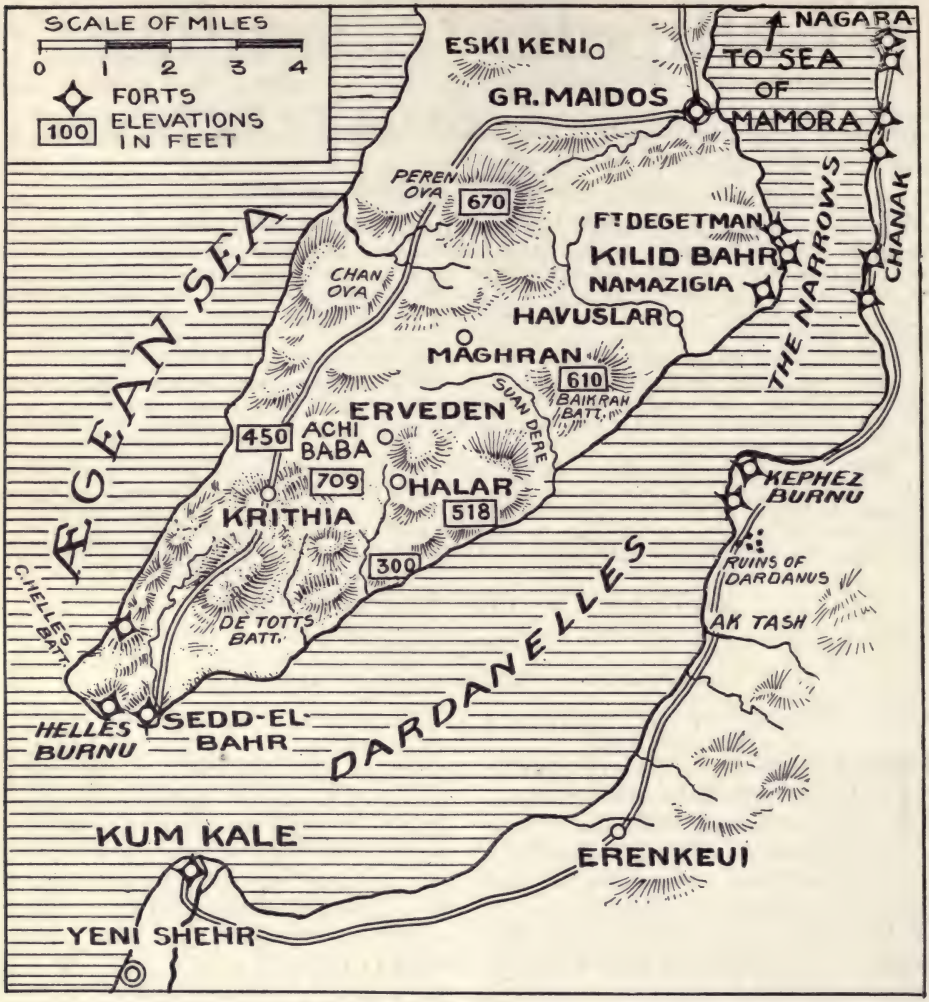
THE battle of the Fourth of June ended with substantial progress on our centre, although on our left and on our right, nothwithstanding the most violent charges and counter-charges, we were unable to consolidate some of our initial gains. The reason of this may be found in the natural strongholds of the Turkish flanks, natural strongholds that are helped by the most elaborate fortifications.

The British and French line from the Aegean to the Dardanelles is confronted by rising ground that culminates in the centre with the flat summit of Achi Baba, 800 ft. high. On either side the ground falls away to the sea in ravines and dry watercourses (*deres*), which the Turks have had time to make impregnable to any except those superb troops that are now fighting to pass over them.

There is no room upon the Gallipoli Peninsula to find weak points, and we are now in the position of having to storm an immensely strong fortress, the advanced works of which, by an amazing feat of arms, we already hold, and the glacis of which has to be crossed before we move forward to the assault upon the bastion of Achi Baba and beyond to the final assault upon the very walls of that fortress, the Kilid Bahr Plateau.

Farther up the coast the Australians and New Zealanders have made a lodgment upon one of the strongest advanced works of the Kilid Bahr Plateau. As seen from the northwest here they threaten the communications of the "fortress" and are drawing against them a large part of the garrison. This is composed of the flower of the Turkish Army, and, notwithstanding casualties that must already amount to 70,000, the troops are fighting with gallantry—with desperation, indeed, because they realize that when the bastion of Achi Baba falls the occupation of the Kilid Bahr Plateau becomes a mere question of time,

* His first report, covering the actions from March 13, when he left London, to May 20, is here omitted because other official reports covering the same period were printed in the June and July numbers of CURRENT HISTORY.



Map of Gallipoli Peninsula, showing the mountainous nature of the terrain, and Achi Baba.

and that when Kilid Bahr falls the doom of Constantinople is at hand. In view of the difficulties—were it not for the landing one would be tempted to say the impossibilities—which confront our men, the gain of a score of yards in the Gallipoli Peninsula may fairly represent for the purposes of comparison a gain of 500 yards in the Western theatre of war. Therefore, to find its importance the gain of 500 yards on June 4 must be measured with affairs like Neuve Chapelle; and the few quiet days that succeeded may be accepted as repose.

After a violent effort on the night of June 11 to 12 there was a brilliant little action by the Border Regiment and the South Wales Borderers which resulted in the gain of two trenches. On the 16th the enemy, led by a Turkish and a German officer, made an assault on the trenches of the 88th Brigade, but were driven off with loss. However, that night the trenches gained by the two regiments on the 11th were heavily bombed, so heavily that our men were forced to retire about 30 yards and dig themselves in. At dawn we were able to enfilade with machine-guns the vacated trenches.

Then the Dublin Fusiliers charged with the bayonet, and once more gave us possession of our gains at heavy cost to the Turks, whose dead filled one trench.

On the evening of the 18th the enemy bombarded very heavily another portion of our trenches on this side of the line. They were evidently attempting in miniature our own methods of Neuve Chapelle and June 4, as immediately after the bombardment they were seen to be massing for an attack. However, the imitation ended rather abruptly at this point, and the affair petered out.

On the evening of the 19th the Turks by a fierce attack, managed to get into an awkward salient which had remained in our hands after June 4. For some time there was great difficulty in recovering this, but the 5th Royal Scots and a company of the Worcesters, led by Lieut.-Colonel Wilson of the former regiment, made a glorious attack, and drove out the Turks.

Of the Royal Scots, one can add nothing but that they are Edinburgh Territorials brought in by the fortune of war to make the twelfth regiment of the immortal 29th Division whose deeds since April 25 might have stirred the ghost of Homer to sing their valour.

Mention has been made already of the difficulties that oppose our advance upon the two flanks. On June 21 it was determined to straighten the line upon the extreme right, and at 1.30 A.M. the preliminary bombardment began. The dawn had been clear, but soon a curtain of silver, through which gleamed the ghost of the rising sun, hung over the Kereves Dere. This was the smoke of bursting shells. Slowly as the sun climbed up the curtain became more substantial. Then it seemed to droop and sweep along the hollows like a vanishing mist of dawn, and during a respite the thin blue smoke of the bivouac fires came tranquilly up into the still air. The respite was very brief, and the bombardment began again with greater fierceness than b e f o r e. The 75's drummed unceasingly. The reverberation of the 125's and of the howitzers shook the observation post. Over the Kereves Dere, and beyond, upon the sloping shoulders of Achi Baba, the curtain became a pall. The sun climbed higher and higher. All that first mirage of beauty had disappeared, and there was nothing but the monstrous shapes of bursting shells, giants of smoke that appeared one after another along the Turkish lines. All through the morning the cannonade went on.

By noon the Second Division of the French had on the left stormed and captured all the Turkish trenches of the first two lines. Even the Haricot Redoubt, with its damnable entanglements and its maze of communicating trenches, was in French hands. On the right, however, the First Division, after reaching their objective, had been counter-attacked so effectively that they had fallen back. Again they advanced; again they took the trenches; again they were driven out. It began to look as if the victory upon the left would be fruitless, that the position would become an untenable salient and the Haricot Redoubt revert to the enemy.

At this moment a message was sent to say that the trenches must be recaptured, and, when recaptured, held. There were still five hours of daylight for this battle of the longest day. British guns and howitzers were asked for and were lent at once. The bombardment was resumed throughout that afternoon, and at half-past five it seemed as if every gun on earth were pouring shells on the Turkish lines.

At six o'clock the third assault was delivered. In one trench there was a temporary shortage of ammunition, but the enemy fought even with stones and sticks and fists. A battalion came hurrying up from the Turkish right to reinforce it, was caught on open ground by the drummng 75's, and it melted away. Six hundred yards of Turkish trenches were taken, and still the bombardment was continued in order to ward off the counter-attack that was anticipated.

The smoke of the shells, which at dawn had been ethereal, almost translucent, was now, in the sunset, turbid and sinister, yet the sunset was very

splendid, flaming in crimson streamers over Imbros, tinting the east with rosy reflections and turning the peaks of Asia to sapphires. It had a peculiar significance on this longest day of the year, crowning as it did those precious five hours of daylight that, for the French, had been fraught with such achievement. Slowly the colour faded out, and now, minute by minute, the flashes of the guns became more distinct; the smoke was merged in the gathering dusk, and away over the more distant Turkish lines the bursts of shrapnel came out like stars against the brief twilight. One knew the anxiety there would be in the darkness that now was falling upon this 21st of June, but in the morning we heard gladly that the enemy's counter-attacks had failed, and that our Allies were indeed firmly established.

The Turkish casualties were at least 7,000. One trench, 200 yards long and 10 feet deep, was brimming over with the dead. They were valiant those dead men. French officers who have fought in the West say that, as a fighting unit, one Turk is worth two Germans; in fact, with his back to the wall, the Turk is magnificent. The French casualties were marvellously few considering what a day it had been, what an enemy was being attacked, and how much had been gained.

The right of the line now commands Kereves Dere, and the profile of Achi Baba seems to write itself less solidly against the sky.

ATTACK BY LAND AND SEA

The British Press Bureau on June 30, 1915, *issued the following*:

General Sir Ian Hamilton reports that the plan of operations on the 28th was to throw forward the left of his line south-east of Krithia, pivoting on a point about one mile from the sea, and after advancing on the extreme left for about half a mile to establish a new line facing east on ground thus gained. This plan entailed the capture in succession of two lines of the Turkish trenches east of the Saghir Dere, and five lines of trenches west of it. The Australian Corps was ordered to co-operate by making a vigorous demonstration.

The action opened at nine o'clock with a bombardment by heavy artillery. The assistance rendered by the French in this bombardment was most valuable.

At 10.20 the Field Artillery opened fire to cut wire in front of Turkish trenches, and this was effectively done. The effect on the enemy's trench near the sea was great. The very accurate fire of his Majesty's ships Talbot, Scorpion and Wolverine succeeded in keeping down his artillery fire from that quarter.

At 10.45 a small Turkish advanced work in the Saghir Dere known as the Boomerang Redoubt was assaulted. This little fort, which was very strongly sited and protected by extra strong wire entanglements, has long been a source of trouble. After special bombardment by trench mortar, and while bombardment of surrounding trenches was at its height, part of the Border Regiment at the exact moment prescribed leapt from their trenches as one man like a pack of hounds, and pouring out of cover raced across, and took the work most brilliantly.

The artillery bombardment increased in intensity till 11 A. M., when the range was lengthened, and infantry advanced. The infantry attack was carried out with great dash along the whole line.

West of Saghir Dere three lines of trenches were captured with little opposition. The trenches were full of dead Turks, many buried by the bombardment, and one hundred prisoners were taken in them.

East of the Ravine the Royal Scots made a fine attack, capturing the two lines of trenches assigned to their objective, but the remainder of the Brigade on their right met with severe opposition and were unable to get forward.

At 11.30 the Royal Fusiliers led its Brigade in the second phase of the attack west of the Ravine. The Brigade advanced with great steadiness and resolution through the trenches already captured, and on across the open, and

taking two more lines of trenches reached the objective allotted to them, the Lancashire Fusiliers inclining half-right and forming line to connect with our new position east of the Ravine.

The northernmost objective had now been attained, but the Gurkhas pressing on under the cliffs captured an important knoll still further forward, actually due west of Krithia. This they fortified and held during the night, making our total gain on the left precisely one thousand yards.

During the afternoon the trenches, a small portion of which remained uncaptured on the right, were attacked, but the the enemy held on stubbornly supported by machine-guns and artillery, and the attacks did not succeed.

During the night the enemy counter-attacked the furthest trenches gained, but was repulsed with heavy loss. A party of Turks, who penetrated from the flank between two lines of captured trenches, was subjected to machine-gun fire at daybreak, suffered very heavily, and the survivors surrendered.

Except for a small portion of trench already mentioned, which is still held by the enemy, all and more than was hoped for from operations has been gained. On the extreme left the line has been pushed forward to a specially strong point well beyond the limit of the advance originally contemplated.

All engaged did well, but certainly the chief factor in the success was the splendid attack carried out by the 29th Division, whose conduct on this, as on previous occasions, was beyond praise.

AUSTRALIANS IN ACTION

The British Press Bureau states on July 1 that, in continuation of his last message respecting the British advance in the Gallipoli Peninsula, Sir Ian Hamilton had reported as follows:

Further details have now been received with regard to the part played by the Australian and New Zealand Army Corps in the operations of the 29th. As previously stated, the General Officer Commanding the Australian and New Zealand Army Corps was instructed to undertake operations with a view to preventing the enemy in his front from detaching troops to the southern area.

Between 11.30 A. M. and 12 noon the action was opened, His Majesty's ships Humber, Pincher, and Chelmer engaging enemy's heavy guns. At 1 P. M. part of the Second Light Horse Brigade and the Third Infantry Brigade moved out on the right of the position, advancing some 700 yards, when the enemy was encountered in strength. Meanwhile the artillery engaged the enemy's reserves, which were collecting in the ravine opposite right centre, by shelling them effectively with guns and howitzers.

About 2.30 P. M. the enemy appeared to be preparing a counter-attack against the left of our advanced troops, but on howitzer and machine-gun fire being turned on the enemy's attacks were easily repulsed. The retirement of the advanced troops was begun at 3 P. M., well covered by rifle, machine-gun, and artillery fire, and the troops were all back in the trenches between 4.30 and 5.30 P. M.

Our machine-guns and artillery did considerable execution. Naval gun fire also gave valuable assistance. Demonstrations made after dark at 8.45 and 11.30 P. M. with flares, star shell, and destroyer bombardment were successfully carried out.

The Eighth Corps report 180 prisoners taken since the morning of the 28th, namely, 38 of the Sixteenth Regiment, 139 of the Thirty-third Regiment, and three of the Thirteenth Regiment. A Circassian prisoner carried a wounded private of Royal Scots into our lines under fire.

ATTACKED BY THE TURKS

Sir Ian Hamilton reported, as published by the British Press Bureau on July 6, the following details of the attack made by the Turks on the night of 29th-30th June:

About 2 A. M. searchlights of His Majesty's ship Scorpion discovered half a Turkish battalion advancing near the sea north-west of Krithia. Scorpion

opened fire, and few of the enemy got away. Simultaneously the enemy attacked the knoll we captured due west of Krithia, advancing from a nullah in close formation in several lines. The attack came under artillery and enfilade rifle fire, and the enemy lost heavily. The foremost Turks got within forty yards of the parapet, but only a few returned.

The Turks made several heavy bomb attacks during the night, our troops being twice driven back a short distance. Early in the morning we regained these trenches by bayonet attack, and they have since been strengthened.

At 5.30 A. M. 2,000 Turks, moving from Krithia into the ravine, were scattered by machine-gun fire. The operations reflect great credit on the vigilance and accurate shooting of His Majesty's ship Scorpion. The Turkish losses in the nullah and ravine are estimated at 1,500 to 2,000 dead.

About 10 P. M. on the 30th of June the Turks again attacked with bombs a portion of the most northerly trench captured by us on 28th. An officer of the Gurkhas being wounded, not dangerously as it turned out, the men became infuriated, flung all their bombs at the enemy, and then charging down out of the trench used their kukris for the first time and with excellent effect. About dawn the Turks once more attempted an attack over the open, but nearly the whole of these attacking forces, about half a battalion, were shot down, and a final bomb attack, though commenced, failed utterly.

Further reports from Australia and New Zealand Corps, as to the enemy's attack on 29th-30th on our right flank, state that the action commenced by very heavy fire from midnight till 1.30 A. M., to which our men only replied by a series of cheers. The Turks then launched their attack, and came right on with bayonet and bombs. Those who succeeded in getting into our saps were instantly killed; the remainder were dealt with by bomb and rifle fire from the 7th and 8th Light Horse. By 2 A. M. the enemy broke, and many were killed while withdrawing. The enemy's attack was strongest on his right. They were completely taken aback by a concealed sap constructed well ahead of our main line, and the dead are lying thickly in front of this. Some got into the sap and several across it; all these were wiped out by fire from the main parapet farther back.

Following the defeat of this attack, the enemy attacked at 3 A. M. on our left, and 30 men came over the parapets in front of the right of Quinn's Post. These were duly polished off. Prisoners brought in state that three fresh battalions were employed in the main attack, which was made by the personal order of Enver Pasha, who, as they definitely assert, was present in the trenches on June 29. This is confirmed by the statement of an intelligent Armenian prisoner captured on that date. According to him, stringent orders were recently issued that no further attacks were to be made, because if the Turks remained on the defensive the British would be forced to attack, and would suffer as severely as the Turks had hitherto suffered. But Enver Pasha, when he arrived in the northern section, overrode this instruction, and orders were received by the prisoner's regiment that the Australians were to be driven into the sea.

On July 2, after a heavy bombardment of our advanced positions by high explosives and shrapnel, lasting half an hour, the enemy infantry advanced, but were driven back to the main nullah about a mile to our front by the accurate shooting of His Majesty's ship Scorpion and by our rifle and machine-gun fire. About 7 P. M. the Turkish artillery recommenced their bombardment, under cover of which two battalions emerged from the nullah to the north-east of our most advanced trench and commenced an attack across the open, advancing in two regular lines. At the outset very effective shrapnel fire from the 10th Battery Royal Field Artillery caused great execution among the attackers. Gurkha supports then advanced, and there being insufficient room in trenches took up a position on some excavated earth in rear, whence

deadly rifle fire was poured into the advancing lines. Turkish officers could be seen endeavouring to get their men forward, but they would not face the fire and retreated in disorder after suffering heavy casualties.

The ground in front of our trenches in every direction can be seen covered with Turkish dead, and patrols sent out at night report that the valleys and ravine are also full of them. There can be no possible doubt that the enemy's losses have been very heavy. After checking and counter-checking reports from all sources, I put down their total casualties between June 28 and July 2 at 5,150 killed and 15,000 wounded. The number of killed is, therefore, approximately correct, while the wounded is an estimate based partly on the knowledge of the number already reported arrived at Constantinople, and on experience of proportion of wounded to killed in previous engagements. Since June 29 the total amount of Turkish arms and ammunition collected is 516 rifles, 51 bayonets, 200 sets of equipment, 126,400 rounds of ammunition, 100 bombs.

The following is an extract from captured divisional orders "There is nothing that causes us more sorrow, increases the courage of the enemy, and encourages him to attack more freely, causing us great losses, than the losing of these trenches. Henceforth commanders who surrender these trenches, from whatever side the attack may come, before the last man is killed will be punished in the same way as if they had run away. Especially will the commanders of units told off to guard a certain front be punished if, instead of thinking about their work, supporting their units and giving information to the higher command, they only take action after a regrettable incident has taken place.

"I hope that this will not occur again. I give notice that if it does I shall carry out the punishment. I do not desire to see a blot made on the courage of our men by those who escape from the trenches to avoid the rifle and machine-gun fire of the enemy. Henceforth I shall hold responsible all officers who do not shoot with their revolvers all the privates who try to escape from the trenches on any pretext. Commander of the 11th Div., Colonel Rifaat."

To the copy from which this extract was taken the following note is appended: "To Commander of the 1st Battalion. The contents will be communicated to the officers, and I promise to carry out the orders till the last drop of our blood has been shed. Sign and return. Signed. Hassan, Commander, 127th Regiment. Then follow signatures company commanders."

HEAVY TURKISH LOSSES

The British Press Bureau on July 7 issued this report by General Ian Hamilton:

The night of July 3-4 was quiet in the northern section, but at 4 A. M. the enemy started a heavy bombardment of the trenches. All the guns previously used against us, and some new ones, were in action, but the bombardment died away about 6 A. M. without doing much damage. During the bombardment about twenty 11.2-inch shells were dropped from a Turkish battleship in the strait.

In the southern section the Turks kept up a heavy musketry fire along the whole line during the night and did not leave their trenches. At 4 A. M. their batteries started the most violent bombardment that has yet been experienced. At least 5,000 rounds of artillery ammunition were expended by them.

Meanwhile this shelling of our lines on the peninsula proved the preliminary to a general attack on our front with special efforts at certain points. The principal effort was made at the junction of the Royal Naval Division section with that of the French.

Here, at 7.30 A. M., the Turks drove back our advanced troops and assaulted a portion of the line held by the Royal Naval Division. Some fifty Turks gained a footing in our trench, where, nevertheless, some men of the Royal Naval Division held on to our supports,

and the men who had retired counter-attacked immediately and hurled the Turks out of the trench again.

Another attack on the right of the Twenty-ninth Division section was practically wiped out by rifle and machine-gun fire. On our left the Turks massed in a nullah, to the northeast of our newly-captured trenches, and attempted several attacks. None of these was able to get home owing to the steadiness of our troops and our effective artillery support. The bombardment died down toward 11 A. M., though it was resumed at intervals.

Not only was the result a complete failure, but while our losses were negligible and no impression was made on our line, the enemy added a large number to his recent very heavy casualties. It seems plain from the disjointed nature of his attack that he is finding it difficult to drive his infantry forward to face our fire.

SLAUGHTER BY CANNON LIGHT

In a dispatch by George Renwick to The London Daily Chronicle, dated at Lemnos, July 11, *the following description of fighting, followed by heavy Turco-German casualties, appeared:*

The heaviest fighting which has taken place on Gallipoli Peninsula since the allied forces landed there began late on Tuesday and lasted well into Wednesday. It resulted in a swing forward of the southern line of the allied armies for five furlongs and in the infliction of staggering losses on the enemy. Those who were in the battle place the Turco-German casualties at 7,000 killed and from 14,000 to 15,000 wounded. Many prisoners were taken.

The whole army in the southern part of the peninsula was engaged, and the Australians and New Zealanders further north also played a part. The victory marks a definite stage in the initial work of throwing forces around Achi Baba, which may now be described as one of the strongest fortresses in the world.

The Allies had been resting in comparative tranquillity and the Turks had evidently become persuaded the enemy was experiencing a shortage of ammunition. This belief convinced them of the excellent opportunity of driving the invaders into the sea. Late Tuesday night the first signs of the enemy's movement were detected. No time was lost in flashing a warning message to headquarters. The French were soon alert and the artillery at that portion of the line against which the attack was being prepared was quickly and strongly reinforced.

French and British machine guns were rushed to the front until a perfect wall of heavy and light guns was in position. Then there came a short interval of silence and waiting, almost oppressive. Suddenly the stillness was broken by a tremendous burst of shells from the Turkish guns, and for a time shrapnel poured down on the French front. But the men were safely positioned in dugouts and little loss resulted. From the strait loud booming began. The battered Goeben was at work again, and during the bombardment she pounded our right with some forty 11-inch shells. Many did not burst—they were apparently of Turkish manufacture.

This hail of shells lasted just an hour and a half and was the severest bombardment to which our lines have been subjected during the weeks of struggle on the peninsula. No sooner had the heavy fire ceased than great solid masses of Turks leaped forward to the attack. On they came, the silence unbroken save for their shouts, until they reached a point within sixty or seventy yards of the French position. Then from 200 well placed machine guns a devastating answering fire burst from our Allies' trenches, and the rifles joined in, 20,000 of them. The big guns flared and cast a lurid light over the scene.

Italy's War on Austria

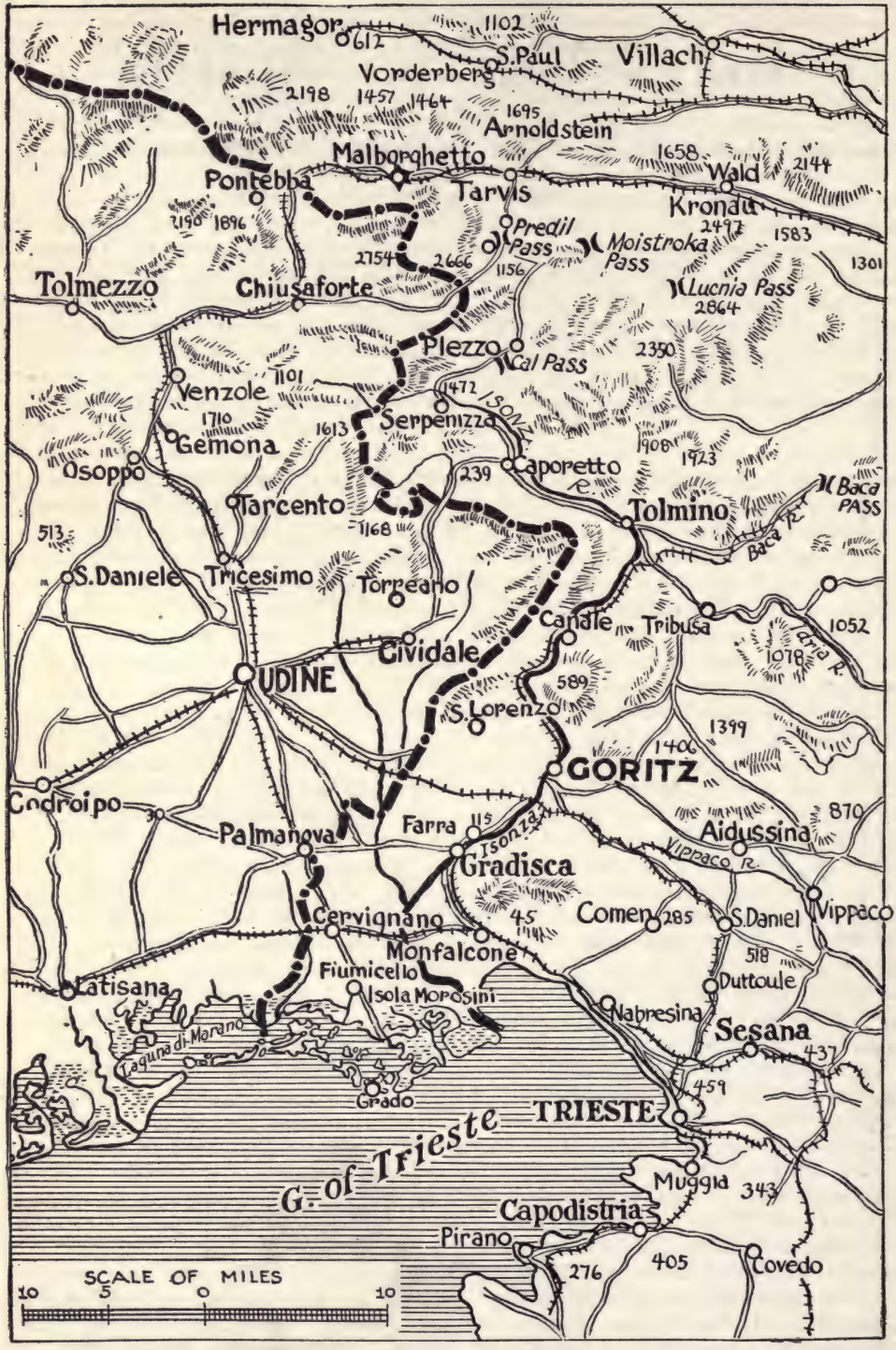
Second Month Closes with Offensive Operations in Swing Against Gorizia

On July 23, after two months of her war against Austria, an appraisement may be taken of Italy's extensive and business-like preparation for the conflict. Rapidly the passes leading to the Trentino, Carinthia, Friuli, and the valley of the Isonzo were secured, almost over night; and then, with the regularity of a railway time-table, the Italians began their hard, patient work, in hitherto impassable regions, of neutralizing the Trentino, so as to make impossible an invasion from that territory, and of linking up their columns along the Isonzo, so that now, at the beginning of August, a battle-front of seventy-five miles extending from Tarvis to the Adriatic, is ready to move eastward in the direction of Klagenfurt, beyond which there are no Austrian fortifications until Vienna is reached, 170 miles away—about as far as Cape Cod is from New York City. The right flank of this battle-front has been developed along the Carso plateau so as to neutralize, as the Trentino was neutralized, the Peninsula of Istria with the great commercial port of Trieste, the naval base of Pola, and the Hungarian Free City of Fiume.

THE Italian field of activity saw during the week ended July 24 the blazing out of the Italian offensive. Italy apparently was then satisfied that all the passages by means of which Austria could pour troops to attack her rear are effectively stopped and has therefore begun a determined advance along the Isonzo front from Tarvis to the Adriatic, with the object of breaking down completely Austria's first defensive screen. The battle is, as is natural, centring around Gorizia.

Once Gorizia falls, the Italian problem in so far as Trieste is concerned, will be near solution. The Italians have made notable advances in Cadore and along the Isonzo, on the plateau of Carso. But Gorizia must be taken before a decided local victory can be recorded. The fighting has not progressed as yet to the point where definite information is available, but in late July it seemed to have reached the culminating stage. The surroundings of Gorizia, which is the key to the Isonzo district and the junction of five main roads and four main railway lines, are protected with all manner of fortifications. The official report from Rome on June 25 recorded the Italian occupation of Globna, north of Plava, and of the edge of the plateau between Sagrado and Monfalcone. From that date reports from Vienna recorded continuous and heavy Italian attacks from the bridgehead at Goritz to the sea. The correspondent of the Berliner Tageblatt at the Isonzo front reported on July 7 that the second great Italian offensive had forced its way into the Austrian line at Podzora—a height covering the bridgehead at Goritz—and at Vermegliano, between Doberdo and Monfalcone. A Geneva dispatch, dated July 14, reported the capture by the Italians of two miles of trenches in the Carnic Alps, the Alpine troops dragging their artillery to an altitude of 6,600 feet near Roskopel, and capturing to the south of Gorizia two important forts. On July 16 a dispatch from Rome told of a war council at the front held by King Victor Emmanuel and Premier Salandra, with Count Cadorna, Chief of the General Staff, and General Porro, his chief assistant. A Vienna official dispatch of that date reported increased artillery activity in the coast district and in Carinthia. Two passes at a height of over 10,000 feet were taken by the Italians at Venerodolol and Brizio, as reported July 17, and on July 18 they began an advance in Cadore, attacking a ring of powerful forts at a great height at Paneveggio, San Pelegrino, Monet, Livinallongo, and Tresassi, while Goritz was shelled from land and air.

Then began, on July 20, a great general Italian assault on a 75-mile line from Tarvis to the Adriatic shore. A dispatch from Turin from the correspondent of The London Daily Chronicle



The Austro-Italian frontier, the scene of the fighting.

announced a victorious advance by the Italians on the Carso plateau, east of Sagrado, with the capture of 2,000 Austrian prisoners. The War Office in Rome reported on July 21 that while the Italian defense continued to develop energetically in Cadore, and the artillery was effectively working in Carnia, the struggle in the Isonzo zone continued with increasing intensity. Toward Goritz the Italians gained part of the line of the heights which form the right bank of the river commanding the town and the Isonzo bridges. On the Carso Plateau the Austrians were reported driven from some trenches, and 3,500 prisoners and much material captured. On July 22 the fall of Goritz and Tolmino was reported to be near, the War Office in Rome announcing a development of the offensive "along the whole front from Monte Nero to the Carso Plateau. Vienna reported that the heavy attacks were being repulsed. But on July 23 the official report from Rome for the first time declared that the Italian armies in the battle along the whole Isonzo front were achieving success," which was "constantly becoming more clearly apparent." On July 24 a dispatch from Udine said that General Cadorna was personally directing the battle in the presence of King Victor Emmanuel and the Duke of Aosta. A Milan dispatch to The London Daily News on July 25 reported the evacuation of Goritz by the Austrian General Staff in view of the imminence of its fall. Below appears a prospective account of Italy's formidable task, written on July 1 by an Italian correspondent of The London Morning Post.

The Task of Italy

[By a Special Correspondent of The London Morning Post]

Cormons, July 1.

The Italian battle for the conquest of the fortified lines on the Isonzo and the entrenched camps of Gorizia is one of the most important in the European conflict. The battle of the Isonzo is not to be regarded as a mere episode, but a prolonged siege over a front of more than a hundred miles of a natural fortress, consisting of a chain of precipitous mountains. Perhaps never before in a European war has the value of individual qualities been shown so conclusively as by the Italian troops in this war. The very steep cliffs, which are almost perpendicular, along the course of the river are almost impossible to scale. The mountain passes which open along the river are very few and also narrow. In addition the geological nature of that district, composed of strong walls of granite towers, which dominate the River Isonzo, is favorable to its defence.

To this natural defense have been added strong fortifications built by the Austrians during past years in anticipation of being used for the subjugation of Italians at some time or other. Finally, during the last nine months of Italy's neutrality the Austrians have employed the latest technical improvements in defensive warfare, and I have never seen their equal during my excursions to the front in France and Belgium, not even at Antwerp. This remark applies especially to Carso and Gorizia.

The artillery officers of the Italian Military Staff whom I met at the front have explained to me the nature of the Austrian defensive works. Upon the Carso and around Gorizia the Austrians have placed innumerable batteries of powerful guns mounted on rails and protected by armor plates. Numerous other artillery advantages are possessed by the Austrians in the form of medium and smaller guns, though the efficiency of their action is modified by the long distances separating the armies.

In view of these advantages possessed by the Austrians, the Italians have accomplished marvels and are worthy of great admiration. The infantry is much exposed while crossing large and deep rivers. With the exception of the two positions of Podgora and Sabotino, all the Austrian line on the Isonzo has been taken by the Italians.

To the conquest of Gorizia are directed the efforts of the Eastern Italian Army. The Italian infantry which crossed the Isonzo ran against a net of trenches which the Austrians had excavated and constructed in cement all along the edge of the hills which dominate the course of the river. These trenches, already occupying a position nearly impregnable because so mountainous, are defended by every modern protective device. They are armed with numerous machine-guns surrounded by wire entanglements, through which runs a strong electric current. These lines of trenches follow without interruption from the banks of the Isonzo to the summit of the mountains which dominate it. They form a kind of formidable staircase, which must be conquered step by step with enormous sacrifice. The Italian troops have accomplished this marvel.

The crossing of the Isonzo and the conquest of the first mountainous positions were accomplished by the Italians in four strategic places: At Caporetto, at Tolurino, at Plava, and at Sagrado. These four places, situated in the strong line of Austrian defense, are about twenty miles distant from one another. The chain of fortifications of which Gorizia is a center was broken in these four essential points. The immediate effect has been the disorganization of the defensive plans of the enemy. The crossing of the river was accomplished generally at night, and was conducted with a rapidity which took the enemy by surprise. Complete regiments crossed in the night upon light bridges constructed in a short time by the engineers, whose technical skill was equal to their audacity. These "bridge-heads," which were constructed with incredible courage, made possible an attack by the reinforcements which followed them. When these came in contact with the lower lines of the Austrian trenches they attacked the defenders in such a way that the latter were unable to impede seriously the more important work of the construction of strong bridges.

Two Devoted Nations

By MAURICE MAETERLINCK

The subjoined letter, dedicated by the Belgian writer to stricken Poland, was received on July 12, 1915, by the Polish Relief Committee of New York, of which Mme. Marcella Sembrich is President.

In the Name of Belgium I Bring the Homage of a Martyred Nation to the Nation Crucified:

Of all the people engaged in this frightful war, Poland and Belgium will have suffered most, and we must add (though all the horrors of war are most revolting) they will have suffered most innocently. They are two victims of their innocence and grandeur of soul.

In misfortune and in glory their fates are the same. One, in sacrificing herself wholly to a cult, to an unparalleled passion for honor, has by breaking the first blow of barbarous invasion probably saved Europe, just as the other, the older sister, in grief and heroism several centuries ago saved Europe many times.

They are now joined forever in the memory of men. Across the combats and the sorrows which they are now enduring their hands meet in the same sacrifice, in the same invincible hope. To-day these countries are but ruins. Nothing remains of them. They appear to be dead. But we, who are their sons and who know them as we know our mother, we know, we feel in our hearts, that they were never more alive, never purer, never more beautiful.

After having offered to the world a great example of pride, of abnegation, of heroism, they are again giving to it a deeper lesson, a more valuable, a more efficacious one. They are proving that no misfortune counts, that nothing is lost while the soul does not abdicate. The powers of darkness will never prevail against the forces of light and love that are leading humanity towards the heights which victory is already making clear to us on the horizon.

Rumania, Serbia, Bulgaria, Greece

Comment About Continued Neutrality from the Balkan and Russian Capitals

AN elaborate argument that Italy is about to co-operate with the Allies at the Dardanelles in order to influence Greece and the Balkan States generally to intervene against the Germanic Powers appeared in The Frankfurter Zeitung near the close of June. A dispatch from Bucharest on July 12 announced that Austria had made concessions to Rumania in the hope of averting intervention by that Power, accompanying the offer with an ultimatum setting a month for Rumania's reply. The German Social-Democratic paper Vorwaerts published on July 17 a statement that Rumania had definitely refused to permit German arms and ammunition to traverse her territory to Turkey. This shows a distinct turning away from the German propaganda in that kingdom, which on May 26 spoke through the editorial columns of Moldova, a daily of Bucharest, as follows:

> We must tread in the path opened to us by the late King Carol and the great Rumanian statesmen. We must always be attached to the Central European Powers, from which we shall secure the fulfillment of our aspirations, on that day when we shall move against Russia.

From Lupte, a Nationalist daily of Bucharest, a definite declaration of the kingdom's policy was demanded on June 4:

> The smaller a nation is the more dangerous to her existence are diplomatic intrigues. Mr. Bratiano's Government has for the past eight months been coquetting with Petrograd as well as with Berlin and Vienna. With which side are we in this war? The two belligerent groups are asking this and the same question is asked of Bulgaria and Greece. We must have a sound national policy, for in this most modern war there is no profit in the old Machiavellian tactics.

That a crisis is approaching in Balkan affairs is clearly indicated in an editorial warning headed "Beware, ye Balkan Peoples!" appearing on May 29 in Dnevnik, an independent Bulgarian daily of Sofia. It says:

> The lust of Europe for territorial aggrandizement becomes every day more pronounced. From a struggle for self-defense this has become a war of conquest. Germany has appropriated Belgium, Russia fights for the Bosporus and Constantinople, Italy has almost taken Albania—with the approval of Austria, as we have discovered. The westernmost edge of the Balkan Peninsula has fallen; tomorrow the easternmost extremity will fall, together with Constantinople. Will the European Powers then spare us? . . . What the United States of America did for the preservation of their independence against foreign conquest we Balkan peoples must do unless we would see our doom sealed.

"The Dangers of a Neutral Policy" is the theme of Mir, the organ of the Bulgarian Nationalist Party of Sofia, which on May 29 said: "If Bulgaria remains neutral to the end of the war, she runs the risk of being condemned to live forever within the narrow limits she has today, hemmed in on every side. The duty of the Balkan States is to act in a war which will solve all pending political and national problems."

Serbia's jealousy of Italy, despite that nation's late adhesion to the Allies, was voiced on May 25 by Politika, a Nationalist daily of Belgrade, which accuses Italy of trying to profit at Serbia's expense. The Entente Powers must pay for Italian aid, this paper says; and Italy may be "satisfied with Savoy, Corsica, Malta, Tunis, Algiers, Asia Minor, or Egypt."

The Ottoman Empire being under martial law, comment by the Turkish papers regarding military and political events is restricted by the Government. But Enver Pasha, the all-powerful young Turk leader, and his colleague for the Interior, Talaat Bey, early in May

In left upper corner, the Bulgarian daily Narodni Prava (National Rights) of Sofia, semi-official organ of the Bulgarian Government of Dr. B. Radoslavoff; upper right, the Athenian daily Athinæ (Athens), representing the extreme anti-Venizelists; at lower right, the daily Politika (Politics), an independent paper of Belgrade, Serbia; lower left, the Bucharest (Rumania) daily Dimineata (Morning), an interventionist paper, and, at center, the Constantinople Khavar (Star), a Pan-Islamist daily.

gave an interview printed in the Vienna Neue Freie Presse. Enver Pasha predicts the collapse of the Allied campaign on the Gallipoli Peninsula, where the French and British hold a small corner against overwhelming odds. "The bringing thither of provisions is extremely difficult," he says, and "even the drinking water for the troops must be brought from the ships." Both he and Talaat Bey report the morale of the Turkish troops to be excellent, "as many of the older officers have been replaced by energetic young men."

Greece is in suspense. The Kairoi, an independent daily of Athens, said on June 22 that, while Greece does not forget her debt to the three protective powers, France, England, and Russia, she must nevertheless weigh the promise of Germany to give full protection to Greek interests in the event of her continued neutrality. "Just how Germany keeps her promises," this paper says, is "shown by Cavalla, the Macedonian city allotted to Greece after the second Balkan war at the express instance of the Kaiser;" and it notes that the Entente Powers are now eager to cede this territory to Bulgaria. The Embros, an independent daily of Athens, prophesied on June 22:

> We can afford to follow events with growing solicitude and remain neutral as long as we may. Whether or not we maintain this neutrality to the end our action can change neither the fortunes of Greece nor the position of other Powers. It is to be presumed that the power driving this giant conflict to the conclusion has more remote motives and that to all appearance, the war will end without any of the participants suffering a crushing defeat.

While Russian aspirations are generally considered to be in harmony with those of the Balkan kingdoms, the following extracts from Russian papers representing varying shades of Muscovite opinion show now an unfavorable or critical attitude. Thus the foremost organ of the Panslavist Party, the Russian weekly Slavianski Izvestija, April No. 8, disapproved the Bulgarian plea to give Thrace and Adrianople through Russian influence. Of the Macedonian question this paper said:

> Bulgarians expect that Russia will get for them Macedonia Thrace, and Dobrudja, to reward their honest labors. Alas, they must learn that not every day, but every hour, Macedonia is receding from their grasp. For Russia the Macedonian question hardly exists. If Macedonia finds it hard to be under heroic and benevolent Serbia, what would become of her on the day when she should fall into the hands of Bulgaria? And should we Russians, in order to assure Macedonia such a future, grieve now our dear ally Serbia?

The semi-official Novoye Vremya of Petrograd commental on May 27, on the statement of the Bulgarian Premier Radoslavoff published in Vienna, that Bulgaria cannot engage to intervene without a formal treaty, a policy, it believes, that says but one thing, namely: "You Russians tricked us Bulgarians once; you shall not trick us again." This attitude of Bulgaria shows, the Novoye Vremya thinks, "how thick-headed and insensate its people are." The Birjevaja Viedomosti, a standpat Russian daily of Petrograd, on May 23 warned Serbia that, whereas the war began in her behalf and on her account rivers of blood are flowing, her complaints of the allotment of Dalmatia to Italy should not "assert principles which have nothing to do with actualities." The same newspaper says of the whole Balkan situation:

> The German policy of von Buelow, having failed in Rome, is courting failure in Bucharest. In fact, all the German promises to Rumania seem to go no further than sharpening the Rumanian appetite for Russian Bessarabia, while holding out as a last bait the cession of a small parcel of Bukowina—supposing the Hungarians never consent to yielding Transylvania to Rumania.
>
> On the other hand, Germany promises Bulgaria the Turkish province of Thrace and Serbian and Greek Macedonia; but these compensations have as much value as the cessions of Corsica and Nice and Tunis in the early days of the war.

But Germany cannot give to Bulgaria Serbian Macedonia so long as the Austrian armies are not masters of the whole of Serbia; she cannot give her Thrace because Turkey objects to such

cession, and Turkey is her ally; and, finally, she cannot urge Greece too closely to cede Cavalla to Bulgaria, because such a pressure may bring a contrary result, i.e. make Greece to declare herself openly an ally of the Entente. Therefore both Bulgaria and Rumania must perforce side with the great European Alliance. Had Italy remained neutral matters would be different, but as it is now Bulgars and Rumanians, and the Balkan peoples in general, have to fight with us, unless they want the diplomacy of the Entente to disappoint utterly the evergrowing appetite of these small nationalities. . . .

It will be noted that all the opinions quoted concerning the Balkans relate to the division of territory as the price of neutrality or intervention.

Dr. Conybeare's Recantation

By SIR WALTER RALEIGH

To the Editor of the [London] Times:

Sir,—During a recent visit to America I saw Dr. Conybeare's letter in a paper called the *Vital Issue*. All who know Dr. Conybeare know him to be honest and frank, and to be very deeply distressed by the sufferings and cruelties of the war. After my return, I wrote to him, pointing out that his letter is being widely circulated in America, and that the material points in his accusation of Sir Edward Grey and Mr. Asquith have been answered. I enclose Dr. Conybeare's reply, for which he desires the fullest publicity.

Yours faithfully,
WALTER RALEIGH.

The Hangings, Ferry Hinksey, near Oxford, July 1, 1915.

Banbury-road, Oxford, June 30.

Dear Sir Walter Raleigh,—During the past week I have been studying afresh the published records of the diplomatic transactions of last July, and on my return to Oxford I find your kind letter, and therefore take the liberty of addressing this to yourself. My new study has forced upon me the conviction that in my letter to a friend residing in America, which, against my wishes and injunctions, was published there, apart from the deplorable tone of my allusions to Sir E. Grey and Mr. Asquith, I was quite wrong in imputing the motives which I did, especially to the former. It does appear to me, as I read these dispatches over again, that Sir Edward throughout had in view the peace of Europe, and that I ought to have set down to the awful contingencies with which he was faced many passages which I was guilty of grossly misinterpreting. I was too ready to forget that in the years of the Balkan wars it was after all he alone who, by his patient and conciliatory treatment of the situation, held in check the antagonistic forces which last July he was ultimately unable to control. I was too ready to ascribe to want of good will on his part results which harsh necessity entailed on him; and I deeply regret that I mistook his aims and, in my endeavour to be fair to the enemy, was grossly unjust to him. I am only anxious to undo, if it be still possible, some of the harm which my hasty judgment and intemperate language has caused.

If you think it would do any good to print this, I beg you to send it to *The Times* and *Morning Post*, whose remarks led me to go back once more to the documentary sources. Second thoughts are best, and if I had only kept my American letter till the morning for revision, I should first have struck out all the vituperation and all the imputation of motives, and have ended by never sending it at all.

I remain yours very sincerely,
FRED. C. CONYBEARE.

The Case of Muenter

Attack on Mr. Morgan's Life and the Setting of Fire-Bombs on Ships

THAT a group of bankers in New York City, headed by J. P. Morgan & Company, was negotiating with the British Treasury authorities for the flotation in the United States of $100,000,000 of the new British war loan was announced in the newspapers on July 3, 1915. Mr. Morgan's firm had handled contracts to furnish war munitions to the Allies, amounting to $500,000,000, and this had been widely published. On the morning of July 3 J. P. Morgan was attacked and wounded with a revolver at his country estate on East Island, near Glen Cove, Long Island, by Erich Muenter, alias Frank Holt. Holt was an Instructor in German at Cornell University; Muenter was a Harvard instructor for whom the police had been seeking since the spring of 1906 on a charge of murdering his wife. After his suicide in jail on July 6, Professor C. N. Gould, of the University of Chicago, and Professor Hugo Muensterberg, of Harvard, among others, identified Holt and Muenter as the same person.

Muenter's insane attack on Mr. Morgan, because he had failed to "use his influence to prevent the exportation of arms and ammunition," followed the wrecking of the United States Senate reception room in the Capitol at Washington on July 2 by the explosion of an infernal machine set by Muenter. On July 6 a trunk owned by Muenter containing twenty pounds of explosives was found in New York. During his stay in jail Muenter wrote to his wife that two ships were to sink at sea on July 7, if his calculations went right, naming the Philadelphia and the Saxonia. The ships were duly warned by wireless, but no bombs were found aboard them, nor were any confederates of Muenter discovered. On July 7 the steamship Minnehaha reported by wireless a "fire caused by explosion" under control.

Incendiary bombs had been discovered aboard four freight steamships sailing from New York for Havre in April and May. On July 12 Secretary of the Navy Daniels, acting on advices received from The New Orleans Picayune, directed the naval radio station at Arlington, Virginia, to flash a warning to all ships at sea to be on the lookout for bombs supposed to have been placed on board certain vessels, and warning particularly the steamers Howth Head and Baron Napier that information had come to the Navy Department that explosive bombs might have been placed on those two vessels. All ships were requested to try to communicate with the Howth Head and the Baron Napier. On July 11 a written threat to assassinate J. P. Morgan, Sir Cecil Spring-Rice, the British Ambassador, and destroy by bombs British ships clearing from American ports, thus carrying out some of the plans of Erich Muenter, was reported in a letter signed "Pearce," who styled himself a partner and intimate associate of Muenter. This letter was received by The New Orleans Times-Picayune.

Two more "Pearce" letters were received on July 13 by an afternoon newspaper of New Orleans and by its Chief of Police, saying that Erich Muenter had taught the writer the use of explosives. On the same day the Samland of the Atlantic Transport Line and the Strathlay, chartered by the Fabre Line, survived attempts to destroy them by fire bombs, and on July 15 "Pearce" threatened in another letter to destroy the Rochambeau. A bomb thought to be intended for the Orduna in a car loaded with coal consigned to the Cunard Line was discovered at Mor-

risville, N. J., on July 18. The Washington Times, the Philadelphia Public-Ledger and the Brooklyn Eagle received on July 16, 19 and 20, respectively, letters from "Pearce" declaring that henceforth persons leaving America on British ships would do so at their peril, and harking back to the German Embassy's warning before the Lusitania was torpedoed. On July 26 an S O S call was received at the Fire Island station, at the Brooklyn Navy Yard, and by the coast guard ship Mohawk, but the distressed ship's appeal for help was broken off before her name or position could be given. "Pearce's" letter to The Brooklyn Eagle reads as follows:

"Sir: You people of Brooklyn have already had one experience with the work of our men, and so, perhaps, it will be unnecessary to say more than a few words of warning. The Kirkoswald affair is still fresh in your memory; therefore, we will not waste words discussing this matter. The purpose of this communication is to warn the American citizens living in your vicinity to keep clear of British vessels sailing from Brooklyn, New York, New Orleans, Savannah, Newport News, and Montreal. Our men are now operating from each of these ports, and Americans will do well to heed this warning ere it is too late.

"The Imperial German Government derives no satisfaction or profit from the killing of neutral Americans, and we are instructed to go to great lengths in order to give timely warnings to all Americans who contemplate voyages to Europe within the next two months. The explosive operations will supplement the submarine operations, which have proved inadequate to prevent the enemy from importing munitions from America.

"We earnestly advise Americans who find it imperative to travel to Europe to sail only on vessels flying the American flag. Such steamers as those of the American Line, for instance, will be perfectly immune from either submarine or explosive operation. The Imperial German Government will, if requested, offer no objection to the American Government pressing into service the interned German vessels if the American vessels are found to be unable to accommodate the traffic to Europe. By publishing this warning American lives may be spared.

"The circumstances under which this communication is written make it impossible for us to affix our proper signatures; therefore, we trust that you will accept for a signature our pen name.

"PEARCE."

Devotion to the Kaiser

The annual general conference of the clergy of the North German Lutheran Churches met in Berlin during the week of June 24, 1915, and sent the following "telegram of devotion" to the Kaiser:

"Your Imperial and Royal Majesty will most graciously deign to accept this most humble blessing and the assurance of true German devotion from the preachers of the North German Evangelical Conference assembled in conference. We raise our eyes with respect and love to your Majesty, the powerful and purposeful leader of the German nation. We are filled with the consciousness that the sources of German power are unconquerable, not only because of the complete union of the German princes and peoples, but because of the unexampled spirit of sacrifice which animates rich and poor alike, and, before all else, because we are a praying nation.

"However great the pressure of our enemies may be on our victorious armies, the army of those who are praying at home will wrestle all the more earnestly in prayer, praying before God's throne for victory."

Scientists and the Military

Movement in Great Britain and the United States to Consult Civilian Experts

EARLY in June, H. G. Wells, the "novelist of science," wrote to the London Times a letter urging the necessity of mobilizing Great Britain's scientific and inventive forces for the war. On June 22 The London Times printed a second letter from Mr. Wells proposing the establishment of a bureau for inventors —"a small department collateral rather than subordinate to the War Office and Admirality." At the annual meeting in London of the British Science Guild on July 1, eminent scientists and chemists, Sir William Mather, Sir William Ramsay, Sir Boverton Redwood, Sir Philip Magnus, Professor Petry, Sir Ronald Ross, Sir Archibald Geikie and Sir Alexander Pedler, condemned the attitude adopted by the British Government toward science in connection with the war, and demanded that in future greater use should be made of the opportunities afforded by scientific knowledge in the prosecution of the struggle. A letter conveying this opinion was sent by these scientists to Prime Minister Asquith. On July 18 it was announced in London that a number of eminent scientists and inventors had been appointed to assist Admiral Lord Fisher, as Chairman of the Invention Board, to coordinate and encourage scientific work in relation to the requirements of the British navy. Lord Bryce was said to be instrumental in this undertaking.

In the United States a similar movement was in progress. THE NEW YORK TIMES published on May 30 an interview with Thomas A. Edison declaring that in its preparations for war the American Government should "maintain a great research laboratory, jointly under military and naval and civilian control." In this could be developed the "continually increasing possibilities of great guns, the minutiae of new explosives, all the technique of military and naval progression, without any vast expense." If any foreign power should seriously consider an attack upon this country "a hundred men of special training quickly would be at work here upon new means of repelling the invaders," Mr. Edison said; "I would be at it, myself."

Secretary of the Navy Daniels thereupon wrote to Mr. Edison a congratulatory letter, saying: "I think your ideas and mine coincide if an interview with you recently published in THE NEW YORK TIMES was correct." He added:

> One of the imperative needs of the navy, in my judgment, is machinery and facilities for utilizing the natural inventive genius of Americans to meet the new conditions of warfare as shown abroad, and it is my intention if a practical way can be worked out, as I think it can be, to establish at the earliest moment a department of invention and development, to which all ideas and suggestions, either from the service or from civilian inventors, can be referred for determination as to whether they contain practical suggestions for us to take up and perfect. . . .
>
> What I want to ask is if you would be willing, as a service to your country, to act as an adviser to this board, to take such things as seem to you to be of value, but which we are not, at present, equipped to investigate, and to use your own magnificent facilities in such investigation if you feel it worth while.

The consequence was Mr. Edison's appointment to head an advisory board of civilian inventors and engineers for a Bureau of Invention and Development created in the Navy Department. After a conference with Mr. Edison Secretary Daniels on July 19 wrote to eight leading scientific societies asking each of them to select two members to serve on

the Naval Advisory Committee, and as a first fruit of the movement it was announced on July 23 that at the request of Mr. Edison, the American Society of Aeronautic Engineers had been formed with Henry A. Wise Wood as President and Orville Wright, Glenn H. Curtiss, W. Starling Burgess, Peter Cooper Hewitt, Elmer A. Sperry and John Hays Hammond, Jr., as Vice-presidents.

Hudson Maxim on Explosives

THE NEW YORK TIMES *on July* 11 *printed an interview with Hudson Maxim, the inventor of explosives, in which Mr. Maxim said*:

Modern war is a warfare of explosives. The highly developed methods of defense, designed especially against explosives, are practically proof against everything but them.

Attacking forces must disemburrow the defending forces; they must be blasted out of the ground. This warfare amounts, literally, to that. It is as if boys hunted woodchucks with dynamite.

Each of the hard-won successes of the war has been a victory for well-placed high explosives. In the last fight around Przemysl the Germans fired in one hour, from field guns, 200,000 shells carrying high explosives.

Reports indicate that the result of this was literally unprecedented. It actually changed the topography of the country. Valleys were dug and hills razed.

Recently Lloyd George used an expressive phrase. "The trenches," he said, "were sprayed with exploding shells."

Such "spraying" only could be possible through the use of an incredible number of explosive projectiles.

America's plants for the production of explosives, cartridges, shrapnel, and rifles have so increased their capacity that we have today ten times the capacity which we had at the time of the war's outbreak, and, for certain things, the increase has been even greater. By the middle of next winter our capacity will be thirtyfold what it was at the beginning of the war.

Thus the fighting among other nations has done much toward preparing us for war, and, therefore, much toward insuring international peace for us, but even our tremendous contribution to the supplies of the Allies amounts to only about 2 per cent. of what they are consuming, and the war has not been running a year.

This indicates that if we should suddenly be involved in warfare with a great power we should be whipped unless we devised means for the increase of our productivity of war supplies, especially explosives and all ammunition materials, by a hundredfold.

The consumption of war material has been unprecedented, and this indicates what may be expected in future wars. In trench fighting, for example, it is estimated that four times as many rifles as men are required. The fighting man must have two because one quickly gets hot and becomes unusable; he must have a third so that he may still have two if one is hit by the return fire or otherwise rendered inefficient; he must have the fourth so that at least one of his weapons may be in the arms hospital undergoing repairs if necessary, and be ready for him in case one of his others is demolished. This development of modern warfare means that a million modern soldiers need four million modern rifles.

This indicates the enormous necessities which would devolve upon this country in case we were forced into a war. During the past week I have received a cable from an old friend in England who has been selling war munitions to the Allies. He asked me how quickly I could get a million rifles made in the United States. The best bids I have been able to obtain have guaranteed a first delivery at the end of one

year and final deliveries at the end of three years.

One of the chief developments in the matter of explosives has been the fact that the United States has found it possible to teach Europe much during this war in regard to smokeless powder. Several years ago the du Pont Powder Company developed a smokeless rifle powder which permits the firing of more than 20,000 rounds from an ordinary army rifle without destroying its accuracy.

When the du Ponts developed their new rifle powder the best European powder destroyed the rifling and accuracy of the gun at about 3,000 rounds. This American invention, therefore, has increased the life of military rifles by sevenfold. Say that an equipment of military rifles cost at the rate of, say, $20 each, and we will find that this means a saving of, roughly, $100,000,000 in the equipment of a million men with one rifle each, and, as they need four rifles each, it means a saving of $400,000,000.

American smokeless powder for cannon also has its advantages. It erodes the guns much less than any European powder except, possibly, that of the Germans. They have a pure nitro-cellulose powder somewhat similar in quality to that of the United States, but ours has an advantage in being multi-perforated, whereby a higher velocity is insured at a lower pressure with, in consequence, a lessened erosive effect upon the guns.

In the early nineties I made the discovery that tri-nitro-cellulose, when combined with pyro-nitro-cellulose, could be much more readily gelatinated and made an excellent smokeless powder, while powder made from pure nitro-cellulose would warp and crack all to pieces in drying. The present German powder is made from such a compound of tri-nitro-cellulose and soluble nitro-cellulose.

Nevertheless, this compound is a makeshift as compared with the nitro-cellulose used by this Government. Ours is a far better explosive, and is less erosive on the guns, because the gases which it generates are not so hot. We have the best smokeless powder in the world, and, after this war is over, our powder will be universally used.

Thor!

By BEATRICE BARRY

I am the God of War—yea, God of Battle am I,
And the evil men speak about me has moved me to fierce reply.
Does not the surgeon's knife
Torture—to save a life?
So, for the life of nations, men learn to fight and die—
Even die!

Craven through love or fear do the weak of the earth await me
Tensely, with bated breath—yea, teaching their sons to hate me.
Lured by my rolling drum,
Nevertheless they come
Proudly, their youth and manhood offering up to sate me!

You who would grudge me aught but harvest of woe and shame—
Answer me, you who hate me, cursing my very name—
When was a serf made free,
Save and alone through me?
When was a tyrant vanquished, save through my purging flame?

After an age of peace do your sons wax soft, their weakness
Shown in a love of ease, of sensuousness, and sleekness;
Then, lest a nation die,
Loud rings my battle-cry!
Lo, they forsake snug warmth for desolate cold and bleakness!

I am the God of War—yea, God of Battle am I,
And the bolts of my savage anger I hurl from a threatening sky.
Speak of me as you will,
Swift though I be to kill,
I have made men of weaklings—I teach men how to die—
Even I!

"I am the Gravest Danger"

By George Bernard Shaw

In a cablegram to The New York Times, *dated July* 17, 1915, *it is reported that an article by George Bernard Shaw in The New Statesman begins with a review of Professor Gilbert Murray's book, "The Foreign Policy of Sir Edward Grey," and ends with the following characteristic reference to himself:*

"Like other Socialists, I have been too much preoccupied with the atrocities of peace and the problems they raise to pay due attention to the atrocities of war, but I have not been unconscious of the European question and I have made a few shots at solutions from time to time. None of these have been received with the smallest approval, but at least I may be permitted to point out that they have all come out right.

"I steadily ridiculed anti-armament agitation, and urged that our armaments should be doubled, trebled, quadrupled, as they might have been without costing the country one farthing that we were not wasting in the most mischievous manner.

"I said that the only policy which would secure the peace of Europe was a policy of using powerful armament to guarantee France against Germany and Germany against Russia, aiming finally at a great peace insurance league of the whole northwest of Europe with the United States of America in defense of Western democratic civilization against the menace of the East and possible crusades from primitive black Christians in Africa.

"When the war broke out I said some more things which were frantically contradicted and which have all turned out to be precisely true. I set the example of sharp criticism of the Government and the War Office, which was denounced as treasonable and which now proves to be the only way of saving our army from annihilation, the Government having meanwhile collapsed and vanished, as every ordinarily self-possessed person foresaw that it must.

"One fact seems established by this beyond doubt; to wit, that I am the gravest public danger that confronts England, because I have the strange power of turning the nation passionately away from the truth by the simple act of uttering it. The necessity for contradicting me, for charging heroically in the opposite direction to that pointed out by me, is part of the delirium of war fever.

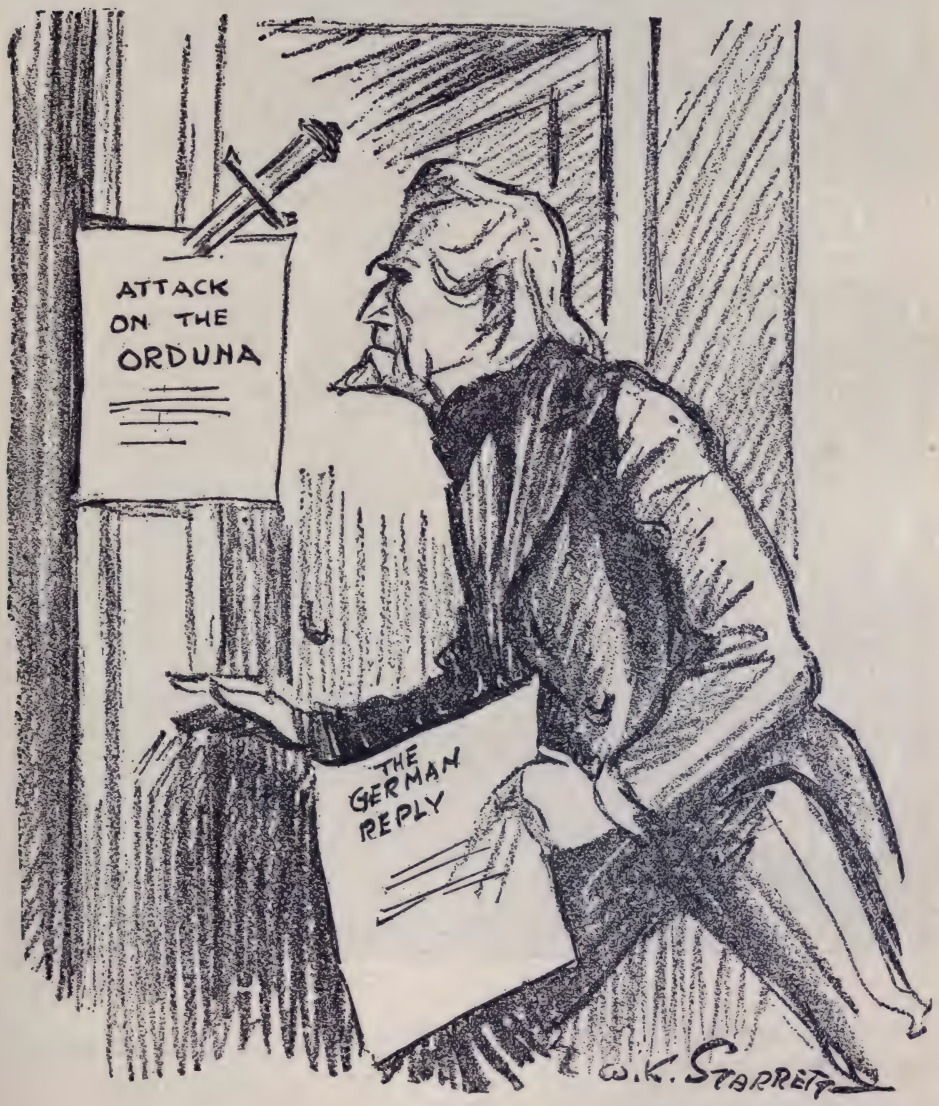
"Sir Edward Grey, on the other hand, is spoken well of by all men, but he, too, is the victim of a mysterious fate. He is, as Professor Murray has repeatedly testified, the most truthful of men, yet he never opens his mouth without deceiving us. He is the most loyal of simple, manly souls, yet he is accused of betraying every country and every diplomatist who trusted him. He is the kindest of men, and yet he has implicated us in the tortures of Denshawai and brought upon us the slaughters of Armageddon.

"Clearly, there are two men in England who must be sent into permanent retirement. Depend on it, there is something fundamentally wrong with them. It is a pity, for they are stuffed with the rarest of virtues—though I say it, who should not. One of them is Sir Edward Grey and the other is G. B. S."

THE EUROPEAN WAR AS SEEN BY CARTOONISTS

[American Cartoon]

The Postscript



—*From The Tribune, New York.*

[German Cartoon]

The Paper Blockade

—From Lustige Blaetter, Berlin.

"Look out there, mate; don't puff so hard, or you'll smash up Churchill's blockade!"

[American Cartoon]

Donnerwetter!

—From The World, New York.

Germany Dishonored: None Drowned.

The Powder Chest

—From Lustige Blaetter, Berlin

John Bull: "Don't be afraid, Mister Moneymaker. There's no safer way to travel to Europe than on my peaceful vessel!"

[English Cartoon]

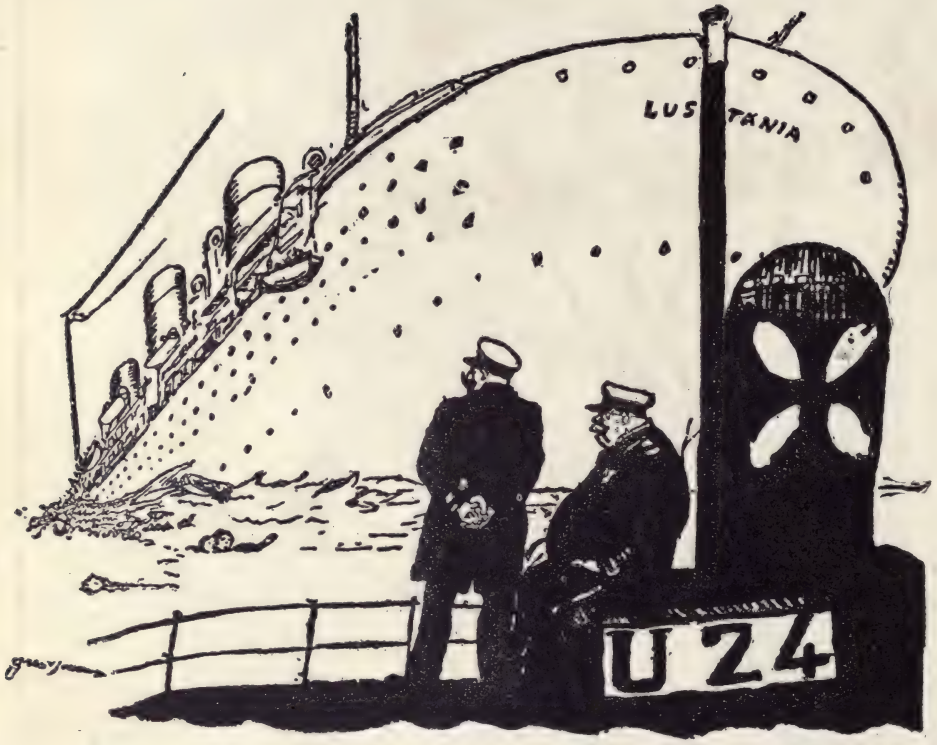
In the Eastern Arena

—*From Punch, London.*

It was the policy of the *retiarius* to retreat in order to gather his net together for a fresh cast.

[French Cartoon]

Circumstances Alter Cases

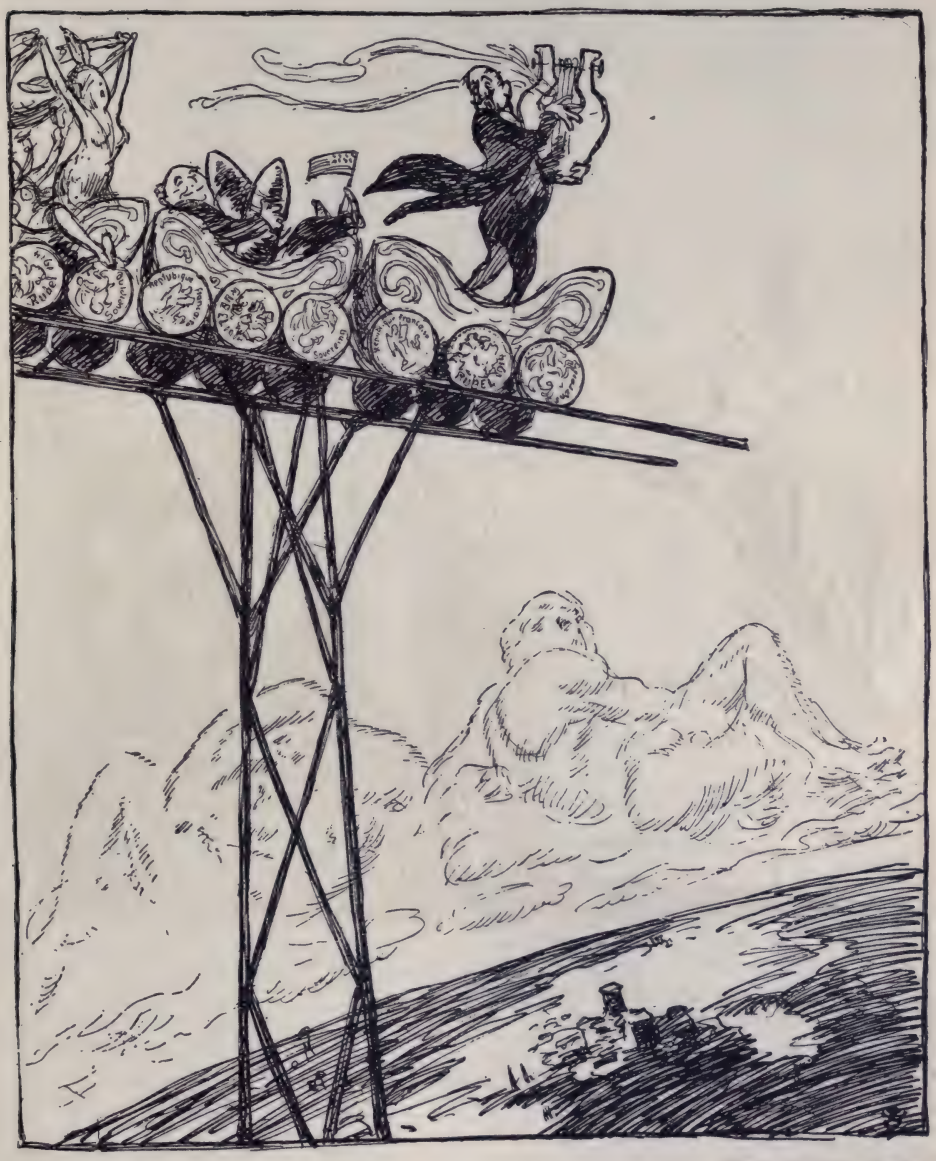


—*From La Revue Hebdominaire, Paris.*

When Wilson's daughter is aboard one of these days it won't be a laughing matter.

[German Cartoon]

A Risky Road



—From Jugend, Munich.

Destruction awaits them even though the wheels are made of dollars.

[American Cartoon]

Sherman Was Right!

—From The Sun, New York.

"Close up these factories! Be neutral!"

[Italian Cartoon]

On the Bosporus

—From Numero, Turin.

The last serenade.

The Belligerents' Munitions

Growing Problems of Germany and Her Opponents in Supplying Arms

The threatened strike in the Krupp works at Essen, Germany, simultaneously with the strike of the Welsh coal miners and the walk-out in the Remington Arms Factory in the United States, would tend to show that labor in the belligerent and neutral countries is seeking advantages under the strain of the enormous output of munitions to feed the war. Only in France, whose people are making supreme sacrifices, and in Russia, whose factories are not yet organized for the nation, does industrial peace prevail. In England the Munitions bill, with its proposals for compulsory arbitration and for limiting profits unweakened, was passed on July 1st. The bill retained, also, the power for the Government to proclaim the extension of its strike-stopping authority to other trades than the munitions trades.

An account of the conditions relating to labor in the various countries, beginning with the speech, in part, of Lloyd George, introducing the Munitions bill in the House of Commons on June 20, appears below.

A Volunteer Army of Workers

By Lloyd George, British Minister of Munitions

Addressing the House of Commons on June 20, 1915, Mr. Lloyd George said, in part:

WHAT I want to impress not merely upon the House but on the country is that the duration of the war, the toll of life and limb levied by the war, the amount of exhaustion caused by the war, the economic and financial effect—and in order to understand the whole depth and meaning of the problem with which we are confronted I would state the ultimate victory or defeat in this war—depend on the supply of munitions which the rival countries can produce to equip their armies in the field. That is the cardinal fact of the military situation in this war. (Cheers.)

I heard the other day on very good authority—and this will give the House an idea of the tremendous preparations made by the enemy for this war and of the expansion which has taken place even since the war—that the Central European Powers are turning out 250,000 shells per day. That is very nearly eight million shells per month. The problem of victory for us is how to equal, how to surpass, that tremendous production. (Hear, hear.)

The Central European Powers have probably attained something like the limits of their possible output. We have only just crossed the threshold of our possibilities. In France I had the privilege of meeting M. Thomas, the Under Secretary for War, a man to whose great organizing capacity a good deal of the success of the French provisions of war is attributable, and I am very reassured not merely as to what France is doing and what France can do but as to what we can do when I take into account what France has already accomplished.

Let us see the position France is in. Her most important industrial provinces were in the hands of the enemy. Seventy per cent. of her steel production was in the hands of the enemy. She had mobilized an enormous army and therefore had withdrawn a very considerable proportion of her population from industry.

She is not at best as great an industrial country as we are. She is much of an agricultural and pastoral country. It is true that we have certain disadvantages compared with France, and they are important. She has not the same gigantic Navy to draw upon the engineering establishments of the country. That makes a very great difference. She has more complete command over her labor. That makes an enormous difference, not merely in the mobility of labor and the readiness with which she can transfer that labor from one center to another, but in the discipline which obtains in the workshops. She has another advantage with her arsenals, which at the outbreak of war corresponded to the magnitude of her Army—a huge Army. We had a small Army to provide for. She, in addition to that, had undoubtedly a very great trade with other countries in the production of munitions of war. These are the advantages and disadvantages. Still, knowing these things and taking them all into account, the surplus of our engineering resources available for the materials of war is undoubtedly greater than that of France, and if we produce these things within the next few months as much as they are likely to produce the Allies would not merely equal the production of the Central Powers, but they would have an overwhelming superiority over the enemy in the material essential to victory. That is the first great fact I would like to get into the minds of all those who can render assistance to the country.

Germany has achieved a temporary preponderance of material. She has done it in two ways. She accumulated great stores before the war. She has mobilized the whole of her industries after the war, having no doubt taken steps before the war to be ready for the mobilization of the workshops immediately after war was declared. Her preponderance in two or three directions is very notable. I mention this because it is essential they should be understood in inviting the assistance of the community to enable us to compete with this formidable enemy. The superiority of the Germans in material was most marked in their heavy guns, their high explosive shells, their rifles, and perhaps most of all their machine-guns. These have turned out to be about the most formidable weapons in the war. They have almost superseded the rifle and rendered it unnecessary.

The machinery for rifles and machine-guns takes eight and nine months to construct before you begin to turn a single rifle or machine-gun. The Germans have undoubtedly anticipated the character of the war in the way no other Power has done. They realized it was going to be a great trench war. They had procured an adequate supply of machinery applicable to those conditions. The professional man was essentially a very conservative one—(hear, hear)—and there are competent soldiers who even today assume that his phase is purely a temporary one, that it would not last long, and we shall be back on the old lines.

I have no doubt much time was lost owing to that opposition. The Germans never harbored that delusion, and were fully prepared to batter down the deepest trenches of the enemy with the heavy guns and high explosives, and to defend their own trenches with machine-guns. That is the story of the war for ten months. We assumed that victory was rather due as a tribute from fate, and our problem now is to organize victory, and not take it for granted. (Cheers.) To do that the whole engineering and chemical resources of this country—of the whole Empire—must be mobilized. When that is done France and ourselves alone, without Italy or Russia, can overtop the whole Teutonic output.

The plan on which we have proceeded until recently I explained to the House in April. We recognized that the arsenals then in existence were quite inadequate to supply the new Army or even the old Army, giving the necessary material and taking into account the rate at which ammunition was being expended. We had, therefore, to organize new sources of supply, and the War Office was of opinion that the best method of attaining that object was to work

through existing firms, so as to have expert control and direction over companies and workshops, which up to that time had no experience in turning out shells and guns and ammunition of all sorts. There was a great deal to be said for that. There was, first of all, a difficulty unless something of that kind was done of mobilizing all the resources at the disposal of the State. The total Army Estimates were £28,000,000 in the year of peace. They suddenly became £700,000,000. All that represents not merely twenty or twenty-five times as much money; it means twenty or twenty-five times as much work. It means more than that, because it has to be done under pressure. The sort of business which takes years to build up, develop, strengthen, and improve has suddenly to be done in about five, six, seven, or eight months. The War Office came to the conclusion that the best way of doing that was to utilize the skill of existing firms which were capable of doing this work. The War Office staff are hard-working, capable men, but there are not enough. There is one consideration which cannot be left out of account, and that is that men who are quite equal to running long-established businesses run on old-established lines, may not always be adequate to the task of organizing and administering a business thirty times its size on novel and original lines.

To be quite candid, the organizing firms—the armament firms—were also inadequate to the gigantic task cast upon them of not merely organizing their own work but of developing the resources of the country outside. They could not command the stock, and sub-contracting has undoubtedly been a failure. Sub-contracting has produced something like 10,000 shells a month. We have only been at it a few days, and we have already placed with responsible firms orders for 150,000 shells a month. In a very short time I am confident it will be a quarter of a million or 300,000. (Cheers.) It is a process of inviting business men to organize themselves and to assist us to develop the resources of their district.

We have secured a very large number of business men; many business men are engaged in organizing and directing their own business, business which is just as essential to the State in a period of war as even the organization of this office; but still there are the services of many able business men which are available, and we propose to utilize them to the full, first, in the Central Office to organize it; secondly, in the localities to organize the resources there; and, thirdly, we propose to have a great Central Advisory Committee of business men to aid us to come to the right conclusions in dealing with the business community.

I should like just to point out two or three of the difficulties, in order to show the steps which are taken to overcome them. The first difficulty, of course, is that of materials. There is, as I pointed out, material of which you have abundance in this country, but there are others which you have got to husband very carefully, and there is other material on which you have got to spend a considerable sum of money in order to be able to develop it at a later stage. With regard to this question, I think that it might be necessary ultimately for us to take complete control of the Metal Market, so that available material should not be wasted on non-essential work. (Hear, hear.) To a certain extent we have done that.

I should like to say a word with regard to raw material for explosives. We are building new factories so that the expansion of explosives shall keep pace with that of shells, and in this respect, again, I should like to dwell upon the importance of keeping up our coal supplies in this country. It is the basis of all our high-explosives, and if there were a shortage for any reason the consequences would be very calamitous.

Sometimes we do not get the best in these yards through the slackness of a minority and sometimes through regulations, useful, perhaps essential, in times of peace for the protection of men against undue pressure and strain, but which in times of war have the effect of restricting output. If these are with-

drawn no doubt it increases the strain on the men, and in a long course of years they could not stand it. But in times of war everybody is working at full strain, and therefore it is difficult to exaggerate the importance of suspending restrictions which have the effect of diminishing the output of war material.

The fourth point is that the danger of having stoppages of work by means of strikes and lock-outs ought to be removed during the time of the war. (Hear, hear.) I should have liked to have seen strikes and lock-outs during the war made impossible in any trade, and I do not despair of getting the assent of those who object to compulsory arbitration under normal conditions to a temporary application of that principle during the period of the war.

The next step is one in which the Trade Unions are concerned. There was a very frank discussion between the leaders of the Trade Unions and myself, and I was bound to point out that if there were an inadequate supply of labor for the purpose of turning out munitions of war which are necessary for the safety of the country compulsion would be inevitable.

They put forward as an alternative that the Government should give them the chance of supplying that number of men. They said, "Give us seven days, and if in seven days we cannot get the men we will admit that our case is considerably weakened." They asked us to place the whole machinery of Government at their disposal, because they had not the organization to enlist the number. We have arranged terms upon which the men are to be enlisted, and tomorrow morning the seven days begin. Advertisements will appear in all the papers, an office has been organized, and the Trade Union representatives are sitting there in council directing the recruiting operations. I am not sure, but I believe my honorable friend Mr. Brace is the Adjutant-General. Tomorrow we hope to be able to make a start. We have 180 town halls in different parts of the country placed entirely at our disposal as recruiting offices. We invite the assistance of everybody to try to secure as many volunteers as they possibly can—men who are not engaged upon Government work now, skilled men —to enroll themselves in the Trade Union army for the purpose of going anywhere where the Government invited them to go to assist in turning out different munitions of war. If there are any honorable friends of mine who are opposed to compulsion, the most effective service they can render to voluntarism is to make this army a success. (Cheers.) If we succeed by these means—and the Board of Trade, the Munitions Department, and the War Office are placing all their services at the disposal of this new recruiting office—if within seven days we secure the labor, then the need for industrial compulsion will to that extent have been taken away.

CALL TO BRITISH WORKERS

In a special cable dispatch to THE NEW YORK TIMES, *dated June* 24, *appeared the following:*

"England expects every workman to do his duty," is the new rendering of Nelson's Trafalgar signal which is being flagged throughout the country today. Lloyd George has issued an appeal to organized labor to come forward within the next seven days in a last supreme effort on behalf of the voluntary system, and if it fails nothing remains but compulsion.

The appeal is being put before them by advertisements in newspapers, by speeches from labor leaders, and by meetings throughout the country. A new workmen's army is being recruited just as Kitchener's army was, and only seven days are given to gather together what may be termed a mobile army of industry. It is estimated that a quarter of a million men well equipped for the purposes required are available outside the ranks of those already engaged in the manufacture of munitions. Nearly two hundred industrial recruiting offices throughout the country opened at six o'clock last night, and, judging by reports already to hand, the voluntary

system seems again likely to justify itself.

"To British Workmen: Your skill is needed," runs one advertisement. "There are thousands of skilled men who are burning to do something for King and country. By becoming a war munitions volunteer each of them can do his bit for his homeland. Get into a factory and supply the firing line."

Posters and small bills with both an artistic and literary "punch" are being prepared and sent out for distribution. Newspapers with special working class clientèle are making direct appeals to their readers.

TEN THOUSAND MEN A DAY

Mr. H. E. Morgan, of the War Munitions Ministry, said in an interview printed by The London Daily Chronicle on July 1:

The War Munition Volunteers have amply justified their formation. During the last two days the enrolments throughout the country have averaged ten thousand skilled and fully qualified mechanics, who are exactly the type of worker we want. So far as the men are concerned, the voluntary principle in industrial labor has triumphed.

We have already transferred a large number of skilled mechanics from non-war work to munition making, and daily the number grows. London compares excellently with other places as regards the number of volunteers, but naturally most of the men are coming from the great engineering centres in the North and Midlands.

A REGISTER OF 90,000

In a London dispatch of the Associated Press, dated July 16, *this report appeared:*

After upward of a fortnight's work in the six hundred bureaus which were opened when the Minister of Munitions, David Lloyd George, gave labor the opportunity voluntarily to enroll as munitions operatives, closed today with a total registration of ninety thousand men. Registration hereafter will be carried out through the labor exchanges.

More men are needed, but the chief difficulty now is to place them on war work with a minimum of red tape. H. G. Morgan, assistant director of the Munitions Department, said today that this problem was causing some unrest among the workers, but that the transfers would take time, for the Government was anxious not to disturb industry more than necessary.

"The problem almost amounts to a rearrangement of the whole skilled labor of the country," said Mr. Morgan. "This, of course, will take considerable time."

THE CAMPAIGN CONTINUED

A cable dispatch from London to THE NEW YORK TIMES *said on July* 15:

The Daily Chronicle says that a campaign to urge munition workers to even greater efforts is to open today with a meeting at Grantham, and next week meetings will be held at Luton, Gloucester, Stafford, Preston, and other centres. In the course of the next few weeks hundreds of meetings will take place in all parts of the Kingdom.

The campaign has been organized by the Munitions Parliamentary Committee, the secretaries of which have received the following letter from Munitions Minister Lloyd George:

"I am glad to hear that members of the House are responding so enthusiastically to my pressing appeal to them to undertake a campaign in the country to impress upon employers and workers in munitions shops the urgent and even vital necessity for a grand and immediate increase in the output of munitions of war."

Professor Mantoux has been asked by the French Munitions Minister to keep in touch with the campaign and to report from time to time as to the results achieved. It is felt that what affects England affects France, and later a similar campaign may be inaugurated in that country.

Sixty members of Parliament have promised to speak at the meetings.

COAL STRIKE IN WALES

Most of the coal for Great Britain's navy comes from South Wales, and the supply was reduced by the enlistment of sixty thousand Welsh miners in the army. The labor crisis was first threatened three months ago, when the miners gave notice that they would terminate the existing agreements on July 1, *and, in lieu of these, they proposed a national program, giving an all-around increase in wages. The owners objected to the consideration of the new terms during the war and asked the miners to accept the existing agreements plus a war bonus. After a series of conferences the union officials agreed to recommend a compromise, which was arranged through the Board of Trade. The miners, however, voted yesterday against this, and the Government was obliged to take action.*

On July 16 *the Associated Press cabled from London:*

The Executive Committee of the South Wales Miners' Federation, most of the members of which are opposed to the strike, came to London today and conferred with Walter Runciman, President of the Board of Trade, who, it is understood, made new proposals for a settlement of the trouble, which will be considered at a meeting in the morning.

There is no indication of any weakening on the part of the men. Even the men in one district who last night decided to resume work reversed their decision, and not a pick was moving today.

However, the impression still prevails that a few days will see an end of the walkout. It is not believed that the introduction of the Munitions of War act can force the men to return to work, for it is impossible to bring 150,000 men before the courts to impose fines for contravening the act.

In fact, the resort to this measure is believed rather to have made the situation worse, and the men's demands now include its withdrawal so far as coal mining is concerned.

An Associated Press dispatch from Cardiff, Wales, on July 20 *reported:*

Subject to ratification by the miners themselves through delegates who will assemble tomorrow, representatives of the Government and of the coal mine owners on the one hand, and the Executive Committee of the South Wales Miners' Federation on the other, agreed today to terms that, it is thought, will end the coal miners' strike, which, since last Thursday, has tied up the South Wales coal fields and menaced the fuel supply of the navy.

The terms arrived at grant a substantial increase in wages and involve concessions to the strikers which are considered by their Executive Committee as tantamount to an admission of the miners' claims on nearly all the outstanding points. Tonight the delegates were visiting their districts, canvassing the sentiment there preparatory to tomorrow's vote.

If tomorrow's meeting should bring a settlement of the strike the thanks of the country will go chiefly to David Lloyd George, the Munitions Minister, for it was his arrival here last night that paved the way for breaking the deadlock between the miners and the mine owners.

If the vote tomorrow is favorable to ending the strike, two hundred thousand men will return to work immediately and agree to abide by the terms of the settlement until six months after the termination of the war.

AMMUNITION IN FRANCE

M. Millerand, French Minister of War, after the Senate had approved, on June 29, *the bill appropriating* $1,200,000,000 *for war expenses of the third quarter of the year, reported as quoted by the Associated Press:*

From August 1 to April 1 France has increased her military production sixfold. The curve for munitions has never ceased to mount, nor that representing the manufacture of our 75s. I can give satisfying assurances also regarding the heavy artillery and small arms. From the 1st of January to the 15th of May the other essentials of the war have been equally encouraging. We

are determined to pursue our enemies, whatever arms they may employ.

Yves Guyot, the economist and late Minister of Public Works in France, said to the NEW YORK TIMES *correspondent on July* 3:

France can hold her own against Germany. She herself makes all the shells that play such havoc in the enemy's ranks, and she will keep on making all she needs.

The munitions problem in France is not so acute as in England. In France as soon as the war started we began turning out the shells as fast as our factories could work. So, in a short time, they were going full blast. We have been able to supply our army with ample ammunition and to have shells enough to shake up the enemy whenever we put on spurts.

It is vitally important that England has come to the realization of the need of equipping her own army with adequate ammunition. Up to now the English Army has been sadly handicapped, but with the energetic Lloyd George in command the munitions output in the near future is certain to bring a sudden change in the status of England in the war.

We in France being in such immediate contact with the horrors of war had a stern sense of the necessity of fully equipping our army forced upon us at the very beginning of the conflict. The only thing we have lacked has been steel, and we have been getting some of that from our old friend, the United States. France has steel plants, and they do a tremendous amount of work, but altogether they do not turn out enough for our ammunition works. So we had to turn elsewhere for some of this product, and it was America that came to our aid.

We have got the steel with which to make shells. Our workmen are well organized and the whole spirit prevailing among them is to help France to win the bloodiest war of her history.

The London Daily Chronicle in an interview with Albert Thomas, French Minister of Munitions, quoted him as follows on July 8:

It is our duty to organize victory. To this we are bending all our energies. The war may be long; difficulties may reach us of which we had no prevision at the start; but we shall keep on until the end.

We know how great are the resources of Britain. We know what immense efforts she has put forth, which have been a surprise not only to us but to the enemy as well, and we have every reason for believing and knowing that these immense resources will continue to be used in the service of the Allies.

Understand me, I do not say that our common task is an easy one, nor do I say that we are on the eve of a speedy victory; but what I do say is that be the struggle long or short, we are both ready to double, to treble, to quadruple, and, if necessary, to increase tenfold the output of munitions of war.

We have pooled our resources, and I, for one, have no doubt, that these resources are great enough to stand any strain whch we may be called upon to put upon them; nor have I any fear of an ultimate triumph. All the great moral forces of the world are on our side. The Allies are fighting for the freeing of Europe from the domination of militarism; and that is fighting into which every democrat can throw himself heart and soul. Defeat in such a cause is unthinkable.

RUSSIAN INDUSTRIALISTS RALLY

The Petrograd correspondent of the London Morning Post reported on June 11th *the annual assembly of leading members of the world of commerce and industry, as follows*:

Speakers urged a general rally round the Rulers of the States, and proposals were made that they should should express collectively to the Ministers the readiness of the whole industrial and mercantile class represented at that congress to place themselves at the disposal of the State for the purpose of making better provision for the war. The example of England in instituting a Ministry of Munitions should serve as a

guide to Russia. A deputation, it was urged, should be appointed to lay at the feet of the Emperor the heartfelt desire of all to devote themselves to the sole purpose of obtaining victory over Germanism and to expound the ideas of their class for the best means of employing their resources. England had turned all its manufacturing resources into factories of munitions of war, and Russia must do the same.

Some speakers referred to the lack of capital for the proper exploitation of the resources of the country, saying that this would be especially felt after the war was over. The Congress, however, declined to look beyond the all-important need of the moment, namely, to direct the entire resources of the country to the achievement of victory over Germanism.

The final sitting was attended by the President of the Duma, M. Rodzjanko, whose speech was listened to with profound feeling. The Congress passed with acclamation various patriotic resolutions, its main decision being to establish immediately a Central Committee for the provision of munitions of war. It is expected that by this means Russia will be able to accomplish what England is believed to be achieving in the same direction. Every factory and workshop throughout the country is to be organized for the supply of everything needed by the armies in the field.

SPEEDING GERMAN WORKMEN

A "Neutral" correspondent of The London Daily Chronicle, just returned from Germany, was thus quoted in a cable dispatch to THE NEW YORK TIMES *on June* 28:

It is in towns, particularly industrial towns, where one sees how entirely the German nation is organized for war. Into these towns an enormous number of men have been drafted from the country to work in factories, which are humming day and night with activity to keep up the supply of all things necessary for the fighting line.

In general, the relations between capital and labor there have experienced notable amelioration. Indeed, the impression one gains in traveling about Germany is one of absolute settled industrial peace, but I know this has only been secured because all parties know that the first signs of dissatisfaction would be treated "with the utmost rigor of the law."

At some of the largest factories men are often at work fifteen, twenty, and even thirty hours on a stretch, with only short intervals for rest. Though it is said that there are ample stocks of all kinds of ammunition, there is noted daily and nightly a feverish haste in the factories where it is made.

The Government has not officially taken over the factories, but it is well known that all factory owners who want Government work can get it, and, as this is almost the only profitable use to which factories can just now be put, there is no lack of candidates for recognition as army contractors.

Whenever a Government contract is given out there is a clause in the contract which fixes rates of wages for every grade of workmen so that any questions of increases that the men might raise are out of the hands of the employer, and he points to the fact that both he and the workmen are in the hands of the State. Strikes are therefore unknown, a further deterrent being the knowledge that any man who does not do his utmost without murmuring will quickly be embodied in some regiment destined for one of the hottest places at the front.

In factories where Government work is being done wages are high, and even in the few cases where wages of certain unskilled workers have fallen, the men are allowed to work practically until they drop and so make up by more hours what they have lost by the lowered rates.

There is keen competition to obtain work in the factories working for the State, as the men engaged in these know almost certainly that for some time at least they will not be sent to the front,

which seems to be the chief dread underlying all other thoughts and feelings.

For work done on Sunday wages are 50 per cent. higher than the usual rate. The men are encouraged to work on Sundays and overtime on weekdays and the prices of food are so high they need little encouragement. Where women have taken the places of men their wages are in most cases lower.

KRUPPS' IMPENDING STRIKE

An Associated Press dispatch from Geneva on July 15 *said:*

A report has reached Basle that a big strike is threatened at the Krupp Works at Essen, Germany, the movement being headed by the Union of Metallurgical Workmen and the Association of Mechanics. They demand higher wages, the report says, because of the increased cost of living and shorter hours because of the great strain under which they work.

The workmen, according to these advices, are in an angry mood and threaten the destruction of machinery unless their demands are granted immediately, as they have been put off for three months with promises. Several high officials have arrived at the Krupp Works in an effort to straighten out matters and calm the workmen, the advices add, and Bertha Krupp is expected to visit the plant and use her great influence with the workers.

The Frankfort Gazette, according to the news reaching Basle, has warned the administration of the Krupp plant of the seriousness of the situation, and has advised that the men's demands be granted. Meanwhile, the reports state, several regiments have been moved to the vicinity of the works to be available should the trouble result in a strike.

A dispatch to The London Daily Chronicle, dated Chiasso, July 16, *reported:*

According to a telegram from Munich to Swiss papers, the German military authorities have informed the management and union officials of the Krupps, where disputes occasioned by the increased cost of living have arisen in several departments, that in no circumstances will a strike be tolerated.

On July 19 *an Associated Press dispatch from Geneva reads:*

An important meeting was held at Essen yesterday, according to advices received at Basle, between the administration of the Krupp gun works and representatives of the workmen, in order to settle the dispute which has arisen over the demands of the men for an increase in wages.

Directly and indirectly, about one hundred thousand men are involved. Minor cases in which machinery has been destroyed have been reported.

The military authorities before the meeting, the Basle advices say, warned both sides that unless an immediate arrangement was reached severe measures would be employed.

The Krupp officials are understood to have granted a portion of the demands of the employees, which has brought about a temporary peace, but the workmen still appear to be dissatisfied, and many have left the works.

A strike would greatly affect the supply of munitions, and for this reason the military have adopted rigorous precautions.

On the same date the following brief cable was sent to THE NEW YORK TIMES *from London:*

A telegram to The Daily Express from Geneva says many men have already left the Krupp works because they are unable to bear the strain of incessant labor, and would rather take their chances in the trenches than continue work at Essen under the present conditions.

Some minor cases of sabotage have already been reported.

REMINGTON ARMS STRIKE

In a special dispatch to THE NEW YORK TIMES, *dated Bridgeport, Conn., July* 14, *appeared the following news of labor trouble in the American munitions factory:*

One hundred workmen, twenty guards, and the Bridgeport police reserves took a hand in a riot tonight at the new plant of the Remington Arms Company, where it is planned to make small arms for the Allies. The riot brings to fever heat the labor excitement of the last week, which yesterday caused the walkout of the structural ironworkers at the plant and today a walkout of the millwrights and the ironworkers on the new plant of the sister company, the Remington Union Metallic Cartridge Company.

The three thousand workmen have been stirred into a great unrest in the last week by some unseen influence. Major Walter W. Penfield, U. S. A., retired, head of the arms plant, says pro-Germans are back of the strike. This the labor leaders deny.

On July 15 *the spread of the strike was reported in a special dispatch from Bridgeport to* THE NEW YORK TIMES:

The strike at the giant new plant of the Remington Arms Company under construction to make arms for the Allies, as well as, it is supposed, for the United States Government, spread to-day from the proportions of a picayune family labor quarrel to an imminent industrial war which would paralyze Bridgeport, curtailing the shipment of arms and ammunition from this centre, and which threatens to spread to other cities in the United States, especially to those where munitions of war are being manufactured.

On July 20 THE NEW YORK TIMES *published the demands of the workmen at the Remington Arms plant, as outlined by J. J. Keppler, vice-president of the Machinists' Union:*

Mr. Keppler was asked to tell concisely just what the unions wanted.

"There are at present," he replied, "just three demands. If the strike goes further the demands will increase. The demands are:

"1. Recognition of the millwrights as members of the metal trade unions and not of the carpenters', and fixing of the responsibility for the order some one gave for the millwrights to join the carpenters' union, an attempt on the part of the Remington or the Stewart people to dictate the international management of the unions.

"2. A guarantee of a permanent eight-hour day in all plants in Bridgeport making war munitions. This carries with it a demand for a guarantee of a minimum wage and double pay for overtime.

"3. That all men who go on strike will be taken back to work."

In addition, of course, Mr. Johnston demands that Major Penfield retract his charge of German influence being back of the strike.

A check, if not a defeat, administered to the fomenters of the strike was reported to THE NEW YORK TIMES *in a Bridgeport dispatch dated July* 20, *as follows:*

John A. Johnston, International vice-president of the Iron Workers' Union, and J. J. Keppler, vice-president of the Machinists', were on hand to inaugurate the big strike. All of Bridgeport's available policemen were on duty at the plant.

As the whistle blew the crowd surged about the gates, where barbed wire and guards held them back. Five minutes passed, ten, twenty, and 12.30 saw Keppler and Johnston pacing up and down before the plant awaiting their men. At 1 o'clock not a machinist had issued from the portals. The hoarse whistle blew, calling back the two thousand workers to their task, and Keppler and Johnston and the rest were left in wonder.

A cog had slipped in this way:

Before the noon whistle blew, Major Walter G. Penfield, works manager of the plant, placed guards at all the exits to ask the machinists to wait a few minutes. They did. The foreman told them that, on behalf of the Remington Company, Major Penfield desired to assure them a permanent eight-hour day, beginning August 1, and to guarantee a dollar a day increase in pay.

The Power of the Purse

How "Silver Bullets" Are Made in Britain

By Prime Minister Asquith

For the first time in the financial history of Great Britain, Prime Minister Asquith declared in his Guildhall speech of June 29, an unlimited and democratic war loan was popularized, appealing to all classes, including the poorest, and advertising the sale through the Post Office of vouchers for as low as 5 shillings to be turned into stock. His speech was intended also to initiate a movement for saving and thrift among the people as the only secure means against national impoverishment by the war.

A statement by Reginald McKenna, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, in the House of Commons on July 13, showed that approximately £600,000,000, or $3,000,000,000, had been subscribed, making this the greatest war loan raised in the history of any nation. The total number of subscribers through the Bank of England was 550,000, aggregating £570,000,000, or $2,850,000,000, while 547,000 persons had subscribed $75,000,000 through the Post Office. Besides this no estimate of the small vouchers taken out had been made, and the Post Office subscriptions had not been closed. The gigantic total, Mr. McKenna said, represented only new money, and not any stock which will be issued for purposes of conversion. Prime Minister Asquith's speech appears in full below.

In his speech in the Guildhall, London, on June 29, 1915, Mr. Asquith said:

THIS is, I think, the third time since the war began that I have had the privilege of addressing you in this hall. On the first occasion, as far back as September last, I came here to appeal to you to supply men to be trained to fight our battles at the front. Today I have come to ask you here in the City of London for what is equally necessary for the success of our cause—for the ways and means which no community in the Empire is better qualified to provide, to organise, and to replenish.

This is the costliest war that has ever been waged. A hundred years ago our ancestors spent eight hundred millions to vindicate, as we are vindicating today, the freedom of Europe, in a war which lasted the best part of 20 years, which brings out a rough average of considerably less than a million pounds a week. Our total expenditure today approaches for one year a thousand millions, and we are spending now, and are likely to spend for weeks and months to come, something like three million pounds a day. Our daily revenue from taxation, I suppose, works out less than three-quarters of a million per day.

Those are facts which speak for themselves, and they show the urgent necessity, not only for a loan, but for a national loan—a loan far larger in its scale, far broader in its basis, and far more imperious in its demand upon every class and every section of the community than any in our history.

For the first time in our financial experience no limit has been placed on the amount to be raised; and that means that every citizen in the country is invited to subscribe as much as he can to help us to a complete and speedy victory. I need not dwell on its attractiveness from the mere investor's point of view. Indeed, the only criticism which I have heard in or outside the House of Commons is that it is perhaps a little too generous in its terms. That is a fault, if it be a fault, upon the right side.

For £100 in cash you get £100 in stock, with interest at 4½ per cent. on the credit of the British Exchequer. The loan is redeemable in thirty years, when every subscriber, or those who succeed him, must get his money back

in full, and the Government retain an option to repay at the end of ten years. That is the earliest date on which any question of re-investment can arise. Further, the stock or bonds will be accepted at par, with an allowance for accrued interest as the equivalent of cash, for subscription to any loan that the Government may issue in this country throughout the war.

I want especially to emphasise that this is for the first time in our financial history a great democratic loan. The State is appealing to all classes, including those whose resources are most limited, to step in and contribute their share to meet a supreme national need. The Post Office will receive subscriptions for £5, or any multiple of £5, and will sell vouchers for 5s. and upwards which can be gradually accumulated, and by December 1st next turned into stock of the new loan.

Every advantage which is given to the big capitalist is granted also in the same degree to the smallest supporter of the country's credit and finance. And, under such conditions, I am confident that the success of the loan as a financial instrument ought to be, and indeed is now, absolutely secured. (Cheers.)

This meeting was called not only to advertise the advantages of the War Loan, but to initiate a concerted national movement for what may be called war economy. My text is a very simple one. It is this: "Waste on the part either of individuals or of classes, which is always foolish and shortsighted, is, in these times, nothing short of a national danger." According to statisticians, the annual income of this country—I speak of the country and not of the Government—the annual income of this country is from two thousand two hundred and fifty to two thousand four hundred millions, and the annual expenditure of all classes is estimated at something like two thousand millions. It follows that the balance annually saved and invested, either at home or abroad, is normally between three hundred and four hundred millions.

Upon a nation so circumstanced, and with such habits, there has suddenly descended—for we did not anticipate it, nor prepared the way for it—the thundercloud of war—war which, as we now know well, if we add to our own direct expenditure the financing of other countries, will cost us in round figures about a thousand millions in the year. Now how are we, who normally have only three hundred or four hundred millions to spare in a year, to meet this huge and unexpected extraordinary draft upon our resources?

The courses open are four. The first is the sale of investments or property. We have, it is said, invested abroad something like four thousand millions sterling. Can we draw upon that to finance the war? Well, there are two things to be said about any such suggestion. The first is that our power of sale is limited by the power of other countries to buy, and that power, under existing conditions, is strictly limited.

The second thing to be said is this: That, if we were to try, assuming it to be practicable, to pay for the war in this way, we should end it so much poorer. The war must, in any case, impoverish us to some extent, but we should end it so much poorer, because the income we now receive, mainly from goods and services from abroad, would be proportionately, and permanently, reduced. I dismiss that, therefore, as out of the question.

Similar considerations seem to show the impracticability on any considerable scale of a second possible expedient, namely, borrowing abroad. The amount that could be raised in any foreign market at this moment, in comparison with the sum required, is practically infinitesimal, and, if it were possible on any considerable scale, we should again have to face the prospects of ending the war a debtor country, with a huge annual drain on our goods and our services, which would flow abroad in the payment of interest and the redemption of principal. That again, therefore, for all practical purposes, may be brushed aside.

There is a third course—payment out of our gold reserve, but that need only be stated to be discarded. We cannot impair the basis of the great system of credit which has made this City of London the financial centre and capital of the world.

There remains only one course, the one we have come here today to advocate, and to press upon our fellow-countrymen—to diminish our expenditure and to increase our savings.

If you save more you can lend the State more, and the nation will be proportionately enabled to pay for the war out of its own pocket. A second proposition, equally simple, and equally true, is this. If you spend less, you either reduce the cost and volume of our imports, or you leave a larger volume of commodities available for export.

The state of the trade balance between ourselves and other countries at this moment affords grounds—I do not say for anxiety, but for serious thought. If you look at the Board of Trade returns for the first five months—that is, to the end of the month of May—of the present year—you will find, as compared with the corresponding period of last year, that our imports have increased by thirty-five and a half millions; while our exports and re-exports have decreased by seventy-three and three-quarter millions. What does that mean? It means a total addition in five months of our indebtedness to other countries of nearly a hundred and ten millions, and if that rate were to continue till we reached the end of a completed year, the figure of indebtedness would rise to over two hundred and sixty millions.

That is a serious prospect, and I want to ask you, and those outside, how can that tendency be counteracted? The answer is a very simple one—by reducing all unnecessary expenditure, first, of imported goods — familiar illustrations are tea, tobacco, wine, sugar, petrol; I could easily add to the list—and that would mean that we should have to buy less from abroad; and next, as regards goods which are made at home—you can take as an illustration beer—setting a larger quantity free for export, which means that we have more to sell abroad, and enable capital and labour here at home to be more usefully and appropriately applied. That may seem a rather dry and technical argument—(laughter)—but it goes to the root of the whole matter.

If you ask me to state the result in a sentence, it is this: All money that is spent in these days on superfluous comforts or luxuries, whether in the shape of goods or in the shape of services, means the diversion of energy which can be better employed in the national interests, either in supplying the needs of our fighting forces in the field or in making commodities for export which will go to reduce our indebtedness abroad.

And, on the other hand, every saving we make by the curtailment and limitation of our productive expenditure increases the resources which can be put by our people at the disposal of the State for the triumphant vindication of our cause.

I said our cause. That, after all, is the summary and conclusion of the whole matter. We are making here and throughout the Empire a great national and Imperial effort, unique, supreme. The recruiting of soldiers and sailors, the provision of munitions, the organisation of our industries, the practice of economy, the avoidance of waste, the accumulation of adequate war funds, the mobilisation of all our forces, moral, material, personal—all these are contributory and convergent streams which are directed to and concentrated upon one unifying end, one absorbing and governing purpose.

It is not merely with us a question of self-preservation, of safeguarding against hostile design and attack the fabric which has withstood so many storms of our corporate and national life. That in itself would justify all our endeavours. But there is something even larger and worthier at stake in this great testing trial of our people.

There is not a man or a woman among us but he or she is touched even

in the faintest degree with a sense of the higher issues which now hang in the balance, who has not, during this last year, become growingly conscious that, in the order of Providence, we here have been entrusted with the guardianship of interests and ideals which stretch far beyond the shores of these islands, beyond even the confines of our world-spread Empire, which concern the whole future of humanity. (Cheers.)

Is right or is force to dominate mankind? Comfort, prosperity, luxury, a well-fed and securely sheltered existence, not without the embellishments and concentrations of art and literature, and perhaps some conventional type of religion—all these we can purchase at a price, but at what a price! At the sacrifice of what makes life, national or personal, alone worth living. My Lord Mayor and citizens of London, we are not going to make that sacrifice (loud and prolonged cheers, the audience rising and waving their hats). Rather than make it, we shall fight to the end, to the last farthing of our money, to the last ounce of our strength, to the last drop of our blood. (Loud cheers.)

Cases Reserved

By SIR OWEN SEAMAN

[From Punch.]

"The Government are of opinion that the general question of personal responsibility shall be reserved until the end of the War."—*Mr. Balfour in the House.*

Let sentence wait. The apportionment of blame
To those who compassed each inhuman wrong
Can bide till Justice bares her sword of flame;
But let your memories be long!

And, lest they fail you, wearied into sleep,
Bring out your tablets wrought of molten steel;
There let the record be charáctered deep
In biting acid, past repeal.

And not their names alone, of high estate,
Drunk with desire of power, at whose mere nod
The slaves that execute their lust of hate
Laugh at the laws of man and God;

But also theirs who shame their English breed,
Who go their ways and eat and drink and play,
Or find in England's bitter hour of need
Their chance of pouching heavier pay;

And theirs, the little talkers, who delight
To beard their betters, on great tasks intent,
Cheapening our statecraft in the alien's sight
For joy of self-advertisement.

To-day, with hands to weightier business set,
Silent contempt is all you can afford;
But put them on your list and they shall get,
When you are free, their full reward.

New Recruiting in Britain

By Field Marshal Earl Kitchener, Secretary of State for War

State registration of all persons, male and female, between the ages of fifteen and sixty-five, the particulars to include each person's age, work, and employers, and his registering to be accompanied by an invitation that he volunteer for work for which he may have special fitness, was the provision introduced in the House of Commons on June 29, 1915, and passed by that body on July 8. In explaining the bill's intent its introducer, Mr. Walter Long, who is President of the Local Government Board, replied on July 9 to the objection of critics who saw in it the first steps to compulsory service. He said that the National Register stood or fell by itself. So far as the use of it went, so far as the adoption of compulsion went, he declared frankly that the Prime Minister would be the last man in England to say, in the face of the situation in which Britons found themselves, anything which would prevent the Government adopting compulsory service tomorrow if they believed it to be right and necessary in order to bring this war to an end. Their hands were absolutely free. On the same day Earl Kitchener opened a recruiting campaign with a speech in the London Guildhall, which appears in part below.

The Lord Mayor of London, in calling upon Lord Kitchener, said the Empire had indeed been highly fortunate in having him at the head of the War Office in this great national crisis. Earl Kitchener was received with cheers as he said:

HITHERTO the remarks that I have found it necessary to make on the subject of recruiting have been mainly addressed to the House of Lords; but I have felt that the time had now come when I may with advantage avail myself of the courteous invitation of the Lord Mayor to appear among you, and in this historic Guildhall make another and a larger demand on the resources of British manhood. Enjoying as I do the privilege of a Freeman of this great City—(hear, hear!)—I can be sure that words uttered in the heart of London will be spread broadcast throughout the Empire. (Cheers.) Our thoughts naturally turn to the splendid efforts of the Oversea Dominions and India, who, from the earliest days of the war, have ranged themselves side by side with the Mother Country. The prepared armed forces of India were the first to take the field, closely followed by the gallant Canadians—(cheers)—who are now fighting alongside their British and French comrades in Flanders, and are there presenting a solid and impenetrable front against the enemy. In the Dardanelles the Australians and New Zealanders—(cheers)—combined with the same elements, have already accomplished a feat of arms of almost unexampled brilliancy, and are pushing the campaign to a successful conclusion. In each of these great Dominions new and large contingents are being prepared, while South Africa, not content with the successful conclusion of the arduous campaign in South-West Africa, is now offering large forces to engage the enemy in the main theatre of war. (Cheers.) Strengthened by the unflinching support of our fellow-citizens across the seas, we seek to develop our own military resources to their utmost limits, and this is the purpose which brings us together today.

Napoleon, when asked what were the three things necessary for a successful war, replied: "Money, money, money." Today we vary that phrase, and say: "Men, material, and money." As regards the supply of money for the war, the Government are negotiating a new loan, the marked success of which is greatly due to the very favorable response made by the City. To meet the need for material, the energetic manner in which the new Ministry of Munitions is coping with the many difficulties which confront the production of our great requirements affords abundant proof that this very important work is being dealt with in a highly satisfactory

manner. (Cheers.) There still remains the vital need for men to fill the ranks of our Armies, and it is to emphasize this point and bring it home to the people of this country that I have come here this afternoon. When I took up the office that I hold, I did so as a soldier, not as a politician—(loud cheers)—and I warned my fellow countrymen that the war would be not only arduous, but long. (Hear, hear.) In one of my earliest statements made after the beginning of the war I said that I should require "More men, and still more, until the enemy is crushed." I repeat that statement today with even greater insistence. All the reasons which led me to think in August, 1914, that this war would be a prolonged one hold good at the present time. It is true we are in an immeasurably better situation now than ten months ago—(hear, hear)—but the position today is at least as serious as it was then. The thorough preparedness of Germany, due to her strenuous efforts, sustained at high pressure for some forty years, have issued in a military organization as complex in character as it is perfect in machinery. Never before has any nation been so elaborately organized for imposing her will upon the other nations of the world; and her vast resources of military strength are wielded by an autocracy which is peculiarly adapted for the conduct of war. It is true that Germany's long preparation has enabled her to utilize her whole resources from the very commencement of the war, while our policy is one of gradually increasing our effective forces. It might be said with truth that she must decrease, whilst we must increase.

It would be difficult to exaggerate the value of the response that has been made to my previous appeals, but I am here today to make another demand on the manhood of the country to come forward to its defence. I was from the first unwilling to ask for a supply of men in excess of the equipment available for them. I hold it to be most undesirable that soldiers, keen to take their place in the field, should be thus checked and possibly discouraged, or that the completion of this training should be hampered owing to lack of arms. We have now happily reached a period when it can be said that this drawback has been surmounted, and that the troops in training can be supplied with sufficient arms and material to turn them out as efficient soldiers.

When the great rush of recruiting occurred in August and September of last year, there was a natural difficulty in finding accommodation for the many thousands who answered to the call for men to complete the existing armed forces and the New Armies. Now, however, I am glad to say we have throughout the country provided accommodation calculated to be sufficient and suitable for our requirements. Further, there was in the early autumn a very natural difficulty in clothing and equipping the newly raised units. Now we are able to clothe and equip all recruits as they come in, and thus the call for men is no longer restricted by any limitations, such as the lack of material for training.

It is an axiom that the larger an army is, the greater is its need of an ever-swelling number of men of recruitable age to maintain it at its full strength; yet, at the very same time the supply of those very men is automatically decreasing. Nor must it be forgotten that the great demand which has arisen for the supply of munitions, equipment, etc., for the armed forces of this country and of our Allies also, as well as the economic and financial necessity of keeping up the production of manufactured goods, involves the retention of a large number of men in various trades and manufactures, many of whom would otherwise be available for the Colors. In respect of our great and increasing military requirements for men, I am glad to state how much we are indebted to the help given to the Recruiting Staff of the Regular Army and to the Territorial Associations throughout the country by the many Voluntary Recruiting Committees formed in all the counties and cities, and in many important boroughs for this purpose.

The public has watched with eager interest the growth and the rapidly ac-

quired efficiency of the New Armies, whose dimensions have already reached a figure which only a short while ago would have been considered utterly unthinkable. (Cheers.) But there is a tendency, perhaps, to overlook the fact that these larger armies require still larger reserves, to make good the wastage at the front. And one cannot ignore the certainty that our requirements in this respect will be large, continuous, and persistent; for one feels that our gallant soldiers in the fighting line are beckoning, with an urgency at once imperious and pathetic, to those who remain at home to come out and play their part too. Recruiting meetings, recruiting marches, and the unwearied labors of the recruiting officers, committees, and individuals have borne good fruit, and I look forward with confidence to such labors being continued as energetically as hitherto.

But we must go a step further, so as to attract and attach individuals who from shyness — (laughter) — or other causes—(renewed laughter)—have not yet yielded to their own patriotic impulses. The Government have asked Parliament to pass a Registration Bill, with the object of ascertaining how many men and women there are in the country between the ages of fifteen and sixty-five eligible for the national service, whether in the navy or army, or for the manufacture of munitions, or to fulfil other necessary services. When this registration is completed we shall anyhow be able to note the men between the ages of nineteen and forty not required for munition or other necessary industrial work and therefore available, if physically fit, for the fighting line. Steps will be taken to approach, with a view to enlistment, all possible candidates for the Army—unmarried men to be preferred before married men, as far as may be. (Loud cheers.) Of course, the work of completing the registration will extend over some weeks, and meanwhile it is of vital and paramount importance that as large a number of men as possible should press forward to enlist, so that the men's training may be complete when they are required for the field. I would urge all employers to help in this matter, by releasing all men qualified for service with the Colors and replacing them by men of unrecruitable age, or by women, as has already been found feasible in so many cases.

When the registration becomes operative I feel sure that the Corporation of the City of London will not be content with its earlier efforts, intensely valuable as they have been, but will use its great facilities to set an example of canvassing for the cause. This canvass should be addressed with stern emphasis to such unpatriotic employers as, according to returns, have restrained their men from enlisting.

What the numbers required are likely to be it is clearly inexpedient to shout abroad. (Hear, hear.) Our constant refusal to publish either these or any other figures likely to prove useful to the enemy needs neither explanation nor apology. It is often urged that if more information were given as to the work and whereabouts of various units, recruiting would be strongly stimulated. But this is the precise information which would be of the greatest value to the enemy, and it is agreeable to note that a German Prince in high command ruefully recorded the other day his complete ignorance as to our New Armies. (Laughter and cheers.)

But one set of figures, available for everybody, and indicating with sufficient particularity the needs of our forces in the field, is supplied by the casualty lists. With regard to these lists, however—serious and sad as they necessarily are—let two points be borne in mind, first, that a very large percentage of the casualties represents comparatively slight hurts, the sufferers from which in time return to the front; and, secondly, that, if the figures seem to run very high, the magnitude of the operations is thereby suggested. Indeed, these casualty lists, whose great length may now and again induce undue depression of spirits, are an instructive indication of the huge extent of the operations undertaken now reached by the British forces in the field.

American War Supplies

By George Wellington Porter

The subjoined article appraising the stimulation given to the war industries of the United States by the European conflict appeared originally in THE NEW YORK TIMES of July 18.

WITHIN the last ten months contracts for war supplies estimated to exceed $1,000,000,000 have been placed in the United States.

When war was declared last August this country was suffering from acute industrial depression; many factories shut down, others operating on short time, and labor without employment. After the paralyzing effect of the news that war was declared had worn away, business men here realized the great opportunity about to be afforded them of furnishing war supplies which must soon be in demand. Their expectations were soon fulfilled, as almost immediately most of the Governments sent commissions to the United States. Some had orders to buy, while others were authorized to get prices and submit samples.

It was not long until mills and factories were being operated to capacity, turning out boots and shoes, blankets, sweaters, socks, underwear, &c. The manufacturers of these articles were merely required to secure additional help in order to increase their plants' production.

The situation was different in relation to filling orders for arms and ammunition. At first, as was natural, this business was placed with concerns engaged in the manufacture of these commodities. Shortly they were swamped with orders, and to be able to fill them plants were enlarged, new equipment added, and additional help employed.

More and more orders came pouring in, and, as the arms and munition houses were by this time up to and some over capacity, acceptance by them of further business was impossible. Here, then, was the opportunity for the manufacturers of rails, rivets, electrical and agricultural machinery, locomotives, &c., to secure their share of this enormous business being offered. The manner in which they arose to the occasion is striking testimony of the great resourcefulness, efficiency, ingenuity, and adaptability of the American manufacturer.

The question of labor was of minor importance, due primarily to the fact that many thousands of men were without employment and anxious to secure work, and secondarily for the reason that skilled labor was not an essential factor. Most of the work is done by machinery and in a short period of time a mechanic of ordinary intelligence will become proficient in running a machine. The necessary trained labor could be secured without difficulty. Numbers of highly trained employes at Government arsenals are now with private arms and ammunition concerns. The labor problem therefore was negligible. However, three serious difficulties had yet to be overcome by the manufacturers wishing to engage in this new line of business—the securing of new machinery, raw materials, and capital.

The larger concerns had machinery and apparatus on hand suitable to most of the work, but much new machinery was needed, especially for the manufacture of rifles, and needed in a hurry. Time is the essence of these war supplies contracts, and, as many manufacturers agreed to make early deliveries, it was up to them to secure this new machinery and have it installed without delay; otherwise they could not manufacture and make deliveries as agreed to.

In this event they would suffer the penalty for non-fulfillment, as stipulated in the bond given by them to the purchaser at the time of signing the contract. These bonds are known as "ful-

fillment bonds" and are issued by responsible surety companies, usually to the amount of 5 per cent. of the total contract price, on behalf of the vendors, guaranteeing their deliveries and fulfillment of the contract.

In the earlier stages of this war supply business the question of his ability to secure raw materials with which to manufacture arms and ammunition or picric acid—this latter being used to manufacture higher explosives—was of no great concern to the manufacturer taking an order; but as orders came pouring in from abroad for ever larger amounts of supplies it was clearly evident that the demand for raw materials would shortly equal, if not exceed, the supply thereof. This condition was soon brought about, and today is one to be most seriously reckoned with by the manufacturer before accepting a contract.

Some of the materials needed with which to manufacture the supplies are mild carbon steel for the barrels, bayonets, bolt, and locks; well-seasoned ash or maple, straight-grained, for the stocks; brass, iron, powder, antimony, benzol or phenol, sulphuric acid, nitric acid, and caustic soda, &c. Of these various materials the most difficult to secure are those used in the manufacture of picric acid.

Today it is almost impossible to secure phenol, certainly in any considerable quantities, and it is almost as difficult to secure sulphuric acid and nitric acid. Germany has been the source of supply in the past for picric acid. Before the war it sold around 35 cents to 40 cents per pound, dry basis; recently it has sold at over $2 per pound for spot, that is immediate delivery, and is quoted at from $1.25 to $1.60 per pound for early future deliveries.

Antimony is becoming so scarce, never having been produced in any great quantity in this country, that in the new contracts being submitted for shrapnel shell it is stipulated that some other hardening ingredients may be substituted in the bullets, either totally or partly replacing the antimony.

Brass is essential to the manufacture of cartridges. The term "brass" is commonly understood to mean an alloy of copper and zinc.

Up to a short time ago electrolytic copper was selling at 20½ cents a pound, lead at 7 cents a pound, commercial zinc at 29½ cents a pound. Zinc ore, from which spelter is obtained, reached the price of $112 a ton. American spelter was nearly $500 a ton, compared with $110 a ton before the war. Spelter was almost unobtainable. In England the situation was acute, the metal there being quoted only nominally at around $550 a ton for immediate delivery.

Within the last few days prices have dropped materially, but how long they will remain at these lower levels it is impossible to predict. If the war continues for any length of time the demand for all these metals is certainly bound to increase, and this will automatically again send up prices.

The world's production of spelter in 1913 (the latest authentic figures obtainable) was 1,093,635 short tons. Of this the United States produced 346,676 tons, or 31.7 per cent.; Germany, 312,075 tons, or 28.6 per cent.; Belgium, 217,928 tons, or 19.9 per cent.; France and Spain, 78,289 tons; and Great Britain, 65,197 tons. The world's production of spelter in 1913 exceeded that of 1912 by 25,590 tons, or 2.2 per cent. The greatest increase was contributed by Germany, which exceeded its production of 1912 by 4.4 per cent. The United States made a gain of 2.3 per cent. The excess of the world's production over consumption in 1913 was only 27,316 tons.

As can be seen from the above figures, Germany has control of practically one-half, possibly now over one-half, of the world's production of spelter. Her position with respect to iron and coal is equally strong, the United States not included. In 1913 Germany's production of pig iron was 19,000 tons; Great Britain, 10,500 tons; France, 5,225 tons; Russia, 4,475 tons; Austria and Belgium, over 2,000 tons each; Italy, negligible. She has captured a large proportion of the coal resources of France as well. Her strength is her own plus that of conquered territory.

Before a contract for war supplies is let, more particularly with reference to contracts for arms and ammunition, the manufacturer is requested to "qualify." This means he must show his ability to "make good" on the contract he wishes to secure. If he is now or has been in the past successfully engaged in the manufacture of the particular article in question, this is usually sufficient; if it is out of his regular line, then he must prove to the satisfaction of the War Department or the purchasing agent, as the case may be, that he has the technical knowledge necessary for its production. In either event he must have an efficient organization, suitable plants, with proper equipment and men to operate same; also the necessary raw materials in hand or under option to purchase.

In most instances the manufacturer taking these war orders has been obliged to enlarge his plants, add new machinery and purchase raw materials so as to be able to handle the business. This meant the expenditure of large amounts of money on his part.

He did not have to depend, however, upon his own normal financial resources, as the contracts carry a substantial cash payment in advance, usually 25 per cent. of the total contract price. This advance payment is deposited in some New York bank simultaneously with the manufacturer's depositing a surety bond guaranteeing his deliveries, and upon the manufacturer executing an additional surety bond guaranteeing his responsibility he could draw down all or any part of the cash advance he might wish to use for his immediate needs.

Before issuing these bonds the surety companies make rigid examination as to the ability of the manufacturer to fulfill his contract. The commission charged for issuing these bonds is from 2½ to 5 per cent. on the amount involved. The demand for bonds has been so great during the last six months that it has taxed to the limit the combined resources of all the surety companies in the country.

The remaining part of the contract price is usually guaranteed by bankers' irrevocable letters of credit or deposits made with New York banks, to be drawn against as the goods are delivered, f. o. b. the factory—that is, free on board the cars—or f. a. s. the seaboard—that is, free alongside ship—as the terms may provide.

Banks here are beginning to purchase bank acceptances or bank-accepted bills of exchange, and in this manner payment is also being made to American manufacturers for goods sold to the Allies. For example, when a purchasing agent in Paris places an order for ammunition here he makes arrangements whereby the manufacturer will be authorized to draw on a New York banking institution at a stipulated maturity, and after acceptance of his drafts by such banking institution he could then negotiate these time drafts with his own banker—thus making them, less the discount, equivalent to cash—through whom they could be rediscounted by the Federal Reserve banks. These bank-accepted bills are discounted at a nominal rate of interest.

Before the war we were a debtor nation; today we are rapidly becoming, if we have not already become, a creditor nation. A year ago we were selling abroad only about as much goods as we were buying; now the balance of trade is greatly in our favor, due to the enormous export of foodstuffs and war supplies of all kinds. Monthly our exports are exceeding our imports by many millions of dollars. This indicates that foreign nations are going into debt to us.

At the time of writing this article foreign exchange was quoted as follows: London exchange, sterling, 4.76½; Paris exchange, franc, 5.45¾. By paying down $4.76½ in New York you can get £1 in London, which on a par gold basis is equivalent to $4.86 in London. By paying down 94½ cents in New York you can get the equivalent to 100 cents in Paris.

We now come to another interesting phase of this war supply business, namely, how some persons thought these war orders could be secured and how they are actually being placed. Almost immediately after the declaration of war, most of the belligerent Governments dispatched "commissions" to the United

States. Some had orders to buy, and others were authorized to get prices and submit samples. In an incredibly short period of time it became generally known that foreign Governments were shopping and buying in our markets. The knowledge of this fact brought about a condition unique in our business life.

Men in all walks of life, from porters, barbers, clerks in offices, to doctors, lawyers, real estate agents, merchants, Wall Street brokers and bankers, seemed suddenly imbued with the idea of securing or bringing about the placing of a war order. Self-appointed agents, middlemen and brokers sprang up over night like mushrooms, each and every one claiming he had an order or could get an order for war supplies; or, as the case might be, he personally knew some manufacturer, or he knew a friend who had a friend who knew a manufacturer, who in turn wished to secure a contract. An official in one of our large steel companies told me some weeks ago that among others who had called at his company's offices, asking prices on shrapnel, was an undertaker.

In most instances the lack of salesmanship experience, to say nothing of any knowledge of the business and how the particular articles are manufactured, was of no consequence to the self-appointed agent in his mad desire for business.

The lobbies of our New York hotels were filled with horsemen and would-be horsemen, some months ago, almost every State being represented as far west as California; also with manufacturers and manufacturers' agents, all eager to secure a "war contract," be it for horses, shrapnel, rifles, picric acid, guncotton, toluol, cartridges, boots, shoes, sweaters, blankets, machinery and materials, &c. The very atmosphere of Manhattan Island seems impregnated with "war contractitis." We breathe it, we think it, we see it, we talk it, on our way downtown, at our offices and places of business, at our clubs, on our way home at night, in our homes, and I have been told that some have even slept it, the disease taking the shape of a nightmare.

The day of the broker, if indeed he ever had one in this business, is passed. The original commissioners have been withdrawn, or those who have been kept here are now acting as inspectors and have been replaced by purchasing agents. The firm of J. P. Morgan & Co. has been acting as purchasing agent for the English Government for some months past, is now acting in like capacity for the French Government, and has also done considerable buying for the Russian Government.

In order properly to handle this vast volume of business, a separate department was created, known as the Export Department. Connected with this department are experts in all lines—men who are thoroughly familiar with the various Governments' requirements, who know what prices should be paid, who are in close touch with each market, and who understand fully the materials they are buying.

There are a few more concerns, among which are one or two banks, trust companies, and Wall Street houses, which also have formed separate organizations for the purpose of purchasing war supplies for the Allies. As all these concerns are in close touch with the manufacturers and will only deal directly with them, the brokers and middlemen have very little, if any, chance of doing business.

Magazinists of the World on the War

Condensed from the Leading Reviews

While the armies and generals of the belligerents are trying to execute by force the policies of their respective Governments, their publicists are not less busy in the work of voicing the national aspirations. Moreover, such a critical examination of the status of each armed Power, from its own standpoint and in comparisons and contrasts with its opponents, has never been conducted before the peoples of the world. It is a time of national heart-searchings, both among the warring nations and of neutrals whose destinies are only less affected. Résumés of this great process as reflected in the world's leading reviews appear below, beginning with the British publications.

Germany's Long-Nourished Powers

THAT Germany has been preparing forty years for this war is flatly contradicted by J. Ellis Barker in his article entitled "The Secret of Germany's Strength," appearing in the Nineteenth Century and After for July.

Not forty years, but for 260 years, since Frederick William, the Great Elector, came to the Prussian throne, the slow-growing plants of German efficiency and thoroughness have steadily unfolded, Mr. Barker says, in the administrative, military, financial, and economic policy that make modern Germany. It was the Great Elector who "ruthlessly and tyrannously suppressed existing self-government in his possessions, and gave to his scattered and parochially minded subjects a strong sense of unity," thus clearing the way for his successors. Frederick William I. founded in the Prussia prepared by his grandfather "a perfectly organized modern State, a model administration, and created a perfectly equipped and ever ready army." Of him Mr. Barker says:

> The German people are often praised for their thoroughness, industry, frugality, and thrift. These qualities are not natural to them. They received them from their rulers, and especially from Frederick William the First. He was an example to his people, and his son carried on the paternal tradition. Both Kings acted not only with thoroughness, industry, frugality, and economy, but they enforced these qualities upon their subjects. Both punished idlers of every rank of society, even of the most exalted. The regime of Thorough prevailed under these Kings who ruled during seventy-three years. These seventy-three years of hard training gave to the Prussian people those sterling qualities which are particularly their own, and by which they can easily be distinguished from the easy-going South Germans and Austrians who have not similarly been disciplined.

While the Great Elector prepared the ground, and King Frederick William I. firmly laid the foundations, "Frederick the Great erected thereon the edifice of modern Germany." Mr. Barker adds:

> Among the many pupils of Frederick the Great was Bismarck. It is no exaggeration to say that the writings which Frederick the Great addressed to posterity are the *arcana imperii* of modern Germany. Those who desire to learn the secret of Germany's strength, wealth, and efficiency, should therefore most carefully study the teachings of Frederick the Great.
>
> Frederick's "Political Testament" of 1752 addressed to his successors begins with the significant words:
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> "The first duty of a citizen consists in serving his country. I have tried to fulfil that duty in all the different phases of my life."

Frederick William I. looked out for the education of his successors in his own militarist ideals. Instructing Major Borcke in 1751 on the tutoring of his grand-nephew, the Heir-Presumptive of Prussia, he wrote:

> It is very important that he should love the Army. Therefore he must be told at all occasions and by all whom he meets that men of birth who are not soldiers are pitiful wretches. He must be taken to see the troops drilling as often as he

likes. He ought to be shown the Cadets, and be given five or six of them to drill. That should be an amusement for him, not a duty. The great point is that he should become fond of military affairs, and the worst that could happen would be if he should become bored with them. He should be allowed to talk to all, to cadets, soldiers, citizens and officers, to increase his self-reliance.

A thorough monarchist, who noted that "when Sweden was turned into a republic it became weak," Frederick the Great preached a doctrine not different from that which inspires the speeches of Kaiser Wilhelm II. when he said in his "Political Testament" of 1752:

> As Prussia is surrounded by powerful states my successors must be prepared for frequent wars. The soldiers must be given the highest positions in Prussia for the same reason for which they received them in ancient Rome when that State conquered the world. Honors and rewards stimulate and encourage talent and praise arouses men to a generous emulation. It encourages men to enter the army. It is paradoxical to treat officers contemptuously and call theirs an honored profession. The men who are the principal supports of the State must be encouraged and be preferred to the soft and insipid society men who can only grace an ante-chamber.

Mr. Barker comments on the fact that in 1776, thirteen years after the ruinous Seven Years' War, Frederick the Great had accumulated financial resources sufficient to pay for another war lasting four years, and that he pursued the food policy of his fathers "which is still pursued by the Prusso-German Government." Moreover, he first exalted the German professor:

> A hundred and fifty years ago Prussia was a land peopled by boors. Now it is a land peopled by professors, scientists, and artists. Frederick the Great was the first Prussian monarch to realize that science and art increase the strength and prestige of nations. Hence, he began cultivating the sciences and arts, and his successors followed his example. As science and art were found to be sources of national power, they were as thoroughly promoted as was the army itself, while in this country [England] education remained amateurish. Men toyed with science and the universities rather taught manners than efficiency.

The lesson of this centuries-old efficient governmental machine is a supreme one to democratic England, Mr. Barker thinks. Not that it is hopeless for a democracy to compete with a highly organized monarchy, for has not Switzerland shown that "a democracy may be efficient, businesslike, provident, and ready for war?" England, on the other hand, has been a lover of luxury and ease. She must gird up her loins and fight or die. The Anglo-Saxon race is fighting for its existence, and delay is dangerous:

> War is a one-man business. Every other consideration must be subordinated to that of achieving victory. When the United States fought for their life, they made President Lincoln virtually a Dictator. The freest and most unruly democracy allowed Habeas Corpus to be suspended and conscription to be introduced, to save itself. Great emergencies call for great measures. The War demands great sacrifices in every direction. However, if it leads to England's modernization, to the elimination of the weaknesses and vices of Anglo-Saxon democracy, if it leads to the unification and organization of the Empire, the purification of its institutions, and the recreation of the race, the gain may be greater than the loss, the colossal cost of the War notwithstanding. The British Empire and the United States, the Anglo-Saxon race in both hemispheres, have arrived at the turning point in their history. The next few months will confirm their greatness or mark the beginning of their fatal decline.

"To Avenge"

Stern is the denunciation of W. S. Lilly, in the same issue of The Nineteenth Century and After, upon the atrocities recounted in an article on German atrocities in France by Professor Morgan, appearing in the next preceding number. Mr. Lilly quotes Thomas Carlyle's sarcastic words about the "blind loquacious prurience of indiscriminate Philanthropism" that com-

mands no revenge for great injustice. He says:

> Apart from the "fierce and monstrous gladness," with which the German people have welcomed the hellish cruelty of their soldiery, they must be held responsible for its crimes. General von Bernhardi, indeed, assures them that "political morality differs from individual morality because there is no power above the State." And they have been given over to a strong delusion to believe this lie. Above the State is the Eternal Rule of Right and Wrong: above the State is the Supreme Moral Governor of the Universe; yes, above the State is God. Let us proclaim this august verity though in France Atheism has been triumphant; in England Agnosticism is fashionable; in Lutheran Germany—worst of all—evil has been enthroned in the place of good, and "devils to adore for deities" is the proper cult.

The resolution of the old Roman patriot that "Carthage must be destroyed" is quoted by this writer. He adds:

> As stern a resolution is in the minds and on the lips of all true lovers of their country and of mankind, be they English or French, Russian, Italian, Japanese, and I do not hesitate to add American. German militarism must be utterly destroyed and the monstrous creation of blood and iron overthrown. Such is the plainest dictate of the instinct of self-preservation. It is also the plainest dictate of justice. Germany must be paid that she has deserved. When the triumphant Allies shall have made good their footing on her soil, they will not indeed rival her exploits or violating women and butchering children, of murdering prisoners and wounded, of slaying unoffending and peaceful peasants, of destroying shrines of religion and learning. But they will assuredly shoot or hang such of the chief perpetrators of these and the like atrocities as may fall into their hands. They will strip her of ill-gained territory. They will empty her arsenals and burn her war workshops. They will impose a colossal indemnity which will condemn her for long years to grinding poverty. They will confiscate her fleet. They will remove the treasures of her galleries and museums, and take toll of her libraries, to make compensation for her pillage and incendiarism in Belgium. The measure of punishment is always a matter of difficulty. But surely anything less than this would be wholly disproportionate to the rank offences of Germany. The reckoning, the restribution, the retaliation to be just must be most stern. The victorious Allies, who will be her judges, will not be moved by "mealy-mouthed philanthropies." "Justice shall strike and Mercy shall not hold her hands: she shall strike sore strokes, and Pity shall not break the blow."

The Pope, the Vatican, and Italy

In The Fortnightly Review for July E. J. Dillon is sweeping in his arraignment of the new Pope Benedict XV. and the Vatican, of the Pope because of his "neutrality in matters of public morality," and of the Vatican because of its hostility to the cause of Allies. Toward martyred Belgium and suffering France the Pope "has been generous in lip sympathy and promises of rewards in the life to come," Mr. Dillon says; but he has "found no word of blame for their executioners." Mr. Dillon personally offered Benedict XV. "some important information on the subject which seemed adequate to change his views or modify his action," but he "turned the conversation to other topics." In fairness he adds that "personally Benedict XV. had been careful to keep aloof from Buelow and his band," and has neither said nor done anything blameworthy with the sole exception of the interview and message which he was reported to have given "to an American-German champion of militarism at the instigation of his intimate counsellor, Monsignor Gerlach"—an interview, by the way, which the Pope has since expressly repudiated.

Monsignor Gerlach, Mr. Dillon says, is "one of the most compromising associates and dangerous mentors that any sovereign ever admitted to his privacy," and continues:

> Years ago, the story runs, Gerlach made the acquaintance of a worldly minded papal Nuntius in the fashionable salons of gay Vienna, and, being men of similar tastes and proclivities, the two enjoyed life together, eking out the wherewithal for their costly amusements in specula-

tions on the Exchange. When the Nuntius returned to Rome, donned the Cardinal's hat, and was appointed to the See of Albano as Cardinal Agliardi, he bestowed a canonry on the boon companion who had followed him to the eternal city. The friendship continued unabated, and was further cemented by the identity of their political opinions, which favored the Triple Alliance. Gerlach became Agliardi's tout and electioneering agent when that Cardinal set up as candidate for the papacy on the death of Leo XIII. But as his chances of election were slender, the pair worked together to defeat Rampolla, who was hated and feared by Germany and Austria. Their bitter opponent was Cardinal Richard, a witty French prelate who labored might and main for Rampolla, and told me some amusing stories about Agliardi. Some years ago Gerlach's name emerged above the surface of private life in Rome in connection with what the French term *un drame passionel,* which led to violent scenes in public and to a number of duels later on. That this man of violent Pan-German sentiments should be the Pope's mentor and guide through the labyrinth of international politics seems a curious anachronism.

Although Cardinal della Chiesa, shortly before he became Benedict XV., was spoken of as the inheritor of Rampolla's Francophile leanings, it is "now conjectured that at the Conclave this legend secured from his not only the votes of the Teutonic Cardinals, who knew what his sentiments really were, but also those of the French and Belgians, who erroneously fancied that they knew," Dr. Dillon says. He does not hesitate to believe that the Pope is "at heart a staunch friend of Austria and a warm admirer of Germany, whom he looks upon as the embodiment of the principle of authority and conservatism." For the Vatican his words are more unsparing:

> The Vatican, as distinguished from the Pope, was and is systematically hostile to the Allies. Its press organs, inspired by an astute and influential Italian ecclesiastic named Tedeschini, by Koeppenberg, a rabid German convert, and by the Calabrian Daffina, organized a formidable campaign against the King's Government and their supposed interventionist leanings. Its agents, including the priest Boncampagni and the German Catholics Erzberger, Koeppenberg, and others, were wont to meet in the Hotel de Russie to arrange their daily plan of campaign, and when at last the people rose up against Giolitti and his enormities, the Vatican had its mob in readiness to make counter-demonstrations, and was prevented from letting it loose only by the superhuman efforts of decent Catholics and orderly citizens. It is a fair thing to add that the attitude of the Roman Catholic clergy throughout Italy has with some few exceptions been consistently patriotic. Even the bishops and archbishops of the provinces have deserved well of their King and country, while their flocks have left nothing to be desired on the score of loyalty and patriotism.

Buelow's mission to Italy and his relations with Giolitti, the defeated abettor of Austria in the business preceding Italy's declaration of war, when they encountered the statecraft of Sonnino and Salandra, are given in this version of Buelow's playing of his "trump card";

> Although the die was cast and Italy's decision taken, he had the Austrian concessions greatly amplified, and he offered them, *not to the King's Government,* but to Giolitti, his secret ally, who was not in office, but was known to be the Dictator of Italy. And Giolitti accepted them on the condition, to be fulfilled after the Cabinet's fall, that the territory would be further enlarged and consigned to Italy before the end of the war. The increase of prestige which this concession would bestow on the tribune was to be his reward for co-operation with the German Ambassador. Giolitti having thus approved the offer, undertook to have it ratified by Parliament, *in spite of the engagements which the Cabinet had already entered into with the Allied Powers.* In this sense he spoke to the King, wrote a letter designed for the nation, and obtained the public adhesion of a majority of the Chamber which was not then sitting. Thereupon the Cabinet resigned and left the destinies of Italy in the hands of the King and the nation. On the part of the Cabinet this was a brilliant tactical move and a further proof of the praiseworthy moral courage which it had displayed throughout the crisis. Indeed, the firmness, perseverance, and dignified disregard of mild invective and more deliberate criticism manifested by Sonnino and Salandra, entitle these Ministers to the lasting gratitude of their country. For it should be borne in mind that they had against them not only the Senate, the Chamber, a section of the Press, the "cream" of the aristocracy, the puny sons and daughters of the leaders of the Risorgimento, but also, strange to say, the majority of Italian diplomatists in the capitals of the Great Powers, one of whom actually fell ill at the thought that Italy

was about to fight shoulder to shoulder with the State to which he was accredited. It would be interesting to psychologists to learn how this diplomatist and one or two of his colleagues felt when a few days later they were serenaded by enthusiastic crowds whom they were constrained to address.

Are the Allies Winning?

In a Doubting Thomas article headed "Are We Winning?" the anonymous "Outis" in The Fortnightly Review concludes that "the Allies are winning, but very slowly. If their conquest is to be assured, Great Britain's task is to mobilize every soldier and every workman, in order to prove that whoever may fail, she at least does not intend to desist until the final triumph is won." Moreover, the conquest must be in the West" if anywhere," and he looks somewhat askance at the Dardanelles adventure:

> A good many competent authorities have disliked the idea of the Dardanelles expedition, on the strength of a general principle applicable to all military operations. It is said that in every war there is one distinct objective, and that that should never be neglected for any subsidiary operations. Thus, in the present instance, our main effort is to drive the Germans out of France and Belgium, and then to attack them in their own territory. Anything which interferes with this or throws it, however temporarily, into the background, is held to be unwise, because it leads to the most dangerous of results in warfare—the dissipation of forces, which, if united, would win the desired success, but if disunited will probably fail. Thus we are told that we must not fritter away our energies in enterprises which, however important in themselves, are not comparable with the one unique preoccupation of our minds—the conquest of Germany in Europe.

Selling Arms to the Allies

Horace White has no two opinions in his article in The North American Review for July as to the wisdom and justice of the practice of American manufacturers in selling munitions which the Allies are using to kill their Germanic enemies. Mr. White expresses it as the belief of the great majority of people in the United States that Germany's war is without sufficient cause, and that when she invaded Belgium she "made herself the outlaw of the nations—a country whom no agreements can bind." Therefore he can see why no limit should ever be put to the world's expenditure for armaments "while one incorrigible outlaw is at large." He adds:

> It is the opinion of most Americans that the most incorrigible and dangerous outlaw and armed maniac now existing is Germany, and that the first and indispensable step toward a restriction of armaments and a quiet world is to throttle and disarm her, and that no price is too great to pay for such a consummation. Any result of the present war which falls short of this will be the preliminary to a new armament and another war on a wider scale than the present one, since the United States will make preparations for the next one and most probably take part in it.

Hence proceeds Mr. White's justification for this neutral nation's supplying the Allies with arms:

> Germany, by bursting her way through Belgium, was enabled to seize eighty to ninety per cent of the coal and iron resources of France and the greater part of her apparatus for the production of arms. She holds also the entire resources of Belgium, both of raw material and finished product. The foul blow by which she possessed herself of these indispensable treasures had two consequences which she did not look for—the active hostility of England and the moral indignation of all other nations. In helping France to make good the loss which she sustained through such perfidy the American people think that they are doing God's service, and their only regret is that they cannot do more of it. If they had foreseen the present

conditions they would have enlarged their gun factories and powder mills to meet the the emergency more promptly.

A German writer in the New York *Times* of May 30, Mr. Vom Bruck, says: "If the German nation is wiped out with the help of American arms and ammunition no man of the white race in the United States would be able to think of such a catastrophe without horror and remorse." All of the contending nations say that they are fighting for existence, which means that if they do not win in the end they will be wiped out. With such an alternative staring us in the face very few tears would be shed by Americans, of any color, if both the Hohenzollerns and the Hapsburgs, with all their belongings, should be wiped off the face of the earth.

War and Non-Resistance

The pacifist "mollycoddle," as Theodore Roosevelt dubbed him in his San Francisco Exposition speech, finds expression in these words of Bertrand Russell in the August number of the Atlantic Monthly:

> All these three motives for armaments —cowardice, love of dominion, and lust for blood—are no longer ineradicable in civilized human nature. All are diminishing under the influence of modern social organization. All might be reduced to a degree which would make them almost innocuous, if early education and current moral standards were directed to that end. Passive resistance, if it were adopted deliberately by the will of a whole nation, with the same measure of courage and discipline which is now displayed in war, might achieve a far more perfect protection for what is good in national life than armies and navies can ever achieve, without demanding the carnage and waste and welter of brutality involved in modern war.

But it is hardly to be expected, Mr. Russell reluctantly concludes, that progress will come in this way, because "the imaginative effort required is to great." He adds:

> It is much more likely that it will come, like the reign of law within the state, by the establishment of a central government of the world, able and willing to secure obedience by force, because the great majority of men will recognize that obedience is better than the present international anarchy.
>
> A central government of this kind would command assent not as a partisan, but as the representative of the interests of the whole. Very soon resistance to it would be seen to be hopeless and wars would cease. Force directed by a neutral authority is not open to the same abuse or likely to cause the same long-drawn conflicts as force exercised by quarreling nations, each of which is the judge in its own cause. Although I firmly believe that the adoption of passive instead of active resistance would be good if a nation could be convinced of its goodness, yet it is rather to the ultimate creation of a strong central authority that I should look for the ending of war. But war will end only after a great labor has been performed in altering men's moral ideals, directing them to the good of all mankind, and not only of the separate nations into which men happen to have been born.

"Good Natured Germany"

The leading article in the June issue of the Süddeutsche Monatshefte (Munich) is by Dr. George Grupp, one of Germany's most able scholars, and is entitled, "Never Can Germany be Overcome if She be United." Dr. Grupp finds evidences for this assertion all through history, and quotes some of the earliest commentators and historians to this effect:

> As early as 1487 Felix Fabri, a Dominican of Ulm wrote: "Si Germani essent ubique concordes, totum orbem domarent." (If the Germans were united they would conquer the whole world.)
>
> The sentence is an echo of the fiery address which one Aeneas Silvius, later

to become pope, delivered to the German princes after the fall of Constantinople, and from which Felix Febri himself gives a quotation. . . .

To Germany alone the Greeks looked for any considerable help. An evidence of this is the beautiful and often quoted remark of the Athenian Laonikos Chalkokondylas: "If the Germans were united and the princes would obey, they would be unconquerable and the strongest of all mortals."

We encounter similar statements very frequently, both earlier and later, from the Roman courtier Dietrich von Nieheim and from the humanists, from the Alsatian Wimpheling and Sebastian Brant, from the Swabian Nauclerus and the Frank Pirckheimer. "What could Germany be," they cry, "if she would only make use of her own strength, exploit her own resources for herself! No people on earth could offer her resistance!"

Dr. Grupp claims that Germany's lack of unity has resulted only from her rule of good-will toward all, within her borders as well as without.

It never occurred to the Germans as to other peoples to disturb the peaceful development of their neighbors. They allowed mighty powers to build themselves up unmolested and to rise above Germany's head. In their internal affairs they observed the same principle of justice; no line, no class, no province, no grant succeeded in obtaining so oppressive an ascendancy, that other lines and classes, other provinces and grants were simply annihilated. The unfortunate consequence was lack of unity.

Nowhere were or are there so many cultural centres, so many different movements, tendencies, parties. This great multifariousness of the German life was recognized and admired by others. But this very multifariousness had its darker side, the fatal, much deplored lack of unity.

Through the centuries, Dr. Grupp claims, Germany has been altogether too good-natured, allowing other nations to all but bleed her to death.

In her peaceable disharmony Germany has dreamed along carelessly and good-naturedly for centuries until the abrupt awakening when she saw a yawning abyss opened up at her feet. Good-naturedly she has allowed herself to be plundered and faithfully she has fought other nations' battles. As early as the 15th century the humanists remarked the fact that alien states gladly took German soldiers into their service, and later on it was worse than that. Foreign countries gladly waged their wars on German territory. Here was decided for the most part the fate of the Spanish world-empire, here France and England battled for supremacy. The Seven Years' War was not only a question of Schleswig; it was a question of whether North America and even far-away India should be French or English.

Now the condition is suddenly reversed; the Germans are fighting for themselves, and the fact arouses the limitless rage of their opponents. Let us console ourselves with the fact that even in the Middle Ages it was said: "Teutonici nullius amici," in spite of their peaceableness.

Italy's Defection

Dr. Eduard Meyer has contributed an article to the Süddeutsche Monatshefte (Munich) on "Ancient Italy and the Rise of the Italian Nation." Dr. Meyer is professor of history in the University of Berlin, and is a brother of Dr. Kuno Meyer who recently attracted much attention in this country by severing his connection with Harvard University because of a prize "war poem" written by one of the undergraduates. A postscript reflects Dr. Meyer's present feeling toward Italy's defection:

The views which I have presented in this article are the fruit of long years of study and research; and I feel myself constrained to state explicitly that they are in no wise influenced by the events which we have experienced during the last few weeks. But it may be that a short postscript is necessary.

Italy has not won her present national unity by reason of her own strength; she owes it to the combinations of the changing world-situation and the victories of foreign powers, which her statesmen have known how to use to the best advantage.

According to Dr. Meyer, Italy's claim to be one of the great powers is not

based on any actual ability to uphold that claim; it merely happens that her assertion has not been challenged.

> She has claimed for herself the status of a great power on a par with the other large nations of the world; but she has not possessed the inner strength of herself to support such a claim without the help of stronger powers.
>
> In August, 1914, Italy had the opportunity to decide her fate. If she could have made the choice then, if she could have gone into the world-war with all the might that she possessed and, staking her whole existence, have fought toward the highest goal, she might have won for herself a powerful and self-sufficient place in the world.

On account of his many utterances since the outbreak of the war, Ludwig Thoma's März (Munich), a weekly founded by him, has attracted much attention. An article entitled "Italy's Defection," in a recent issue, is most bitter in tone, accusing Italy of long-standing intrigue and treachery.

> We know that Italy went still further from the fact that at the renewal of the alliance in 1912 in Paris she expressly announced that she would not march against France. It will be remembered how quick the French army command was to take stock of relations on the southeastern border, with the result that in the very first days of mobilization their troops were called from the Savoy Alps and by the eighth of August were giving battle on the Alsatian border.
>
> But Italy still guarded the neutrality which she had proclaimed and with apparent reasonableness she was able to hold that the letter of the Triple Alliance did not compel her to enter the conflict. Laughing in her sleeve she could even give it out that her sympathetic neutrality would sufficiently guarantee to her allies certain suspended contracts of an economic nature. Neutral Italy furnished Germany to a considerable extent with products of its own land and others which were not unwelcome.
>
> That the mobilization of an Italian army on France's borders might have been able to decide the war as far back as September, is a consideration which, in the face of this hypocritical neutrality, one cannot face without driving one's nails into one's flesh!

It was through the connivance of England that Italy weakly found herself forced to enter the war against her former allies.

> Sir Edward Grey found the way to do it. Italy learned that England was no longer in a situation to hold the Straits of Gibraltar and the Suez Canal open and was obliged to take over the control of Italian imports. Even before this British agents had control of the port of Genoa and there was no doubt that through most irritating measures on England's part which skillfully concealed the motive behind them, a blow would be struck at the very roots of Italy's existence and famine would set in. Presently the Italian politicians and the crown were confronted with a dilemma which left them the choice only between war and revolution. . . .
>
> Not every people has the political government which it deserves; the Italian people are the victims of a government, essentially undeserved but traditionally faithless.
>
> But Mars is now shaking the dice and behind the curtain of the future Revolution stands waiting.

Apologies for English Words

An indication of the height to which the "Gott Strafe England" feeling has climbed in Germany is shown in the following announcement by the management of Die Woche (Berlin):

> TO OUR READERS!
>
> Many readers of Die Woche have taken offense at the words "Copyright by . . . (in English) and demand that this English formula be rendered hereafter in German. This desire, springing from patriotic motives, is easily understood, but unfortunately cannot be carried out for the form "Copyright by . . . " is demanded by the American copyright law in this form. If we did not print these words in English, which is the official language of the United States, our copyright in America would be void and the protection both of ourselves and our writers would be forfeited.

Germanic Peace Terms

[From the Budapest Correspondent of The London Morning Post.]

To the Revue de Hongrie, the only French paper in Budapest, Count Andrássy contributes an article for July entitled "Les garanties d'une paix durable," and discusses the peace terms the Central Empires are to put forward in the event of final victory. He objects to the idea of annexation or anything more than "boundary corrections," and says:

> Our war is a defensive war, which will achieve its aim when our enemies have been expelled from our territory and their ring has been broken. This aim could be best served by making peace with one or other of our enemies and winning him over to our cause. This would be of immense advantage to the future of civilization and ensure us against the horrors of a prolonged war. A separate peace would be the best chance for certain Powers to change their international policy. To my mind the issues of this war will greatly change the attitude of some hostile States toward us, and will bring about more intimate relations between them and ourselves, besides widening the foundations of the alliance between Hungary and her allies. And this is to be the rock upon which the European balance of power is to rest in the future. Our war is not a war of conquest, and the boundary changes of which some people speak are not the *sine qua non* of a good peace. Therefore I do not even wish to speak about certain territorial alterations, which, nevertheless, might be necessary.

Regarding the question of England and nationality, Count Andrássy says:

> Victory no doubt affords us the right to demand the alteration of the map of Europe, yet, this not being our aim and not to our interest, we can be satisfied with certain compensations, as no doubt our enemies would not spare us if they were victorious. Lloyd George said that the States are to be shaped in the future according to nationalities, which means that the Monarchy is to be disrupted. An English scholar not long ago expressed the same view, and, in fact, in England this idea is being impressed upon the people. This policy is sounded in a country which dominates so many millions of alien nationalities. If England speaks in this way, though she is not in direct conflict with us, what can we expect from Russia or Italy? Everyone knows that Russia wants Galicia, the Bukovina, Màramaros; Serbia wants Bosnia, Herzegovina, Croatia, Slavonia, and the Banat; Italy they won to their side by promising her our territory; Transylvania is promised to the one who cares to take it; henceforth, if we wish to defend it, we shall have to prepare for a new attack from another quarter. Yet nothing would be more alien to our thoughts than that if victorious we should annex foreign territory, for we would have seriously to consider if such conquest would be to our advantage or not. The same policy ought to be applied in Germany. Though her enemies would not spare her either, she must be cautious not to go too far in her appetites, and should seek for monetary compensations. Most of all she has to be careful not to claim territory, which would mean everlasting unrest and a new irredentism. It would be a bad policy even to touch the Balkans, for such interference would sooner or later bring Russia back to the Balkans, and the peoples there, menaced in their independence by us, would turn to Russia. We would thus place nations used to independence under alien rule, and such an act would neither be a wise nor a paying policy.

As regards Italy, Count Andrássy has also a solution which is quite generous. He says:

> We would not do well if we were influenced by just revenge and turned our eyes on Italian territory. To force territory from a country whose people are so patriotic would be a source of weakness on our part. In the worst case, only boundary corrections can be thought of, and no conquest. Italy must recompense us by money and not territory, for not the Italian people, but its Government, committed a breach of faith against us.

France's Bill of Damages

The agricultural problem in France is the subject of an article by Professor Daniel Zolla in La Revue Hebdomadaire (Paris). Professor Zolla is a leader in the agricultural school at Grignon, and the main part of his article is a discus-

sion of France's agricultural losses and how to repair them. He sums the present situation as follows:

> At the end of May the enemy were occupying territory amounting to about two million hectares. In this zone as in the regions invaded though immediately evacuated, the agricultural losses have been admittedly severe; harvests, livestock, implements, fodder, have been stolen or destroyed; the buildings, burned or ruined, will have to be entirely rebuilt. The soil itself, ploughed with trenches, dug up by shells, infested with weeds, has lost much of its fertility. . . .
>
> In the invaded region which is one of the richest and most fertile in all France, the farming capital amounts at the least to five hundred francs per hectare, not counting the value of the buildings and of the land itself. For a total of two million hectares, the sum thus represented in the personal advances of farmers reach or surpass a billion, for in French Flanders and in Artois this minimum estimate of five hundred francs is greatly exceeded.

Concerning future indemnification for these losses, Professor Zolla writes:

> It is the entire country at which the enemy wished to strike by ruining a certain number of the people; it is the country which should repair the ruin and indemnify the losses. Never will the principle of national solidarity apply with more justice and reason. The interest of the state can demand, it is true, that the victim who has become a creditor of the country shall not exact immediate payment of the sums due him. This is a question of the time needed to enable the country to pay and the representatives of the nation must be the judges of that.
>
> But admitting the principle, it will suffice if it be known that the Treasury accepts the liability; it will be sufficient if certain annuities are promised and managed so that the parties can procure through the ordinary avenues of credit, the necessary indemnities.
>
> This is the method which the National Assembly adopted in 1873. A sum of one hundred and eleven millions voted as relief, was represented by twenty-six annuities including interest at five per cent and redemption.

Professor Zolla admits that France is going to encounter a serious difficulty in the scarcity of labor which is sure to follow the close of the war. It is not too early, he advises, to begin working on the solution of this problem so that France will be ready to meet it when it arises:

> There are in the main, two methods by which the scarcity of farm labor can be offset:
>
> 1. By multiplying the machines which replace manual labor,
>
> 2. By modifying our agricultural methods so that preference is given to those which demand the least proportion of manual labor. . . .
>
> All the associations which are fortunately so numerous in our country, all the agricultural societies, all the co-operative societies which are already formed, should double their efforts to put at the disposition of their members those implements which on account of their high price are not available for the individual farmer.

Prices will rise after the war, but this, argues Professor Zolla, will be beneficial rather than otherwise.

> High prices will be offset by large production; this excess of production will, however, follow on the activity of the rural producer, and that activity will be maintained and increased by high prices which always insure large profits.
>
> In short, the rise in price will be most favorable to the agricultural interests just at a time when the difficulties of obtaining labor will come to swell the necessary expenses of production. The crisis which might be in store is thus dissipated and the agricultural situation remains much as it was before the war—that is to say, very satisfactory.
>
> The losses undergone will be considerable in the invaded regions, the obstacles which the farmer must overcome will be great but not insurmountable, but success will recompense the valor and the hard labor of our countrymen. And to be just we must not forget that this will be made possible by the work of the French women in the fields.

A French Rejoinder

In the Revue des Deux Mondes (Paris), of which he is managing editor, M. Francis Charmes, of the Académie Française, replies to a speech made by von Bethmann-Hollweg before the Reichstag, in which the German Chan-

cellor expressed sympathy for the deluded French soldiers, who had not an inkling of the true course which the war was taking. M. Charmes ironically remarks:

> We do not publish, he [von Bethmann-Hollweg] claims, any of the German dispatches, so that opinion is quite unenlightened as to what is actually happening on the field of battle.
>
> One would think, according to M. de Bethmann-Hollweg, that the German dispatches are a source on which one can rely with full confidence, and one would imagine, too, since he had thus reproached us, that the German newspapers published the French dispatches.
>
> As a matter of fact, they do not and if it is necessary to hear both sides to know the truth then the Germans are quite ignorant of it. They are indeed very far removed from knowing it, and it is a constant surprise to our officers and our soldiers to discover when they question their prisoners, the profound illusions under which they labor.

Dr. von Bode's Polemic

Some time ago Dr. Wilhelm von Bode, the well-known director of the Berlin Art Museums and Germany's authority in matters of art, issued a justification of German conduct in Rheims and Louvain, which he supported by a review of Germany's world-contribution to art. "The German Science of Art and the War," was the title of the article. Jacques Mesnil, writing in the Mercure de France, presents a reply to Dr. von Bode's polemic.

He brands as infantile the reasoning by which Dr. Bode proves the German soldier incapable of destroying a work of art. The German professor stated that civilization, and with it art, could not have survived were it not for the protection of German militarism. M. Mesnil replies:

> M. Bode should have been able to separate a little better two things which have nothing to do with each other: strategy and the history of art. He should have explained the conduct of the soldiers by the service which is required of them; he should have pointed out precisely the point of view of the archeologist as incompatible with that of the warrior and he should have freed of responsibility those who, loving the picturesque old cities and the pure creations of artists, could not sympathize with those who destroy them.
>
> Far from this, he has invoked the merits of German science to justify the outrages of the soldiery and in his eyes the fact that German savants have added to the progress of archeology suffices to prove that the German army is incapable of destroying works of art.

Examination of Professor von Bode's claim that Germany leads the world in the "science of art," would seem to M. Mesnil to show that the German art-scientist is little more than a painstaking classifier, a mere cataloguer.

> Taken as a whole, the art historians in Germany are a lot of excellent laborers, energetic and conscientious, who could render valuable service were they well directed. But it is precisely their direction which is at fault. Those among them who play the rôle of leader do not know how to distinguish the relative importance of the problems which come to their consideration; in confused multitude of facts, they follow a purely exterior and quite military order in their classifications; in the same way that a man in the army is a man only and that all the human units are in rigid divisions, so for the apostles of "the science of art" a fact is a fact and automatically falls under the head destined for it.

"Carnegie and German Peace"

An article in La Revue (Paris), "Carnegie and the German Peace," would seem to indicate that France is not yet looking toward peace. The article is by Jean Finot himself, the well-known éditor and publisher of La Revue, and it gives the pacifists short shrift indeed. The American peace propaganda, M.

Finot characterizes as "the attempt at corruption," and he holds Mr. Carnegie responsible:

> Unfortunately Mr. Carnegie endeavors to keep them [his opinions regarding peace] alive by supporting them with considerable sums of money for their diffusion abroad. A movement for "a German peace" has thus sprung up in America and it is taking on more and more disquieting proportions. . . .
>
> Mr. Carnegie has been accused and not perhaps without reason, of subsidizing many Germanophile publications and thus of aiding in the work of corruption which Germany and her agents are carrying on throughout the whole world.

The recent peace congress of women at The Hague comes in for some strong language:

> The international congress of women pacifists seems to be due to Mr. Carnegie's generosity. This poisoning of public opinion, carried out systematically by his agents and his money, has become particularly odious. We do not suspect the honesty of his intentions, but we deplore his profound lack of comprehension of the events which have been taking place before his eyes.
>
> Among the American women noted for their talent and character, Miss Jane Addams occupies a prominent place. But it seems that her sturdy honesty was not sufficient to resist the temptation of putting herself at the heels of Mr. Carnegie. We are convinced the charges of other than purely disinterested motives against Miss Addams are wholly unjustified. But she has participated in the women's congress at The Hague under truly regrettable conditions.

M. Finot's references to Chautauqua and the part it plays in the preparation of American opinion are veiled but none the less suggestive:

> The important rôle which the Chautauqua conferences play in the United States is well known. These conferences of teachers which have so profound an influence on American opinion have been supported by Mr. Carnegie in the interests of realizing this idea of a precipitate peace, of a German peace. All manner of adventurers and seekers of easy fortunes have gathered around this strange deviation of the pacifist ideal represented by the multi-millionaire and the men of his stripe.

Russia's Supply of Warriors

In an article headed "Ought the War to Last Long—and Can It Last Long?" V. Kuzmin-Karavaeff says in the Russian European Messenger for June:

> It is, of course, impossible to say how long the war will last. But the case is altered if the question be put in another form: *Ought* the war to last long. and *can* it last long? The ten months which have elapsed make it entirely possible to answer it, for, in answering it, there is no need to guess at the thoughts, wishes, and hopes of the Germans which are bound up with the war.
>
> In the eyes of Russia and her Allies the present war has as its object the crushing and dispersing of "the nest of militarism," constructed in the centre of Europe by the hand of Bismarck and the vainglory of Wilhelm II. That was clearly defined last autumn by our diplomatic department. That is precisely the way in which it was and is defined by all classes of the Russian people, not excluding those who are represented by Kropotkin and Plekhanoff. The present war became far more for Germany than a war for the integrity of her territory, for her colonial interests, or for her commercial supremacy, from the moment when three —now four—great powers rose at her arrogant challenge. Germany is everywhere attacking, but, in reality, she is conducting a desperate war of defence for the organization of her existence, which, for the space of forty years, has rested on a nervous anticipation of war with her neighbors. Germany's offensive is a strategical maneuvre. As a matter of fact, she is fighting like a wild animal surrounded on all sides. And, of course, she will carry on the war until the last degree of exhaustion is reached. She has accumulated within her many forces—technical forces. Mere technical forces cannot stand their ground in the end. But no little time must still elapse. And the war *must* continue for a long time still, if the "nest of militarism" is to be annihilated.
>
> But, on the other hand, *can* it continue a long time? We Russians have a complete right to say, with conviction: Yes. Ten months of war have plainly demonstrated that we still possess a land which

TAKE JONESCO

A Former Cabinet Minister, and Leader of Pro-Ally Party in Rumania

(Photo from Central News.)

DEMETRIOS GOUNARIS

Leader of the Neutralist Party, who Succeeded Venizelos as Premier of Greece

is still intact, and personal and economic forces.

To the east of the Dnieper and Moscow the war is hardly felt at all. This is particularly true of the principal foundations of our life—the peasant country parts numbering their hundred millions. The villages have sent to the war millions of young men, and even fathers of families, heads of households. Many tears have already been shed in the country, and there are many orphans, many cripples. But the peasant countryside has not suffered economically. On the contrary, after ten months of war and closed liquor-shops, it has reconstructed itself and smartened itself up to a noteworthy degree. The fields have been sown. From among the huge mass only those laboring hands have been withdrawn for the war which would not have remained at home in any case, but would have been lured away to earn money elsewhere.

The same thing is observable also in the towns. The masses in the towns have increased their deposits in the savings banks tenfold, while consuming more meat than before the war, and resorting less frequently to the loan banks. Information made its way out of Germany long ago to the effect that all the males there, with the exception of decrepit old men and small children, have been called to the army. The peculiar "crisis in men" in Berlin has frequently served as a subject of jest in the humorous press.

In Russia, every railway station swarms with young, healthy, powerful porters who offer their services; every large restaurant has a host of waiters: the wharves on the Volga and, in conclusion, the mere throngs on the streets bear witness to the fact that nothing resembling the "crisis in men" exists with us. Numerous as have been the soldiers who have gone to the war, the supply of men who are capable of bearing arms is still colossally great with us. Consequently, we have the material to fill up losses in the army. And that being the case, we can go on with the war for a long time to come—for as long a time as may be necessary to bring it to a proper ending.

Austria and the Balkans

Germanic influences in the Balkan Peninsula are discussed by A. Pogodin in the magazine Russian Thought. Mr. Pogodin says:

Without having in view any acquisitions whatsoever in the northern part of the Peninsula, Russia is deeply interested in seeing to it that Germanic influence does not acquire preponderance there, because that influence, in its turn, has no aims save territorial acquisition. The Balkan Peninsula is admitted to be the most influential camp of Pan-Germanism for the colony desired by the Germanic world, from which it is but a step to Central Asia. And it was this plan that Russia was compelled to combat. Unfortunately, she resisted too feebly, and our diplomacy betrayed an extremely poor comprehension of Russian problems. Austria's snatching appetite was fully revealed in the formula of partition of the Peninsula into two spheres of influence: Austria was to have Serbia and Bosnia, Russia the Bulgarian provinces of the Ottoman Empire. We all know how that ended: Serbia was abandoned by Russia at the Berlin Congress, and had no choice but to throw herself into the arms of Austria, which wrought fearful demoralization in the land. Tens of years were required before little, tormented Serbia—which had not, nevertheless, lost her freshness of spiritual power—"found herself," that is to say, turned again to Russia, and did not reject her even during the period of the persecutions of 1908 which followed. This constituted the great service rendered to his people by the King of Serbia, Peter. Serbia has not perished, has not fallen into ruin, and has shown herself able to endure a war with Turkey, as she is now bearing the incredible blows of Austria-Hungary. But Bulgaria, which rejected Russia, has been seized in the grip of internal disturbances: she stands distracted before her Slavonic duty, and knows not whither she must go or why. If, at the last moment, she has sufficient sense to find her only way of salvation, which is in friendship with Slavdom, that, again, will be to the credit of Russia.

That is why, at the present moment, when the last act of the Balkan tragedy, begun long ago, is being played, we can look history in the face with calm eyes. Whatever may be formed after the end of this war, whether a Slavonic Federation, in which Russia could hardly take much interest, since she requires, first of all, the concentration of her own forces, or a series of independent, separate Slavonic kingdoms, we may say that, in having summoned the Slavs to unity, Russia has not deceived them, has not led them along a false road to destruction.

Italy's Publications in War-Time

Absolutely nothing is published in the Italian papers or reviews concerning military or naval operations until the result of a given movement is known. Meanwhile, what are Italians reading and what is the intellectual food given them to sustain the wonderful sentimental enthusiasm with which they welcomed the war?

Previous to Italy's declaration of war against Austria-Hungary, on May 24, the press in general dealt with the negotiations between the two Governments from the point of view of domestic politics, which gave foreigners the impression that Italy was only waiting to receive her price to remain neutral until the end of the war. Austrian intrigue and dilatoriness were alike criticized. Little was said about Germany in regard to Italy, although her military methods in Belgium and northern France, her raids on the defenseless coast towns of England, and her submarine activities in the War Zone were severely condemned. This censure, however, was entirely academic and objective. The reviews republished a quantity of English, French, Russian, and even American articles as to the causes of the war, and the illustrations which accompanied them could hardly be considered pro-Teutonic. Only the comic press—and this in spite of its augmenting circulation which should have indicated to observers the sentiment that was elsewhere suppressed—gave full vent to popular emotion.

The moment war was declared there was a complete change. To be sure the "Green Book" was published in numerous 20-cent editions and sold by the hundreds of thousands and the closing speeches of Italian and Austrian diplomats were given in full with comments, yet little time was wasted with explanations of the failure of the Italo-Austrian negotiations and the meaning of the Seventh Article of the Triple Alliance. The daily press, the weekly periodicals, and the monthly reviews suddenly changed their objective expositions of Germany's conduct in regard to others and began to expound, explain, and elucidate, in an intimate subjective manner, how that conduct affected Italy.

Austria was almost ignored. The anti-German riots at Milan and other cities, where thousands of dollars worth of property was systematically destroyed before the authorities could interfere, showed the volcano that had been lying dormant beneath the surface. Articles which must have been prepared months before suddenly appeared in the press and reviews showing how Germany had come to control the banks and steamship lines of the Peninsula and how German capital, under the guise of promoting Italian enterprises, had laid hold of vast industries whose profits went to fill the pockets of the Germans; and, worst of all, how the savings of Italian immigrants in America had gone, through the German-conducted banks, to enrich the same persons without any contingent benefit to Italians.

Indeed, it almost seemed as though the press and reviews alike had been organized as completely as had the army and navy for the prosecution of the war with the sole object in view of preventing Germany ever again from using the Peninsula as a territory for exploitation. The propaganda for *Italia Irredenta* suddenly sank into insignificance beside the determination to throw off, once and for all, the German commercial, industrial, and financial yoke, revealing the abiding faith of the Italian people that their army would attend to the former as completely as desirable and without the advice and criticism of civilians. Faith in their King and their army and in their ultimate success is not a matter for argument among Italians.

Meanwhile, the staffs of all publications, from editors to compositors, have felt the weight of conscription—sacrifices they enthusiastically make for the common cause. Their pages may be fewer and some favorite contributors may be heard of no more, but they are sure that the public will bear with them.

On the other hand, a new periodical has sprung into existence called La Guerra d'Italian nel 1915—The Italian War of 1915—the first number of which has just come to hand. Its introduction accompanied with several well-made portraits constructs the basis of Italy's action—how Italy having been tricked through a fancied fear of France and the apparent unresponsiveness of England into entering the Triple Alliance in 1882, had been forced to remain there, possibly protected thereby from actual Austrian aggression, but ever a prey to German exploitation. Then comes an analysis of the Italo-Austrian negotiations, conducted directly and through Prince von Bülow, the Special German Ambassador in Rome, showing why these negotiations could not possibly have succeeded. Like the Government itself the new periodical is in no haste to describe military operations.

The first review to devote almost its entire space to the war was La Vita Internazionale of Milan. The opening article is by the well-known publicist E. T. Moneta. He begins:

> Without boast but with self-esteem secure, Italy has taken her place in the combat among the nations which for ten months have been fighting for the liberty of the people and the cause of civilization. The enthusiasm with which this announcement has been received in France, Russia, and England, and especially in martyred Belgium, is enormous. For they have all understood what decisive effect our army would produce on the destiny of the Great War.
>
> The fighters for liberty and civilization who have always hoped for an ultimate victory, today feel the certainty of that hope, and that the duration of the war with the loss of millions of other lives will be shortened. For this reason, from those governments and people, from their parliaments and from their press, from workingmen's societies and from institutions of learning there have come to our country warm words of admiration and of social unity. All these things form an added inspiration for us to do our best to hasten the end of this slaughter of men.

Signor Moneta goes on to compliment the diplomacy of Premier Salandra for resigning from office and thus giving the people the opportunity to show through their demonstrations that they desired war and to silence once and forever the propaganda of Giolitti who had declaimed in vain that the people did not want war, as they could secure by negotiations unredeemed Italy—as though that were all.

Another article is by D. Giuseppe Antonini and is entitled "The German Madness." Its subject, full of quotations from Treitschke, Nietzsche, and Bernhardi, is not new to Americans. For Italians it may come as a revelation. It demonstrates the formative influences which have found expression in what is called "Prussian Militarism," as an attitude of mind which believes in the supremacy of force over all things—over goodness, virtue, kindness, and all else that make life worth living. It declares that Prussian Militarism has so possessed all Germans that not only their moral but their logical point of view has become distorted, so that they behold nought but virtue in applying science to bring about Mediaeval results. The conflict, he declares, is between absolutism which pretends to be sufficient unto itself and democracy which receives its power from the people, and that the latter must win unless centuries of the power, by revolutions without number, for the benefit of the masses are to end in failure.

Paolo Baccari deals with "The Supreme Duty." He says that the intervention of Italy was not merely to complete Unification by uniting all Italians of the Peninsula and the Adriatic littoral under one flag and government, but to register herself as standing for justice, law, and humanity against organized barbarity, injustice, illegality, and inhumanity, which, if victorious, would not rest until it had conquered the world. He calls the peace propaganda at this time a "vile lie of conventionality" because its success could only mean the victory of those forces which all honest nationalities and persons condemn.

As to the other serious reviews, such as the Nuova Antologia and the Rivista d'Italia, their June numbers, aside from expounding Italy's relations to Germany, have not gone beyond academic

discussion of the causes of the war and the economic phases as revealed by the budgets of France, England, and Russia, and the sacrifices that Italy must endure in order to make her a worthy ally of these countries, all putting forth their greatest efforts in the battle for the world's salvation.

There are in Italy a large number of popular, well illustrated, monthly magazines, which, taking it for granted that their readers have already been thoroughly instructed as to the diplomatic phases of the war, have started a campaign of education in regard to the war itself. There are articles contrasting the armies of the days of Garibaldi and the great King Victor Emmanuel with those of the present. There are also articles, historical and descriptive, sociological and economic, on Trieste, Trent, and other cities of Unredeemed Italy, and historical monographs showing the bonds that formerly bound Italy to England and to France which have now been cemented anew, free from all Teutonic influence.

Among the magazines of this class are the Secolo XX, the Noi e il Mondo, and La Lettura; all, whenever the occasion offers, deal generously and enthusiastically with Italy's allies.

In all this published matter one thing has been revealed since Italy entered the war. Previously all the Italian writers placed in the same category of contempt the alleged attempts that were being made to influence Italy by the Central Empires as well as by the Entente Powers and unblushingly declared that if Italy ever entered the war it would not be for the benefit of one party or the other but for the benefit of herself alone. Now they frankly confess that the Entente Powers made no attempt to influence Italy, knowing all the time that when she was ready she would line up on their side.

Sweden and the Lusitania

By SWEDISH ARTISTS AND PROFESSORS

Stockholm, May 10, 1915.

English people know that the Swedish nation is practically unanimous in supporting the Government in its policy of strict neutrality. Yet a large section of the people, whether the majority or not we cannot say, is anything but neutral in their feelings at the methods of warfare which have been adopted in this terrible war, and have culminated in the sinking of the Lusitania.

The misconception that war suspends all laws of humanity must prove fatal to the future of civilization and disastrous for that human solidarity that is of such vital interest to the smaller nations especially.

(Signed)

Svante Arrhenius, Professor.
Baron Adelsward.
Victor Almquist, Chief Director for State Prisons.
W. Lecs, Professor.
Knut Kjellberg, Professor.
Jules Akerman, Professor.
Torgny Segerstedt, Professor.
Israel Holmgren, Professor.
G. Kobb, Professor.
Ottor Rosenberg, Professor.
Gunnar Andersson, Professor.
Gerhard de Geer, Professor.
Olof Kinberg, M.D.
Alfred Petren, M.D.
John Tjerneld, barrister.
Tor Hedberg, author.
Hjalmar Soderberg, author.
G. Stjernstedt, barrister.
Ivan Hedquist, actor at Royal Theatre.
Ivan Bratt, M.D.
T. Fogelquist, Rector.
Mrs. Emilia Broome.
Miss Signe Hebba.
Christian Eriksen, sculptor.
Ludvig Moberg, M.D.
Karl Nordstrom, artist.
Nils Kreuger, artist.
Arnold Josefson, M.S.
Carl Eldh, sculptor.
Miss Alma Sundquist, M.D.

A Threatened Despotism of Spirit

By Gertrude Atherton

The subjoined article, appearing as a letter to THE NEW YORK TIMES, was provoked by the appearance on hundreds of billboards in New York of flaring appeals to American women that they use their influence to prevent the further exportation of arms and munitions to the enemies of Germany.

New York, July 5, 1915.

To the Editor of The New York Times:

As I do not belong to any of the suffrage or other woman's organizations in New York, may I say in your columns that for the honor of my sex, if for no other reason, I hope the Mayor will consent to the obliteration of those disingenuous posters addressing "American citizens," and so cunningly worded and signed as to produce an impression of representing the women of the United States? If the people that are spending their thousands so freely had come out frankly and stated that they were pro-German, and that the success of their propaganda would mean defeat for the Allies, short of ammunition, and victory for a nation that has nine-tenths of all the ammunition in Europe, then at least we should have the sheep separated from the goats; we could put it down to masculine influence over the weaker female vessel, which at least was trying to be honest, and let it go at that.

But I hold that such a poster, flaring from every billboard, is a defamation of patriotic American women, and a distinct blow to the cause of suffrage. It will not only antagonize men, who alone have the power to grant the franchise in those States still obdurate, but disgust thousands of women not yet won over to the cause, and far too intelligent not to know the precise meaning behind those lying and hypocritical words. For if that poster were really representative of American women it would mean that American women were traitors to their country, just as all pro-German American men, whatever their descent, are traitors, whether they realize it or not. What was the cause of the roar of indignation that went up all over the United States on Aug. 1? Anti-Germanism? Not a bit of it. If Russia had made the declaration of war the roar would have been as immediate and as loud. It was the spontaneous protest of the spirit of democracy against an arrogant autocracy that dared to plunge Europe into war and the world into panic, without the consent of the people; the manifest of a mediaeval power by an ambitious and unscrupulous group over millions of industrious, peace-loving men who had nothing to gain and all to lose.

It has been pointed out over and over again how diametrically opposed are the German and American ideals; therefore, it seems incredible that every American who champions the cause of a powerful and sublimely egotistic nation does not realize that what he hopes to see is not only the victory of the German arms in Europe, but the eventual destruction of democracy, the annihilation of the spirit of America as epitomized in the Declaration of Independence. I have not the least apprehension of immediate war with Germany, any more than of physical defeat at her hands did she, with the rest of Europe prostrate, make a raid on our shores; but it seems hardly open to question that with Europe Prussianized, we, the one heterogeneous race, and always ready to absorb and imbibe from the parent countries, should lose, in the course of half a century, our tremendous individual hustle, and gratefully permit a benevolent (and cast iron) despotism (not unnecessarily of our own make) to do our thinking, perhaps to select our jobs and apportion our daily tasks.

For that is what it almost amounts to now in Germany, and it is for this reason, no less than to escape military service, that so many millions of Germans have immigrated to this country. Unlike the vast majority of the bourgeois and lower classes, a kindly but stupid people, they were born with an alertness of mind and an energy of character which gave them the impetus to transfer themselves to a land where life might be harder but where soul and body could attain to a complete independence. Their present attitude is, however unconsciously, hypocritical, but it is not altogether as traitorous as that of the American born, who has not the excuse of that peculiar form of sentimentality which has fermented in Germans at home and abroad during this period of their Fatherland's peril. It is this curious and wholly German brand of sentimentality which is the cohering force in the various and extraordinarily clever devices by which modern Germany has been solidified. It is a sentimentality capable of rising to real exaltation that no other nation is capable of, and that alone should make the American pro-German pause and meditate upon a future United States where native individualism was less and less reluctantly heading for the iron jaws of the Prussianized American machine; and, furthermore, upon the weird spectacle of the real gladiatorial contest—German sentimentality wrestling in a death grapple with American downright unpicturesque common sense.

During the seven years that I lived in Munich I learned to like Germany better than any state in Europe. I liked and admired the German people; I never suffered from an act of rudeness, and I never was cheated out of a penny. I was not even taxed until the year before I left, because I made no money out of the country and turned in a considerable amount in the course of a year. When my maid went to the Rathaus to pay my taxes, (moderate enough,) the official apologized, saying that he had disliked to send me a bill, but the increased cost of the army compelled the country to raise money in every way possible. This was in 1908. The only disagreeable German I met during all those years was my landlord, and as we always dodged each other in the house or turned an abrupt corner to avoid encounter on the street, we steered clear of friction. And he was the only landlord I had.

I left Munich with the greatest regret, and up to the moment of the declaration of war I continued to like Germany better than any country in the world except my own.

The reason I left was significant. I spent, as a rule, seven or eight months in Munich, then a similar period in the United States, unless I traveled. I always returned to my apartment with such joy that if I arrived at night I did not go to bed lest I forget in sleep how overjoyed I was to get back to that stately and picturesque city, so prodigal with every form of artistic and aesthetic gratification. But that was just the trouble. For as long a time after my return as it took to write the book I had in mind I worked with the stored American energy I had within me; then for months and in spite of good resolutions and some self-anathema I did nothing. What was the use? The beautiful German city so full of artistic delight was made to live in, not to work in. The entire absence of poverty in that city of half a million inhabitants alone gave it an air of illusion, gave one the sense of being the guest of a hospitable monarch who only asked to provide a banquet for all that could appreciate. I look back upon Munich as the romance of my life, the only place on this globe that came near to satisfying every want of my nature. And that is the reason why, in a sort of panic, I abruptly pulled up stakes and left it for good and all. It is not in the true American idea to be too content; it means running to seed, a weakening of the will and the vital force. If I remained too long in that lovely land—so admirably governed that I could not have lost myself, or my cat, had I possessed one—I should in no long course yield utterly to a certain resentfully admitted tendency to dream

and drift and live for pure beauty; finally desert my own country with the comfortable reflection: Why all this bustle, this desire to excel, to keep in the front rank, to find pleasure in individual work, when so many artistic achievements are ready-made for all to enjoy without effort? For—here is the point—an American, the American of today—accustomed to high speed, constant energy, nervous tenseness, the uncertainty, and the fight, cannot cultivate the leisurely German method, the almost scientific and impersonal spirit that informs every profession and branch of art. It is our own way or none for us Americans.

Therefore, if loving Germany as I did, and with only the most enchanting memories of her, I had not immediately permitted the American spirit to assert itself last August and taken a hostile and definite stand against the German idea (which includes, by the way, the permanent subjection of woman) I should have been a traitor, for I knew out of the menace I had felt to my own future, as bound up with an assured development under insidious influences, what the future of my country, which stands for the only true progress in the world today, and a far higher ideal of mortal happiness than the most benevolent paternalism can bestow, had in store for it, with Germany victorious, and America (always profoundly moved by success owing to her very practicality) disturbed, but compelled to admire.

The Germans living here, destitute as their race seems to be of psychology when it comes to judging other races, must know all this; so I say that they are traitors if they have taken the oath of allegiance to the United States. If they have not, and dream of returning one day to the fatherland, then I have nothing to say, for there is no better motto for any man than: "My country, right or wrong."

"Gott Mit Uns"

By C. HUNTINGTON JACOBS

[Harvard Prize Poem]

Professor Kuno Meyer, of the University of Berlin, resigned his incumbency as Visiting Professor at Harvard University during the next season because of this poem, which was printed in *The Harvard Advocate* of April 9th, last, and won the prize in a competition for poems on the war conducted by that publication. This announcement of it appeared editorially: "Dean Briggs and Professor Bliss Perry, the judges of the *Advocate* war poem prize competition, have awarded the prize to C. Huntington Jacobs, 1916."

No doubt *ye* are the people: Wisdom's flame
  Springs from *your* cannon—yea from yours alone.
  God needs *your* dripping lance to prop His throne;
Your gleeful torch His glory to proclaim.
No doubt *ye* are the people: far from shame
  Your Captains who deface the sculptured stone
  Which by the labor and the blood and bone
Of pious millions calls upon His name.

No doubt *ye* are the folk; and 'tis to prove
  Your wardenship of Virtue and of Lore
  Ye sacrifice the Truth in reeking gore
Upon your altar to the Prince of Love.
  Yet still cry we who still in darkness plod:
  "'Tis Antichrist ye serve and not our God!"

On the Psychology of Neutrals

By Friedrich Curtius

Friedrich Curtius, of Strassburg, had attained such distinction at the beginning of the century that Prince Chlodwig of Hohenlohe-Schillingfürst, who succeeded Count Caprivi as Chancellor of the German Empire, on his retirement in 1900, asked Curtius to co-operate with him in the preparation of the *Memoirs* (New York, The Macmillan Co., 1906) which have since become famous. But the joint work was brought to a sudden end by Prince Hohenlohe's death, and Friedrich Curtius devoted himself, for the next six or seven years, to the completion of the unfinished task. When the *Memoirs* were finally published, first in America and then in Germany, they were so outspoken as to bring down on Prince Alexander Hohenlohe and Friedrich Curtius the disfavour of the Kaiser. This article by Curtius appeared originally in the Deutsche Revue, May, 1915.

"All the world must hate or love; no choice remains. The Devil is neutral."

SO sang Clemens Brentano in the year 1813. To-day, we once more realize that the attempt to remain neutral through a conflict which is deciding the history of the world not only brings great spiritual difficulties, but is even felt to be a downright moral impossibility, just as the poet saw it a hundred years ago. Legal neutrality is, of course, a simple thing. Every state can itself practice it, and impose it as a duty on its citizens. One may even think that modern states should go further in this direction than they do. The indifference of the Government toward the business transactions of its citizens with foreign states is a political anomaly, comprehensible in an age when foreign policy in war and peace was viewed as something that concerned the ruler only, but contradictory in a democratic age, when wars are peoples' wars. To-day, in all civilized states, the Government is morally answerable for those activities of its subjects which have international results. The American policy which permits the supply of weapons to England but allows England to prevent the export of grain to Germany, is a bad neutrality, morally untenable, a mere passivity, which lacks the will to do right. Such a standpoint might exist in a despotically governed state, but in a democratic Republic it it incomprehensible. For, from a genuinely democratic point of view, it does not signify whether the government or the citizens intervene to help or to hinder in an armed conflict. If we venture to speak at the right time of the development of international law, this, before all, must be demanded: that neutral states shall forbid the export of weapons, and that belligerents shall not hinder the import of foodstuffs for civilian populations.

Meanwhile the insecurity of the international attitude of neutrals is only a symptom of the difficulties to which neutrality of view is subject. These begin with the outbreak of the war. Each belligerent government believes itself to be in the right, and publishes a collection of documents which seem to it fitted to prove this right. This literature appearing in all the colours of the spectrum is really aimed at neutrals. For the belligerent nations themselves have weightier matters in hand than to sit in judgment upon their own governments. But the neutrals find themselves to decide which side is right. Yet this whole idea of a "just war" (coming to us from the moral philosophy of the Schoolmen) which shall expiate an injustice, as the judge punishes crimes, is antiquated. When, in the middle ages, the citizens of a town were maltreated or robbed by the authorities or citizens of another town, and the guilty party refused satisfaction, then the consequent feud might be viewed as a modified crim-

inal case, and the right of the wronged town to help itself must be recognized. In exactly the same way, differences over questions of inheritance between independent states could only be decided by force, where, as in a civil suit, each party was convinced of its own justice. But the great wars of our time arise from causes which are different from their immediate occasions, from opposed interests which can only be decided by discovering which side has the power to enforce its will. If one wishes to ascribe the blame for a war to one of the parties, one need only ask which of them pursued an aim which could not be reached through a peaceful understanding. In the present war, we Germans have clear consciences, for we know, concerning ourselves and our government, that we strove for nothing but the maintenance of our position as a world-power, bought with heavy sacrifices, and the free, peaceful expansion of our sphere of action in the world. On the other hand, Russia desired to get to Constantinople ahead of Berlin and Vienna, France desired to win back Metz and Strassburg, England desired to destroy our sea-power and commerce —goals which could only be reached over prostrate Germany. On this understanding, it would not be difficult for neutrals to arrive at a clear and just judgment. But as the belligerents themselves did not announce their purposes, but much rather took pains to turn public attention from the causes to the occasion of the conflict, the judgment of neutrals is affected by this, and if they are really impartial in their view, they suffer morally under the burden of an insoluble problem. But if outspoken sympathy draws them toward one of the belligerent powers, then their judgment is as little objective as that of the belligerents themselves. Their pretended neutrality gives to their expressions a loathsome Pharisaical aspect, because they come to a decision according to their opinions as if they stood on a height above the contestants and, from this lofty standpoint, were holding an anticipated Last Judgment on kings and statesmen.

The same phenomena show themselves with regard to judgments concerning methods of warfare. It goes without saying that each belligerent party reports all the atrocities which are committed by its opponents and is silent as to its own shortcomings. Once more, neutrals feel compelled to form a judgment, and therefore, if they are conscientious, read the reports of both sides, and, as a result, find themselves in a desperate situation, because it is impossible, from the assertions and counter-assertions of the belligerents, to ascertain the actual facts of the case. In practice, mere chance decides which set of reports one comes across. And the exact proof of details is impossible to the most zealous newspaper-reader. Therefore one's judgment remains vacillating, and one is likely to come to this conclusion: to believe nothing at all. Naturally, the case is different here also, if one is previously in sympathy with one party. Then one believes the reports coming from that side, and leaves out of consideration those that stand against them. In this case, again, neutrals become as one-sided as belligerents, without having the indubitable right to be one-sided which the belligerents have.

And finally, in the decisive question, neutrality is excluded. Whatever judgments one may form as to the cause of the war, and as to methods of waging it, the final outcome is always the decisive factor. Only a completely demoralized and stupid man can boast, in cynical indifference, that the result of the war leaves him cold. Where spiritual life functions, wishes and prayers, hopes and fears, are passionately involved in the course of the mighty conflict. For it is not a question whether this or that nation shall experience more pleasure or pain, but the form of all Europe and of the world, for long periods to come, will be fixed by the decision of this war. That cannot be a matter of indifference for any thinking human being. An equilibrium of view, a real neutrality is as little possible here as it would have been in the Persian or Punic wars, or, a hundred years ago, in the revolt of Europe, against the domination of

Napoleon. He who, invoking the neutrality of his state, does not takes sides in this decisive question, debases himself and his people with him. For to stand indifferent, taking no part in the mightiest events of history, is a degradation of humanity.

The neutrals in this world-war are, therefore, to be pitied rather than esteemed happy. Either they are only legally uncommitted, but have, in feeling and thought, taken the side of one of the belligerent parties: in which case it must weigh heavily on their hearts not to be able to come out openly for that side and to aid it with all their power; or they hold to neutrality as a positive political ideal: then the ethical solution of the dark questions of the right and wrong of the war, and the methods of warfare become a torturing and hopeless problem, and, in considering the future, the weakness and impracticability of what one has accepted as a legal precept becomes evident.

If the world-war should last much longer, then neutrality, as such, will probably go bankrupt. The economic injuries of the war weigh on neutrals as heavily as on belligerents. But they are far harder to bear when one has nothing to hope from the outcome of the war, when one must make continued sacrifices in sheer passivity, without knowing why. One would finally fall into despair, and accept anything that would bring this intolerable condition to an end. We hope that this extremity will not be reached, but rather that the decision of the war will come early enough to permit neutrals to preserve their attitude. That this should happen, is the common interest of mankind. For, in the collective life of civilized nations, neutrals have their own mission. Just because they share only the sufferings of the war, but do not partake of its inspiring and exalting forces, they are, of necessity, opponents of war, the providential mediators of the idea of peace, of international understanding, of the development and strengthening of international law. They can, during and after the conclusion of peace—if they unite and go forward with clearly formed ideals—have a notable effect. It will, in part, depend on their wisdom and firmness, whether it will be possible, within a conceivable time, to heal the deep wounds of humanity and international comity.

Chlorine Warfare

A Reuter dispatch, dated Amsterdam, June 26, 1915, reports that the "Kölnische Zeitung," in a semi-official defence of the German employment of gases, says:

"The basic idea of the Hague agreements was to prevent unnecessary cruelty and unnecessary killing when milder methods of putting the enemy out of action suffice and are possible. From this standpoint the letting loose of smoke-clouds which, in a gentle wind, move quite slowly towards the enemy is not only permissible by international law, but is an extraordinarily mild method of war. It has always been permissible to compel the enemy to evacuate positions by artificially caused flooding.

"Those who were not indignant, or even surprised, when our enemies in Flanders summoned water as a weapon against us, have no cause to be indignant when we make air our ally and employ it to carry stupefying (*betäubende*) gases against the enemy. What the Hague Convention desired to prevent was the destruction without chance of escape of human lives *en masse*, which would have been the case if shells with poisonous gas were rained down on a defenceless enemy who did not see them coming and was exposed to them irremediably. The changing forms of warfare make new methods of war continually necessary."

Rheims Cathedral

By Pierre Loti

This article by Pierre Loti (Captain Viaud) originally appeared in L'Illustration as the last of a series of three entitled "Visions of the Battle Front," and is translated for THE NEW YORK TIMES CURRENT HISTORY by Charles Johnston.

TO see it, our legendary and marvellous French basilica, to bid it farewell, before its fall and irremediable crumbling to dust, I had made my military auto make a detour of two hours on my return from completing a service mission.

The October morning was foggy and cold. The hillsides of Champagne were on that day deserted; with their vines with leaves of blackened brown, damp with rain, they seemed all clad in a sort of shining leather. We had also passed through a forest, keeping our eyes alert, our weapons ready, for the possibility of marauding Uhlans. And at last we had perceived the immense form of a church, far off in the mist, rising in all its great height above the plots of reddish squares, which must be the roofs of houses; evidently that was it.

The entrance to Rheims: defences of every kind, barriers of stone, trenches, spiked fences, sentinels with crossed bayonets. To pass, the uniform and accoutrements of a soldier are not enough. We must answer questions, give the pass-words. . . .

In the great city, which I had not visited before, I ask the way to the cathedral, for it is no longer visible; its silhouette which, seen from a distance, so completely dominates everything, as a giant's castle might dominate the dwellings of dwarfs, its high gray silhouette seems to have bent down to hide itself. "The cathedral," the people reply, "at first straight on; then you must turn to the left, then to the right, and so on." And my auto plunges into the crowded streets. Many soldiers, regiments on the march, files of ambulance wagons; but also many chance passers-by, no more concerned than if nothing was happening; even many well-dressed women with prayer-books in their hands, for it is Sunday.

Where two streets cross, there is a crowd before a house, the walls of which have been freshly scratched; a shell fell there, just now, without any useful result, as without any excuse. A mere brutal jest, to say: "You know, we are here!" A mere game, a question of killing a few people, choosing Sunday morning because there are more people in the streets. But, in truth, one would say that this city has completely made up its mind to being under the savage field-glasses ambushed on the neighboring hillsides; these passers-by stop a minute to look at the wall, the marks of the bits of iron, and then quietly continue their Sunday walk. This time it was some women, they tell us, and little girls that this neat jest laid low in pools of blood; they tell us that; and they think no more of it, as if it were a very small thing in days like these. . . . Now the district becomes deserted; closed houses, a silence, as of mourning. And at the end of a street, the great gray doors appear, the high pointed arches marvellously chiseled, the high towers. Not a sound, and not a living soul on the square where the phantom basilica still sits enthroned, and an icy wind blows there, under an opaque sky.

It still keeps its place as by a miracle, the basilica of Rheims, but so riddled and torn that one divines that it is ready to founder at the slightest shock; it gives the impression of a great mummy, still upright and majestic, but which a mere nothing will turn to ashes. The ground is strewn with precious relics of it. It has been hurriedly surrounded with a solid barrier of white

boards, within which its holy dust has formed heaps: fragments of rose-windows, broken piles of stained glass, heads of angels, the joined hands of saints. From the top of the tower to the base, the charred stone has taken on a strange color of cooked flesh, and the holy personages, still upright in rows on the cornices, have been peeled, as it were, by the fire; they no longer have faces or fingers, and, with their human forms, which still persist, they look like the dead drawn up in files, their contours vaguely indicated under a sort of reddish grave-clothes.

We make the circuit of the square without meeting anyone, and the barrier which isolates the fragile and still admirable phantom is everywhere solidly closed. As for the old palace adjoining the basilica, the episcopal palace where the kings of France came to rest on the day of their consecration, it is no longer anything more than a ruin, without windows or roof, everywhere licked and blackened by the flame.

What a peerless jewel it was, this cathedral, still more beautiful than Notre Dame in Paris. More open and lighter, more slender also, with its columns like long reeds, wonderful to be so fragile, and yet to hold firm; a wonder of our French religious art, a masterpiece which the faith of our ancestors had caused to blossom there in its mystic purity, before they came to us from Italy, to materialize and spoil everything, the sensual heaviness of what we have agreed to call the Renaissance. . . .

Oh! the coarse and cowardly and imbecile brutality of those bundles of iron, launched in full flight against the lacework, so delicate, that had risen confidently in the air for centuries, and which so many battles, invasions, scourges have never dared to touch! . . .

That great closed house, there, on the square, must be the Archbishop's residence. I try ringing the bell at the entrance to ask the favor of admission to the cathedral. "His Eminence," I am told, "is at mass, but will soon return." If I am willing to wait . . . And, while I wait, the priest who receives me relates to me the burning of the episcopal palace: "Beforehand, they had sprinkled the roofs with I know not what diabolical substance; when they then threw their incendiary bombs, the timbers burned like straw, and you saw everywhere jets of green flame, which spread with the noise of fireworks."

In fact, the barbarians had premeditated this sacrilege, and prepared it long ago; in spite of their foolishly absurd pretexts, in spite of their shameless denials, what they wished to destroy here was the very heart of old France; some superstitious fancy drove them to it, as much as their instinct of savages, and this is the task they plunged into desperately, when nothing else in the city, or almost nothing, suffered.

"Could not an effort be made," I said, "to replace the burned roof of the cathedral?—to cover the vaulted roofs again as quickly as possible? For without this they cannot resist the coming winter."

"Evidently," he said, "at the first snows, at the first rains, there is a risk that everything will fall, the more so, as those charred stones have lost their power of resistance. But we cannot even try that, to preserve them a little, for the Germans never take their eyes off us; at the end of their field-glasses, it is the cathedral, always the cathedral; and as soon as a man ventures to appear on a turret, in a tower, the rain of shells immediately begins again. No, there is nothing to be done. It is in the hands of God."

Returning, the prelate graciously gives me a guide, who has the keys of the barrier, and at last I penetrate into the ruins of the cathedral, into the denuded nave, which thus appears still higher and more immense. It is cold there; it is sad enough to make one weep. This unexpected cold, this cold much keener than outside, is, perhaps, what from the first takes hold of you, disconcerts you; instead of the slightly heavy odor which generally fills ancient churches—the vapor of so much incense that has been burned there, the emanations of so many coffins that have been blessed there, of so many generations of

men that have crowded there, for agony and prayer—instead of this, a damp and icy wind, which enters rustling through all the crevices of the walls, through the breaches in the stained glass windows and the holes in the vaulted ceilings. Those vaulted roofs, up there, here and there smashed by grapeshot—one's eyes are immediately lifted up by instinct to look at them, one's eyes are, as it were, drawn to them by the up-springing of all these columns, as slender as reeds, which rise in sheaves to sustain them; they have retreating curves of exquisite grace, which seem to have been imagined, so as not to allow the glances sent heavenward to fall back again. One never grows weary of bending one's head back in order to see them, to see the sacred roofs which are about to fall into nothingness; and they are up there also, far up, the long series of almost aërial pointed arches, on which they are supported, pointed arches indefinitely alike from one end of the nave to the other, and which, in spite of their complicated carvings, are restful to follow in their retreating perspective, so harmonious are they.

And it is better to go forward beneath them with raised head, not too carefully looking where one walks, for this pavement, rather sadly sonorous, has recently been soiled and blackened by the charring of human flesh. It is known that, on the day of the fire, the cathedral was full of German wounded, stretched on straw beds which caught fire, and it became a scene of horror worthy of a dream of Dante; all these creatures, whose raw wounds were baked in the flames, dragging themselves, screaming, on their red stumps, to try to reach the narrow doors. One knows also the heroism of the ambulance bearers, priests and nuns, risking their lives in the midst of the bombs, to try to save these hapless brutes, whom their own brother Germans had not even thought of sparing; however, they did not succeed in saving them all; some remained, and were burned to death in the nave, leaving foul clots on the sacred flagstones, where of old processions of kings and queens slowly dragged their ermine mantles, to the music of the great organ and the Gregorian chants. . . .

"Look!" says my guide to me, showing me a large hole in one of the aisles, "that is the work of a shell which they fired at us yesterday evening; then come and see a miracle." And he leads me into the choir, where the statue of Jeanne d'Arc, preserved, one would say, by some special grace, is still there, intact, with eyes of gentle ecstasy.

The most irreparable loss is that of the great stained glass windows, which the mysterious artists of the thirteenth century so religiously composed, in meditation and dream, gathering the saints by hundreds, with their translucent draperies, their luminous halos. There also German scrap-iron rushed in great stupid bundles, crushing everything. The masterpieces, which no one will ever reproduce, have scattered their fragments on the flagstones, forever impossible to separate, the golds, the reds, the blues, whose secret is lost. Ended, the rainbow transparencies, ended, the graceful, naïve attitudes of all these holy people, with their pale little ecstatic faces; the thousands of precious fragments of these stained glass windows which, in the course of centuries, had little by little become iris-tinted like opals, are lying on the ground—where they still shine like jewels. . . .

A whole splendid cycle of our history, which seemed to go on living in this sanctuary, with a life almost terrestrial, though immaterial, has just been plunged suddenly into the abyss of things that are ended, whose very memory will soon perish. The Great Barbarity has passed by, the modern barbarism from beyond the Rhine, a thousand times worse than the ancient, because it is stupidly and outrageously self-satisfied, and, in consequence, fundamental, incurable, final—destined, if it be not crushed, to throw a sinister night of eclipse over the world. . . .

Verily, this Jeanne d'Arc in the choir has very strangely remained, untouched, immaculate, in the midst of the disorder, with not even the slightest scratch on her dress. . . .

The English Falsehood

By Sven Hedin

Early in the war Sven Hedin, the Swedish explorer and writer, visited the German front to see the world-war at first hand. "A People in Arms," published in Leipzig and dedicated to the German soldiers, is the result. A preface proclaims the author's neutrality as a Swede and announces that he "swears before God that I have written not a line which is not the truth and have depicted nothing which I have not witnessed with my own eyes." This article is one of his concluding sketches.

I SHOULD like to have seen how the troops of India stood the raw autumn in Artois and Flanders. But the Indian prisoners at Lille were transferred to the East in order to make room for fresh contingents. I, myself, have experienced the difficulty of transplanting Indians to a colder climate. On my last journey to Tibet I had two Radschputs from Cashmere with me. When we got into the mountains they nearly froze to death, and my caravan leader, Muhamed Isa, declared they would be about as useful as puppies. I had to send them back. The same thing happened to me with my Indian cook; outside India he was absolutely useless. In Tibet they live on meat, in India on vegetables. How could he stand so sudden a change of both climate and diet!

Now the press has been claiming that the English have ordered a full contingent from India to Europe. I found it hard to believe but at the front I learned that it was true. "How do you treat the Indian soldiers?" I once asked a couple of officers. "We just arrest them," answered one, and the other added: "We don't need to do even that; they will soon die in the trenches."

When I admit that I myself made a stupid blunder in thinking that Indians could do service in Tibet, I am justified in claiming that Lord Charles Beresford made ten times as stupid a blunder when he expressed the hope of seeing "Indian lances roaming the streets of Berlin and the little brown Gurkas making themselves comfortable in the park of Sans Souci."

But the import of Indian troops is more than a stupid blunder—it is a crime!

For almost a century and a half Great Britain has performed the shining mission of acting as India's guardian; no other people probably could successfully carry through so gigantic a task. Indian troops have fought with honor against ther neighbors, and, moreover have assisted in maintaining order among the 300 millions of their people.

But never has it occurred to an English government as now to the Liberal government, to oppose black infidels to Christian Europeans! That is a crime against culture, against civilization and against Christianity. And if the English missionaries approve it, then are they hypocrites and false bearers of the Gospel.

India's English rulers despise—and rightfully—all marital relations between whites and Hindoos; the children of such marriages are regarded as mules, and are often called such; they are neither horse nor ass, they are half caste. In Calcutta they have their own quarter and are allowed to live in no other part of the city. But—when it comes to the question of overthrowing the "German barbarians," then an alliance with the bronze-skinned people is good enough for England!

Is it one of the twentieth century's worthy advances in culture and civilization that the unsuspecting Indian is brought hundreds of miles over land and sea that he may on the battlefields of Europe drive to destruction the first soldiers of the world, the German army? Even though some may answer

this question in the affirmative, I hold unshaken to my assertion that such a course of action is the very height of frightfulness! Not frightful to the German soldiers, for I know what sort of feeling the Indian fighters have for them—respect and sympathy!

And we aren't much nearer that "roaming about in the streets of Berlin," and the lindens of Sans Souci are not yet waving above the warriors from the slopes of the Himalayas.

What must these Indian troops think of their white masters! That the future will show. Whoever has seen something of the land of a thousand legends, who has ridden over the crests of the Himalayas, who has dreamed in the moonlight before the Taj Mahal, who has seen the holy Ganges slip gray and soft past the wharves of Benares, who has been entranced by the train of elephants under the mango trees of Dekkan—in short, whoever has loved India and admired the order and security which prevails there under the English rule, he will need no very powerful imagination to understand with what thoughts the Indian soldiers will go back, and with what feelings their families and their fellow countrymen in the little narrow huts on the slopes of the Himalayas will listen to their accounts. Only with a shudder can we think of this, for it must be said that here a crime against civilization and Christianity has been done in the name of civilization.

The question cannot be suppressed: Will the Indian contingent really be used? Will not the white millions of Great Britain, Canada and Australia suffice, to say nothing of the French, Belgians, Russians, Serbians, Montenegrins and Japanese? Apparently not. In *The Times* of September 5th appears in large letters: The need for more men. Already they are in need of more people to overthrow the Kultur of the "German barbarians"! The English people must be educated by a special method in order to understand both the cause and the aim of this war. Otherwise the Englishman will stay at home and play football and cricket.

And what is this education of the people? In regard to this the English press informs us daily. It is a systematic lie! The fatal reality, that England is slowly sliding to catastrophe, must be hidden by a strict censorship. The English people has no suspicion of Hindenburg's victories. The development of the German operations in Poland is translated into a victorious move of the Russians on Berlin! The most shameful slander concerning the Kaiser is spread abroad! The Germans are barbarians who must be annihilated, and the civilized peoples of Servia, Senegambia and Portugal must take part in this praiseworthy undertaking!

England carries on this war with a perversion of the truth, and truth is as rare in the English press as lies in the German.

But do the people really believe what they read in the English newspapers? Yes, blindly! I have been convinced of this by letters received from England. An appeal signed by many scholars—among them several Nobel prize winners—and sent to me, closes with the words:

> We regret deeply that under the unwholesome influence of a military system and its unrestrained dreams of domination, the country which we have once honored now has become Europe's common enemy and the enemy of all people who respect the rights of nations. We must carry to an end this war which we have entered. For us as for the Belgians it is a war of defense, which will be fought through for peace and freedom.

The old story of the splinter and the beam! Is England's rule of the sea no military system then? Can there be conceived a more far-reaching militarism than that which stretches out its conquests over five continents? Which even clutches at the straw which republican Portugal holds out and announces "the need for more men" in the newspapers?

What was the Boer War then? An expression perhaps of this same humane solicitude for the small states which now causes England to break the lance for Belgium's independence?

It would be useless at this late day to attempt to determine what would have been the course of the great war had England stayed out of it. But this much is certain, that Belgium's loss of independence would have lasted only until the conclusion of peace. The war would then not have grown as now to be a world-war—to be the greatest and most tragic catastrophe which the human race has ever suffered. No nation has ever incurred a greater, a more comprehensive responsibility than England! And one can only regret most deeply that these men will have to bear now and in the world to come the full and oppressive burden of that responsibility.

Calais or Suez?

Which Should be Germany's Objective?

By special cable to THE NEW YORK TIMES *from London on July 1, 1915, came the following information:*

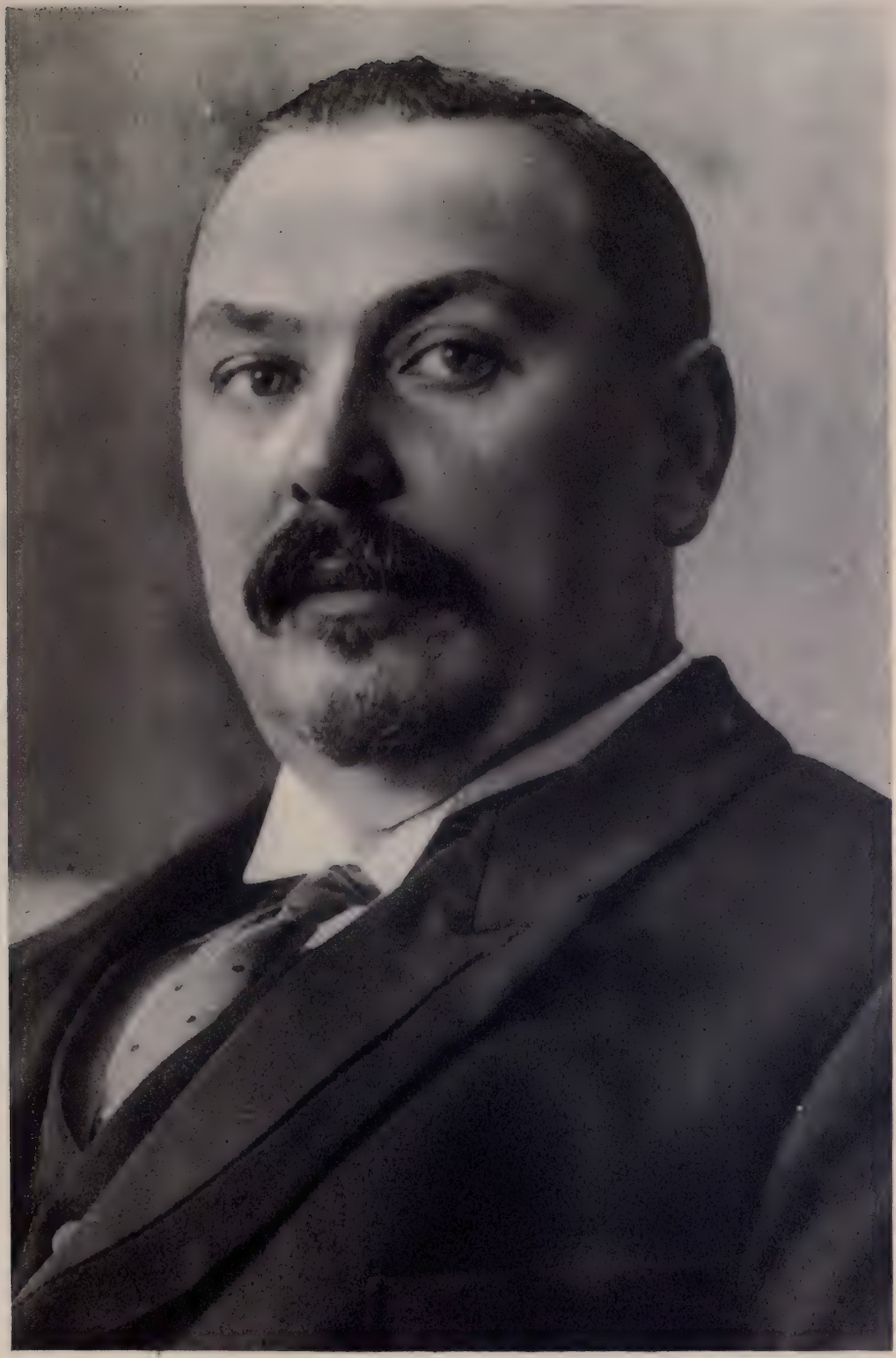
Count von Reventlow, in last Sunday's Deutsche Tageszeitung, explains the importance and meaning of Calais as a German objective in the west and as a key to the destruction of the British Empire. Dr. Ernst Jaeckh, in an article called "Calais or Suez," maintained that if an English statesman had to make a choice he would undoubtedly give up Calais and cling to Suez rather than give up Suez and control Calais. Reventlow maintains there is no reality about this alternative.

About the importance of Suez, Jaeckh and Reventlow are agreed. Reventlow for his part declares England's main interest in the Dardanelles operations is the desire to protect Egypt and that this is the explanation of all her efforts to range the Balkan countries against Austria-Hungary, Germany, and Turkey. As translated in THE TIMES he proceeds:

"These efforts are not yet at an end, and they will be continued with a desperate expenditure of strength and all possible means. It was believed that the Russian armies and influence exercised upon the Balkan peoples would make Egypt safe. These hopes are now tottering or vanishing. All the greater must be the energy of our triple alliance in order completely to clear the way and then at the proper moment to take it with firm determination to see the thing through. Here also we see the correctness of our old argument, that for Germany and her allies success lies in a long war and that time works for them if they employ the time in working. Our forces are increasing with time and, as has been said, Germany has the assured possibility of gaining time. To strike our chief enemy at a vital point is worth the greatest efforts and sacrifice of time, quite apart from the fact that we owe it to the Turkish Empire to assist with all our strength in restoring Egypt, which was stolen by England."

Reventlow then says that a comparison of "the Calais idea" with Suez is as idle as the comparison of a chair with a table. He says Jaeckh is mistaken in supposing Calais does not concern more than the south coast of England or that it merely threatens one of many ways to and from England. Reventlow says:

"This by no means completes the Calais idea. From a military or political or economic point of view one should look at the matter with the eyes of Great Britain and define the Calais idea as a possibility for a seafaring continental power to conduct a war against Great Britain from the continental coast channel and with all military resources while holding open communication between the Atlantic Ocean and the North Sea."



GENERAL LOUIS BOTHA

The Boer Commander Who Added German Southwest Africa to the British Crown

(Photo from Medem Photo Service.)

DR. ANTON MEYER-GERHARD

Sent by Count Bernstorff to inform the Kaiser upon the state of American Opinion

(Photo from American Press Association.)

Note on the Principle of Nationality

By John Galsworthy

This article, dealing with the consequences of the war, originally appeared in La Revue of Paris, and is here reproduced by permission of Mr. Galsworthy.

IN these times one dread lies heavy on heart and brain—the thought that after all the unimaginable suffering, waste, and sacrifice of this war, nothing may come of it, no real relief, no permanent benefit to Europe, no improvement to the future of mankind.

The pronouncements of publicists—"This must never happen again," "Conditions for abiding peace must be secured," "The United States of Europe must be founded," "Militarism must cease"—all such are the natural outcome of this dread. They are proclamations admirable in sentiment and intention. But human nature being what it has been and is likely to remain, we must face the possibility that nothing will come of the war, save the restoration of Belgium, (that, at least, is certain;) some alterations of boundaries; a long period of economic and social trouble more bitter than before; a sweeping moral reaction after too great effort. Cosmically regarded, this war is a debauch rather than a purge, and debauches have always to be paid for.

Confronting the situation in this spirit, we shall be the more rejoiced if any of our wider hopes should by good fortune be attained.

Leaving aside the restoration of Belgium—for what do we continue to fight? We go on, as we began, because we all believe in our own countries and what they stand for. And in considering how far the principle of nationality should be exalted, one must well remember that it is in the main responsible for the present state of things. In truth, the principle of nationality of itself and by itself is a quite insufficient ideal. It is a mere glorification of self in a world full of other selves; and only of value in so far as it forms part of that larger ideal, an international ethic, which admits the claims and respects the aspirations of all nations. Without that ethic little nations are (as at the present moment) the prey—and, according to the mere principle of nationality, the legitimate prey—of bigger nations. Germany absorbed Alsace-Lorraine, Schleswig, and now Belgium, by virtue of nationalism, of an overweening belief in the perfection of its national self. Austria would subdue Serbia from much the same feeling. France does not wish to absorb or subdue any European people of another race, because France, as ever, a little in advance of her age, is already grounded in this international ethic, of unshakable respect for the rights of all nations which belong, roughly speaking, to the same stage of development. The same may be said of the other western democratic powers, Britain and America. "To live and let live," "to dwell together in unity," are the guiding maxims of the international ethic, by virtue of which alone have the smaller communities of men—the Belgiums, Bohemias, Polands, Serbias, Denmarks, Switzerlands of Europe—any chance of security in the maintenance of their national existences. In short the principle of nationality, unless it is prepared to serve this international ethic, is but a frank abettor of the devilish maxim, "Might is right." All this is truism; but truisms are often the first things we forget.

The whole question of nationality in Europe bristles with difficulties. It cannot be solved by theory and rule of thumb. What is a nation? Shall it be determined by speech, by blood, by geographical boundary, by historic tradition? The freedom and independence of a country can and ever should be assured when with one voice it demands the same.

It is seldom as easy as all that. Belgium, no doubt, is as one man. Poland is as one man in so far as the Poles are concerned; but what of the Austrians, Russians, Germans settled among them? What of Ireland split into two camps? What of the Germans in Bohemia, in Alsace, in Schleswig-Holstein? Compromise alone is possible in many cases, going by favor of majority. And there will always remain the poignant question of the rights and aspirations of minorities. Let us by all means clear the air by righting glaring wrongs, removing palpable anomalies, redressing obvious injustices, securing so far as possible the independent national life of homogeneous groups; but let us not, dazzled by the glamour of a word, dream that by restoring a few landmarks, altering a few boundaries, and raising a paean to the word Nationality, we can banish all clouds from the sky of Europe, and muzzle the ambitions of the stronger nations.

In my convinced belief the one solid hope for future peace, the one promise of security for the rights and freedom of little countries, the one reasonable guarantee of international justice and general humanity, lies in the gradual growth of democracy, of rule by consent of the governed. When this has spread till the civilization of the Western world is on one plane—instead of as now on two—then and then only we shall begin to draw the breath of assurance. Then only will the little countries sleep quietly in their beds. It is conceivable, nay probable, that the despotic will of a perfect man could achieve more good for his country and for the world at large in a given time than the rule of the most enlightened democracy. It is certain that such men occupy the thrones of this earth but once in a blue moon.

If proof be needed that the prevalence of democracy alone can end aggression among nations, secure the rights of small peoples, foster justice and humaneness in man—let the history of this last century and a half be well examined, and let the human probabilities be weighed. Which is the more likely to advocate wars of aggression? They, who by age, position, wealth, are secure against the daily pressure of life and the sacrifice that war entails, they who have passed their time out of touch with the struggle for existence, in an atmosphere of dreams, ambitions, and power over other men? Or they, who every hour are reminded how hard life is, even at its most prosperous moments, who have nothing to gain by war, and all, even life, to lose; who by virtue of their own struggles have a deep knowledge of, a certain dumb sympathy with, the struggles of their fellow-creatures; an instinctive repugnance to making those struggles harder; who have heard little and dreamed less of those so-called "national interests," that are so often mere chimeras; who love, no doubt, in their inarticulate way the country where they were born, and the modes of life and thought to which they are accustomed, but know of no traditional and artificial reasons why the men of other countries should not be allowed to love their own land and modes of thought and life in equal peace and security?

Assuredly, the latter of these two kinds of men are the less likely to favor ambitious projects and aggressive wars. According as "the people" have or have not the final decision in such matters, the future of Europe will be made of war or peace; of respect or of disregard for the rights of little nations. It is advanced against democracies that the workers of a country, ignorant and provincial in outlook, have no grasp of international politics. This is true in Europe where national ambitions and dreams are still for the most part hatched and nurtured in nests perched high above the real needs and sentiments of the simple working folk who form nine-tenths of the population of each country. But once those nests of aggressive nationalism have fallen from their high trees, so soon as all Europe conforms to the principle of rule by consent of the governed, it will be found—as it has been already found in France—that the general sense of the community informed by an ever-growing publicity (through means of communication ever speeding-up) is quite sufficient trustee of national safety; quite able, even enthusiastically

able, to defend its country from attack.

The problem before the world at the end of this war is how to eliminate the virus of an aggressive nationalism that will lead to fresh outbursts of death. It is a problem that I, for one, frankly believe will beat the powers and goodwill of all, unless there should come a radical change of Governments in Central Europe; unless the real power in Germany and Austria-Hungary passes into the hands of the people of those countries, as already it has passed in France and Britain. This is in my belief the only chance for the defeat of militarism, of that raw nationalism, which, even if beaten down at first, will ever be lying in wait, preparing secret revenge and fresh attacks.

How this democratization of Central Europe can be brought about I cannot tell. It is far off as yet. But if this be not at last the outcome of the war, we may still talk in vain of the rights of little nations, of peace, disarmament, of chivalry, justice, and humanity. We may whistle for a changed world.

JOHN GALSWORTHY.

Singer of "La Marseillaise"

By H. T. SUDDUTH

[The body of Claude Joseph Rouget de Lisle, who composed "The Marseillaise," was placed, on July 15, 1915, in the Hotel des Invalides, Paris.]

Up from the land of fair Provence,
  Land of the vineyard and olive green,
Flushed with a new hope's radiance
  Glow of glorious visions seen,
Joyous Marseilles' Battalion came,
Singing a song since known to fame.

List as the drums the quickstep beat!
  List to the Chant of Liberty!
Ringing through dawn or noonday heat—
  "Allons enfants de la Patrie!"
List to the chant on the dusty way,
"Death to the tyrant! Vive le Marseillais!"

Orchards and vineyards caught up the song,
  France seemed but waiting that martial lay,
Born of poet's heart-beats strong!
  Sung by the sons of the South that day,
Voicing the hero-soul of strife,
Marching song of a nation's life!

Days of Terror that chant ushered in,
  Falling of thrones and baubles and crowns—
Bastille walls and guillotine,
  Sack of Tuileries, Temple frowns.
Heard that Chant of the Marseillais,
"Le jour de gloire est arrivé."

Reds of the Midi! The song you sung
  Thrilled the hearts of all who heard!
Song of a people with hearts tense-strung,
  Rhythm that every pulse quick stirred!
Echoes that song as France now pays
Honor to singer of "La Marseillaise!"

Depression—Common-Sense and the Situation

By Arnold Bennett

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The pessimistic attitude toward the military situation assumed by a large part of British society, after the arrival of warm weather, without the heralded concerted advance of the Allies in France and Belgium, is dealt with by Mr. Bennett in the subjoined article, which appeared in the London Daily News of June 16, 1915. It is here reproduced by Mr. Bennett's express permission.

IN a recent article I said that for reasons discoverable and undiscoverable the military situation had been of late considerably falsified in the greater part of the Press. This saying (which by the way was later confirmed by the best military experts writing in the Press) aroused criticism both public and private. That it should have been criticised in certain organs was natural, for these organs had certainly been colouring or manipulating their war news, including casualties, chiefly by headlines and type, and even influencing their expert analysis of war-news, to suit what happened to be at the moment their political aims.

Even the invasion scare was last week revived by the "Daily Mail" as an aid to compulsion. The "Daily Mail" asserted that, whatever we might say, invasion was possible. True. It is. Most things are. But invasion is responsibly held to be so wildly improbable that our military, as distinguished from our naval, plans are permitted practically to ignore the possibility. Compulsion or no compulsion, those plans will be the same. They will be unaffected by any amount of invasion-scaring, and therefore to try to foster pessimism in the public by alarums about invasion is both silly and naughty.

Newspapers quite apart, however, there has been in the country a considerable amount of pessimism which I have not been able to understand, much less sympathise with; pessimism of the kind that refuses to envisage the future at all. It has not said: "We shall be beaten." But it has groaned and looked gloomy, and asked mute questions with its eyes. It has resented confident faith and demanded with sardonic superiority the reasons for such faith.

Of the tribe of pessimists I count some superlative specimens among my immediate acquaintances. The explanation of their cases is, I contend, threefold. First, they lack faith, not merely in the Allied arms, but in anything. They have not the faculty of faith. Secondly, they unconsciously enjoy depression, and this instinct distorts all phenomena for them. Thus they exhibited no satisfaction whatever at the capture of Przemysl full of men and munitions by the Russians, whereas the recapture of Przemysl empty of men and munitions by the Germans filled them with delicious woe. Thirdly, they lack patience, and therefore a long-sustained effort gets on their nerves. Others I can inoculate with my optimism, but the effect passes quickly, and each succeeding reinoculation has been less and less effective, with the monotonous questioning, ever more sardonic in tone: "How can you be deluded by the official bulletins?" or: "What do you know about war, to make you so cocksure?"

The truth is that I am not deluded by the official bulletins. I don't know how long it is since I learnt to appreciate official bulletins at their true value, but it is a long while ago. A full perception

of the delusiveness of official bulletins can only be obtained by reading histories of the war. The latest I have read are those of Mr. John Buchan and Mr. Hillaire Belloc. (Mr. Buchan's is good. Mr. Belloc's is more than good: it is—apart from a few failures in style, due either to fatigue or to the machinery of dictation—absolutely brilliant, both militarily and politically. I am inclined to rate the last dozen pages of Mr. Belloc's book as the finest piece of writing yet produced by the war.) And when one compares, in these works, the coherent, impartial, and convincing accounts of, say, the first month of the war, with the official bulletins of the Allies during that month, one marvels that even officialism could go so far in evasion and duplicity, and the reputation of official bulletins is ruined for the whole duration of the conflict. No wonder the contents of the Allied newspapers in that period inspired the Germans with a scornful incredulity, which nothing that has since happened can shake.

It is not that official bulletins are incorrect; they are incomplete, and, therefore, misleading. The policy which frames them seems now to be utterly established, but my motion that it is a mistaken policy remains unaltered. When the policy is pushed as far as the suppression of isolated misfortunes which flame in the headlines of the enemy Press from Cologne to Constantinople, then I begin to wonder whether I am living in three dimensions or in four.

If, then, he does not rely on the official bulletins, and he has no military expertise, how is the civilian justified in being optimistic? The reply is that the use of his common-sense may justify his optimism. The realm of common-sense being universal, even war comes within it. And the fact is that the major aspects of the war are no more military than they are political, social, and psychological. Take one of the most important aspects—the character of generals. It cannot be denied that after ten months, confidence in Joffre has increased. At the beginning of the war, when the German plan was being exactly followed and was succeeding, when the Germans had an immense advantage of numbers, when their reserves of men and munitions were untouched, when everything was against us, and everything in favour of the Germans, Joffre, aided by the British, defeated the Germans. He defeated them by superior generalship. Common-sense says that now, when the boot is on the other leg, Joffre will assuredly defeat the Germans—and decisively, and common-sense is quite prepared to wait until Joffre is ready. Again, take the case of the Grand Duke. The Grand Duke has shown over and over again that he is an extremely brilliant general of the first order. In the very worst days, when everything was against him and everything in favour of the Germans, as in the West, he held his own and he has continually produced many more casualties in the German ranks than the Germans have produced in his ranks. He still has many things against him, but it is not possible reasonably to believe that the Grand Duke will let himself in for a disaster. That he should avoid a disaster is all that the West front demands of him at present.

On the other side, General von Moltke, head of the German Great General Staff, has been superseded. What German General has advanced in reputation? There is only one answer—von Hindenberg. Von Hindenberg won the largest (not the most important) victory of the war in the Battle of Tannenberg. He won it because the ground was exceedingly difficult, and because he knew the ground far better than any other man on earth. He was entitled to very high credit. He got it. He became the idol of the German populace, and the bugbear of the Allied countries. But he has done nothing since. Soon after Tannenberg he made a fool of himself on the Russian frontier, and showed that success had got into his head. He subsequently initiated several terrific attempts, all of which were excessively costly and none of which was carried through. If he has not ceased to be

an idol, he has at any rate ceased to be a bugbear.

As for the average intelligence of the opposing forces, it may be said that Prussian prestige, though it dies very slowly, is dying, even in the minds of our pessimists. Their zest for elaborate organization of plan gave the Germans an immense advantage at the start, but it is proved that, once the plan has gone wrong, they are at the best not better in warfare than ourselves. Their zest for discipline, and their reserves, have enabled them to stave off a catastrophe longer than perhaps any other nation could have staved it off. But time is now showing that excessive discipline and organization produce defects which ultimately outweigh the qualities they spring from. The tenacity of the Germans is remarkable, but does it surpass ours? Man for man, a soldier of the Allies is better than a soldier of the Central Powers—or ten thousand observers have been deceived. As for the intelligence of the publics upon whose moral the opposing forces ultimately depend, it is undeniable that the German public is extremely hysterical, and far more gullible even than ourselves at our very worst. The legends believed by the German public today are ridiculous enough to stamp Germany for a century as an arch-simpleton among nations. Its vanity is stupendous, eclipsing all previously known vanities. The Great General Staff must know fairly well how matters stand, and yet not the mere ignorant public, but the King of Bavaria himself, had the fatuity as late as last week to talk about the new territory that Germany would annex as a result of the war!

In numbers we in the West had got the better of them, and were slowly increasing our lead, before Italy, by joining us, increased the Allies' advantage at a stroke by over three-quarters of a million fully mobilised men, and much more than as many reserves.

In financial resources there is simply no comparison between the enemy and ourselves. We are right out of sight of the enemy in this fundamental affair.

We lack nothing—neither leading, nor brains, nor numbers, nor money—save ammunition. Does any pessimist intend to argue that we shall not get all the ammunition we need? It is inconceivable that we should not get it. When we have got it the end can be foretold like the answer to a mathematical problem.

Lastly, while the Germans have nothing to hope for in the way of further help, we have much to hope for. We have, for example, Rumania to hope for; and other things needless to mention. And we have in hand enterprises whose sudden development might completely change the face of the war in a few hours; but whose failure would not prejudice our main business, because our main business is planned and nourished independently of them. One of these enterprises is known to all men. The other is not. The Germans have no such enterprises in hand.

For all the foregoing argument no military expertise is necessary. It lies on a plane above military expertise. It appeals to common-sense and it cannot be gainsaid. I have not yet met anybody of real authority who has attempted to gainsay it, or who has not endorsed it. The sole question is, not whether we shall win or lose, but when we shall win.

For this reason I strongly object to statesmen, no matter who they be, going about and asserting to listening multitudes that we are fighting for our very existence as a nation. We most emphatically are not. It is just conceivable that certain unscrupulous marplots might by chicane produce such domestic discord in this country as would undermine the very basis of victory. I regard the thing as in the very highest degree improbable, but it can be conceived. The result might be an inconclusive peace, and another war, say, in twenty years, when we probably *should* be fighting for our very existence as a nation. But we are not now, and at the worst shall not be for a long time, fighting for our very existence as a nation. Nobody believes such an asser-

tion; pessimists themselves do not believe it. And when statesmen give utterance to it in the hope of startling the working-class into a desired course of conduct, they under-rate the intelligence of the working-class and the result of such oratory is far from what they could wish.

Our national existence is as safe as it has been any time this century; indeed, it is safer, for its chief menace has received a terrible blow, and the Prussian superstition is exploded. All that can be urged is that we have an international job to finish; that in order to finish it properly and within a reasonable period we must work with a will and in full concord; and that if we fail to do this the job will be botched, with a risk of sinister consequences to the next generation. The notion that to impress the public it is necessary to pile on the agony with statements that no moderately enlightened person can credit, is a wrong notion, and, like all wrong notions, can only do harm. The general public is all right, quite as all right as the present Government or any other. Had it not been so we should not be where we are to-day, but in a far less satisfactory position. Not Governments, not generals, but the masses make success in these mighty altercations. Read Tolstoi's " War and Peace."

The War and Racial Progress

[From the Morning Post of London, July 2, 1915]

Major Leonard Darwin, in his presidential address on "Eugenics During and After the War" to the Eugenics Education Society at the Grafton Galleries yesterday, said that our military system seemed to be devised with the object of insuring that all who were defective should be exempt from risks, whilst the strong, courageous, and patriotic should be endangered. Men with noble qualities were being destroyed, whilst the unfit remained at home to become fathers of families, and this must deteriorate the natural qualities of the coming generations. The chances of stopping war were small, and we must consider how to minimize its evils. If conscription were adopted future wars would produce less injury to the race, because the casualty lists would more nearly represent a chance selection of the population; though whether a conscript army would ever fight as well as our men were doing in France was very doubtful. The injurious effects of the war on all useful sections of the community should be mitigated. Military training was eugenic if the men were kept with the colours only for short periods. Officers must, of course, be engaged for long periods, and amongst them the birth rate was very low. An increase of pay would be beneficial in this respect, but only if given in the form of an additional allowance for each living child. In the hope of increasing the birth rate attempts were likely to be made to exalt the "unmarried wife," a detestable term against which all true wives should protest. If a change in moral standards was demanded in the hope that an increase in the habit of forming irregular unions would result in an increase in the population, that plea entirely failed because the desired effect would not thus be produced. A special effort ought now to be made on eugenic as well as on other grounds to maintain the high standards of home life which had ever existed in our race, and which had been in large measure the basis of our social and racial progress in the past. If we did not now take some steps to insure our own racial progress being at least as rapid as that of our neighbours, and if our nation should in consequence cease in future to play a great part in the noble and eternal struggle for human advancement, then the fault would be ours.

The English Word, Thought, and Life

By Russian Men of Letters

A group of sixty-seven Russian writers and publicists, comprising the best men of letters of the nation, with the exception of Vladimir Korolenko, who is at present in France, have signed a reply to the tribute to the writers of Russia by English men of letters, a translation of which was printed in CURRENT HISTORY for February, 1915. The text of the reply, given below, is taken from the Moscow daily newspaper, Outro Rossii; its translation into English by Leo Pasvolsky appeared in the New York Evening Post of June 20th.

WE have known you for a long time. We have known you since we Russians came to a communion with Western Europe and began to draw from the great spiritual treasury created by our brethren of Western Europe.

From generation to generation we have watched intently the life of England, and have stored away in our minds and our hearts everything brilliant, peculiar, and individual, that has impressed itself upon the English word, the English thought, and the English life.

We have always wondered at the breadth and the manifoldness of the English soul, in whose literature one finds, side by side, Milton and Swift, Scott and Shelley, Shakespeare and Byron. We have always been amazed by the incessant and constantly growing power of civic life in England; we have always known that the English people was the first among the peoples of the world to enter upon a struggle for civic rights, and that nowhere does the word *freedom* ring so proud and so triumphant as it does in England.

With wonder and veneration, have we watched the English people, that combines the greatest idealism with the most marvellous creative genius, that constantly transforms words into deeds, aspirations into actions, thoughts and feelings into institutions, go onward, from step to step, reaching out into the heavens, yet never relinquishing the earth, higher and higher along its triumphant road, still onward in its work of creating the life of England.

Kingdoms and peoples, cultures and institutions, pass away like dreams. But thoughts and words remain, whether they be of white men, or black, or yellow, whether they be of Jews or of Hellenes, whether they be inscribed on slabs of stone, or on boards of clay, or on strips of papyrus. Words and thoughts live to the present day; they still move us and uplift us, even though we have already forgotten the names of those who spoke them. And we know that only the winged words live on, the words that are intelligible to the whole of mankind, that appeal to the whole of humanity, to the common human mind, the common heart.

We know the vast power of the English word. We know what a marvellous contribution the English writers have made to the life not of England alone, but to that of the whole world, the whole humanity. It is with a feeling of long-standing affection and veneration that we turn to the ancient book, called "England," whose pages never grow yellow, whose letters are never effaced, whose thoughts never become dim, whose new chapters bear witness to the fact that the book is still being written, that new pages are still being added, and that these new pages are permeated with that same bright and powerful spirit of humanity that illumines and enlivens the pages of the past.

We feel proud because you have recognized the great individual worth of the Russian literature, and we are moved by your ardent expressions of sympathy and friendship. You scarcely know what Lord Byron was to us at the dawn of our literature, how our greatest poets, Poushkin and Lermontov, were swayed by him. You scarcely know to what an extent the Shakespearean Hamlet, the Prince of Denmark, has become a part of our literature, how near to us is Hamlet's tragedy.

We, too, pronounce the names of Copperfield and Snodgrass with a little difficulty, but the name of Dickens is as familiar to us and as near to our hearts as the names of some of our own writers.

We trust, and we even permit ourselves to hope, that our friendship will

not end on the fields of battle, but that our mutual understanding will continue to grow, as it lives on together with those sincere and heartfelt words, with which you have addressed us. We trust that it will be transformed into a spiritual unity between us, a unity based on the universal achievements of the spirit of humanity.

We trust even further. We trust that evil will finally become extinguished in the hearts of men, that mutual ill-feeling will be bitter and poignant no longer, and that, when ears of corn will be again fluttering upon the fields, mutilated by trenches and ramparts, and drenched in human blood, when wild flowers will begin to grow over the countless unknown graves, time will come, when the nations that are separated by such a tremendous gulf to-day, will come together again upon the one great road of humanity and will turn back once more to the great, universal words, that are common to all men.

We trust, and we hope.

Greetings to you.

(Signed)

L. Andreev,
K. Arseniev,
I. Bunin,
U. Bunin,
I. Belousov,
M. Gorky,
V. Veresaev,
A. Grusinsky,
N. Davydov,
S. Elpatievsky,
I. Ignatov,
S. Melgunov,
A. Serafimovich,
N. Teleshov,
I. Shmelev,
N. Morozov,
Count A. N. Tolstoy,
N. Rusanov,
F. Kriukov,
A. Gornfeld,
A. Pieshechonov,
N. Kareyev,
F. Batushkov,
L. Panteleyev,
N. Kotliarevsky,
V. Miakotin,
V. Vodovosov,
P. Sakulin,
Olnem-Tsekhovskaya,
A. Koni,
W. Kranikhfeld,
B. Lazarevsky,
P. Potapenko,
Th. Sologub,
T. Schepkina-Kupernik,
W. Bogucharsky,
K. Barantsevich,
S. Vengerov,
P. Miliukov,
A. Prugavin,
M. Kovalevsky,
A. Posnikov,
E. Letkova-Sultanova,
D. Ovsianniko-Kulikovsky,
A. Remezov,
D. Merezhkovsky,
Z. Hippius,
F. Zelinsky,
N. Tchaikovsky,
A. Blok,
E. Tchirikov,
A. Petrischev,
I. Bielokonsky,
Prince A. Sumbatov,
W. Fritche,
A. Veselovsky,
W. Nemerovich-Danchenko,
Prince E. Troubetskoy,
I. Shpazhinsky,
Th. Kokoshkin,
Count E. L. Tolstoy,
N. Temkocsky,
M. Artisibashev,
U. Baltrushaitis,
U. Aichenwald,
Prince D. Shakhovsky,
W. Brusov.

Evviva L'Italia

By William Archer

Mr. Archer's article praising the Italian decision and purpose appeared originally in The London Daily News.

ONE of the most beautiful and memorable of human experiences is to start, one fine morning, from some point in German Switzerland or Tyrol and, in two or three days—or it may be in one swinging stretch—to tramp over an Alpine pass and down into the Promised Land below. It is of no use to rush it in a motor; you might as well hop over by aeroplane. In order to savor the experience to the full, you must take staff and scrip, like the Ritter Tannhäuser, and go the pilgrim's way. It is a joy even to pass from the guttural and explosive place names of Teutonia to the liquid music of the southern vocables—from Brieg to Domo d'Ossola, from Göschenen to Bellinzona, from St. Moritz to Chiavenna, from Botzen and Brixen to Ala and Verona. It is a still greater joy to exchange the harsh, staring colors of the north for the soft luminosity of the south, as you zigzag down from the bare snows to the pines, from the pines to the chestnuts, from the chestnuts to the trellised vineyards. And just about where the vineyards begin, you come upon two wayside posts, one of them inscribed "Schweiz" or "Oesterreich," the other bearing the magic word "Italia." If your heart does not leap at the sight of it you may as well about-turn and get you home again; for you have no sense of history, no love of art, no hunger for divine, inexhaustible beauty. For all these things are implicit in the one word, "Italy."

Alas! the charm of this excursion has from of old made irresistible appeal to the northern barbarian. That has been Italy's historic misfortune. For certain centuries, under the dominance of Rome, she kept the Goths and Huns and Vandals aloof by what is called in India a "forward policy"—by throwing the outworks of civilization far beyond the Alpine barrier. But Rome fell to decay, and, wave upon wave, the barbarian—generally the Teuton, under one alias or another—surged over her glorious highlands, her bounteous lowlands, and her marvelous cities. It is barely half a century since the hated Tedeschi were expelled from the greater part of their Cisalpine possessions; and now, in the fullness of time, Italy has resolved to redeem the last of her ravished provinces and to make her boundaries practically conterminous with Italian speech and race.

The political and military aspects of the situation have been fully dealt with elsewhere; but a lifelong lover of Italy may perhaps be permitted to state his personal view of her action. While the negotiations lasted, her position was scarcely a dignified one. It seemed that she was willing, not, indeed, to sell her birthright for a mess of pottage, but to buy her birthright at the cost of complicity in monstrous crime. Neither Italy nor Europe would have profited in the long run by the substitution of "Belgia Irredenta" for "Italia Irredenta." But now that she has repudiated the sops offered to her honor and conscience, her position is clear and fine. She has rejected larger concessions, probably, than any great power has ever before been prepared to make without stroke of sword; and she has thrown in her lot with the Allies in no time-serving spirit, but at a point when their fortunes were by no means at their highest. This is a gesture entirely worthy of a great and high-spirited people.

It is true that she had no guarantee for the promised concessions except the "Teutonica fides," which has become a byword and a reproach. But I am much mistaken if that was the sole or main

motive that determined her resort to arms. She took a larger view. She felt that even if Germany, by miracle, kept her faith, the world, after a German victory, would be no place for free men to live in. She was not moved by the care for a few square miles of territory, more or less, but by a strong sense of democratic solidarity and of human dignity. After the events of the past ten months, she felt that, to a self-respecting man or nation, German hate was infinitely preferable to German love. It was, in fact, a patent of nobility.

And now that Italy is ranked with us against the powers of evil, it becomes more than ever our duty to strain every nerve for their defeat. We are now taking our share in the guardianship of the world's great treasure house of historic memories and of the creations of genius. We have become, as it were, co-trustees of an incomparable, irreplaceable heritage of beauty. Italy has been the scene of many and terrible wars; but since she emerged from the Dark Ages I do not know that war has greatly damaged the glory of her cities. She has not, of recent centuries, had to mourn a Louvain or a Rheims. But if the Teuton, in his present temper, should gain any considerable footing within her bounds, the Dark Ages would be upon her once more. What effort can be too great to avert such a calamity!

I am not by way of being versed in the secrets of Courts; but I recall today, with encouragement, a conversation I had some years ago with an ex-Ambassador to Italy (not a British Ambassador) who had been on intimate terms with the King, and spoke with enthusiasm of his Majesty's character. He told me of his bravery, his devotion to duty, his simple manners, his high intelligence. One little anecdote I may repeat without indiscretion. A Minister of Education said to my friend that when he had an interview with the King he felt like a schoolboy bringing up to an exacting though kindly master a half-prepared lesson; and when this was repeated to his Majesty, he smiled and said: "Ministers come and go, but I, you see, am always here." He merited far better than his grandfather (said my informant) the title of "il Re Galantuomo." Under such a Chief of State Italy may, with high hope and courage, set about her task of tearing away her unredeemed fringes from that patchwork of tyrannies known as the Austrian Empire.

Who Died Content!

[From the Westminster Gazette]

Rex and Wilfred Winslow were the first men who died on the field of German South West Africa. The epitaph on the cross on the grave ran thus:
"Tell England ye that pass this monument,
That we who rest here died content."
—DAILY NEWSPAPER.

Far the horizon of our best desires
Stretches into the sunset of our lives:
The wavering taper of the achieved expires,
And only the irrevocable will survives.
Content to die for England! How the words
Thrill those who live for England, knowing not
The stern, heroic passion that upgirds
The loins of such as, ardent, for her fought.
Content! It is a word that brooks no bounds,
If from the heights and depths it takes its name:
Upon the proud lips of great men it sounds
As if the clear note from the Heavens came;
A word that, sea-like, shrinks and grows again;
A little word on lips of little men!

JOHN HOGBEN.

"The Germans, Destroyers of Cathedrals"

By Artists, Writers, Musicians, and Philosophers of France

The subjoined extracts of official documents are translated from a book published in Paris by Hachette et Cie., the full title of which is "The Germans, Destroyers of Cathedrals and of Treasures of the Past: Being a Compilation of Documents Belonging to the Ministry of Public Instruction and Fine Arts." The official documents are offered to "the literary and artistic associations of foreign countries." The editorial notes and comment are reproduced from the original text.

To the Artistic and Literary Associations of Foreign Countries and to all Friends of the Beautiful, in order that the System of Destruction of the German Armies be brought to their knowledge, the present Memorial is offered by:

Mme. JULIETTE ADAM.

PAUL ADAM.

M. ANQUETIN.

ANDRE ANTOINE, Founder of the Théâtre Libre.

PAUL APPELL, Dean of the Faculty of Sciences, member of the Institute.

MAURICE BARRES, Deputy, member of the Académie Française.

ALBERT BARTHOLOME.

JEAN BERAUD.

TRISTAN BERNARD.

ALBERT BESNARD, Director of the Académie de France at Rome, member of the Institute.

PIERRE BONNARD.

LEON BONNAT, member of the Institute, Director of the Ecole des Beaux-Arts.

EMILE-ANTOINE BOURDELLE.

ELEMIR BOURGES, member of the Académie Goncourt.

EMILE BOUTROUX, member of the Institute.

ADOLPHE BRISSON, President of the Association de la Critique.

ALFRED BRUNEAU.

Dr. CAPITAN, Professor at the Collège de France, member of the Académie de Médecine.

ALFRED CAPUS, member of the Académie Française.

M. CAROLUS-DURAN, member of the Institute.

GUSTAVE CHARPENTIER, member of the Institute.

CAMILLE CHEVILLARD, Director of the Concerts-Lamoureux.

PAUL CLAUDEL.

GEORGES CLEMENCEAU, Senator, former President of the Council.

ROMAIN COOLUS.

ALFRED CORTOT.

GEORGES COURTELINE.

P. A. J. DAGNAN-BOUVERET, member of the Institute.

CLAUDE DEBUSSY.

Mme. VIRGINIE DEMONT-BRETON.

JULES DESBOIS.

LUCIEN DESCAVES, member of the Académie Goncourt.

MAXIME DETHOMAS.

AUGUSTE DORCHAIN.

PAUL DUKAS.

J. ERNEST-CHARLES, President of the Société des Conférences Etrangères.

EMILE FABRE.

EMILE FAGUET, member of the Académie Française.

GABRIEL FAURE member of the Institute, Director of the Conservatory of Music.

CAMILLE FLAMMARION, President of the Société Astronomique de France.

ROBERT DE FLERS.

ANDRE FONTAINAS.

PAUL FORT.

ANATOLE FRANCE, member of the Académie Française.

A. DE LA GANDARA.

FIRMIN GEMIER, Director of the Théâtre-Antoine.
ANDRE GIDE.
CHARLES GIRAULT, member of the Institute.
EDMOND GUIRAUD.
LUCIEN GUITRY.
EDMOND HARAUCOURT.
LOUIS HAVET, member of the Institute.
MAURICE HENNEQUIN, President of the Société des Auteurs et Compositeurs Dramatiques.
JACQUES HERMANT, President of the Société des Architectes Diplomes par le Gouvernement.
A. F. HEROLD.
PAUL HERVIEU, member of the Académie Française.
VINCENT D'INDY, Director of the Schola Cantorum.
M. INGHELBREGHT.
FRANCIS JAMMES.
FRANTZ JOURDAIN, President of the Syndicat de la Presse Artistique, President of the Autumn Salon.
GUSTAVE KAHN.
VICTOR LALOUX, member of the Institute.
HENRI LAVEDAN, member of the Académie Française.
GEORGES LECOMTE, President of the Société des Gens de Lettres.
Mlle. MARIE LENERU.
PIERRE LOTI, member of the Académie Française.
MAURICE MAGRE.
ARISTIDE MAILLOL.
PAUL MARGUERITTE, member of the Académie Goncourt.
HENRI MARTIN.
M. MATISSE.
MAX MAUREY.
Mme. CATULLE MENDES.
ANTONIN MERCIE, member of the Institute, President of the Société des Artistes Français.
STUART MERRILL.
ANDRE MESSAGER.
OCTAVE MIRBEAU, member of the Académie Goncourt.
CLAUDE MONET.
Mme. DE NOAILLES.
J. L. PASCAL, member of the Institute.
EDMOND PERRIER, President of the Institute, Director of the Muséum.
GABRIEL PIERNE, Director of the Concerts-Colonne.
M. PIOCH.
CHARLES PLUMET.
Mme. RACHILDE.
J. F. RAFFAELLI.
ODILON REDON.
GEORGES RENARD, Professor at the Collège de France.
JEAN RICHEPIN, member of the Académie Française.
AUGUSTE RODIN.
ALFRED ROLL, President of the Société Nationale des Beaux-Arts.
J. H. ROSNY, aîné, member of the Académie Goncourt.
EDMOND ROSTAND, member of the Académie Française.
SAINT-GEORGES DE BOUHELIER.
CAMILLE SAINT-SAENS, member of the Institute.
GABRIEL SEAILLES.
PAUL SIGNAC, President of the Société des Artistes Indépendants.
M. STEINLEN.
FRANCIS VIELE-GRIFFIN.
ADOLPHE WILLETTE.

To the Literary and Artistic Associations of Foreign Countries and to all Friends of the Beautiful:

"* * * *It is not true that our troops brutally destroyed Louvain. It is not true that we make war in contempt of the rights of mankind. Our soldiers commit neither undisciplined nor cruel acts.* * * *"

MANIFESTO OF THE GERMAN INTELLECTUALS.

"*If the savants make science what it is, science does not make the character of the savants what it is.*"

EDMOND PERRIER.

"* * * *Scientific barbarism.*"

EMILE BOUTROUX.

I.

If we were able—at this hour, when, through the act of the Teutonic Empire, the world may witness unnamable deeds—if we were able to cite the most odious of them, we should say that, after the massacre of innocent people

and all the assaults on the rights of mankind committed by the German armies, the worst has seemed to us the shameless manner in which the superior intellects beyond the Rhine have dared to cover up these crimes. It is not that we ever believed that from any corner of Germany there could come to us an appearance of fellow-feeling, in these circumstances wherein no one has any other right than that of giving himself body and soul to his native land. We know that, before speaking for the universe, men threatened by the enemy should be faithful to their flag, in the face of everything and against everything—and with resolution. At no hour, therefore, have we thought that German savants and artists could raise their voice to repudiate their armies, when the latter were going to war with the object of further extending their empire. But, at least, they should keep silence, and before the horror of crimes to be judged especially by the tribunal of the élite they should not have shown their miserable enthusiasm. "You see," as a clear-sighted Dutch professor* has well written on this point, "if these intellectuals were not blinded they would rather have asked themselves if, in this war that stains Europe with blood, the Prussian military authorities were not losing for centuries the reputation of the great name of Germany." And suppose it were even a small matter if they had lost only the great name of Germany, that the epoch of Goethe, Kant, and Beethoven had covered with glory. But with it they have vilified as well the noble rôle of the philosopher, of the historian, of the savant, and of the artist. In truth they have betrayed their own gods, and the professions to which they belong can no longer be honored by them—so far as the question of conscience goes, at least. And as for the sacred thing called civilization, which is above our interests and our vanities of an hour, they may have served it usefully by their personal work in the past, but they were unequal to the task of remaining its protectors when their mere silence would perhaps have helped to save it.† They have thus shown that, with their more or less sparkling black eagles and under the bedizenment of their Court costumes, they are for the most part narrow fanatics or paid scribes whose pen is only a tool in the hands of their master of a day. It is not even sure whether through their cult of this "militarism," to which they have given the most shameful blind-signature, they have not hopelessly condemned it, by testifying that under the rule of the German sabre human thought has no other course than to humiliate itself! * * * But on the score of what they are worth in professional morality and courage, agreement is certain today, everywhere.

Their great affair—and that of every thinking German—is to object, when spoken to of their crimes, either that they were born of necessity or that they did not take place. As against these allegations, unsupported by any proof, the most formal denials have officially been given. But to the latter we shall now add the true description of the facts. And we think that, in spite of the power and the dogmatic authority of its élite, the activity of its emissaries in all parts of the world, and, finally, all its vast apparatus of conquest—military and civil—Germany cannot long make its stand against the humble little truth, which advances, noiselessly but also fearlessly, with the tenacious light in its hand that it received from Reality—from unquenchable and ardent Reality.

We come to you armed with the facts.

*Professor Dake.

†On the score of certain names important in Germany—names not found under the manifesto of the Intellectuals—a question arises: Were they not solicited as well to cover up these crimes, or did they refuse? If the question were one of a simple memorial, carrying with it no abdication of conscience, this point would be without importance, for it would simply mean that a list, however long, could not bring together all the men of renown of a country, and omissions would often have to be laid to chance. But here a venomous manifesto was to be signed, made up of violent lies and of arbitrary theories; and with this in mind one may see a meaning in certain abstentions. Without any possible doubt they are the act of courageous men, who, feeling deeply where the truth is, will not ally themselves against it; and by their resistance they do it honor.

It is only these unanswerable witnesses that we have wished to oppose to the gratuitous affirmations of our colleagues beyond the Rhine. We might have taken you into the mazes of twenty frightful dramas, for *at every place where the German troops have advanced they have trodden under foot the rights of mankind and counted as nothing the civilization and the patrimony of nations.* We have thought it wiser to limit ourselves to the relation of certain events bearing the seal of certainty.

Not all the cities which may have suffered have as yet opened their gates to our brothers. Not being able to collect authentic testimony there we prefer, then, not to speak of them—for the moment. But in all those evacuated by the enemy, commissions* have hurried to ascertain the losses on the spot. It is from these legal examinations that we have written this report, which, in impartial fashion, makes you the judges.

Unhappy cities have been tortured in body and soul, that is to say, in their population and in the works built by their hands, the immortal relics of the dead. Of the miseries the people have suffered it is not permitted us to speak. But as to those noble houses built with art which have been destroyed, as to those constructions erected by our ancestors for the edification of men of all classes, of all times, and all countries, which are today but ruins; as to those masterpieces in which all the elegant poetry of our race was realized and that belonged to the civilized world, of which they were a glory and an ornament, and which subsist as nothing but a mournful heap of débris—of these we are not bound to keep silent. But not one exaggerated word shall be uttered by us. The account we shall give is established by high testimony and by irrefutable documents.

But let us cease all this preparation and come to the events of Rheims.

*Throughout this work we shall often have recourse to the reports of these commissions. At the end of the present volume will be found certain of these documents, unpublished till now.

(Page 59 of the book.)

DOCUMENTARY EVIDENCE.

Appendix I.

No. 1.

AT RHEIMS.

M. Henry Jadart, Librarian of the City of Rheims and Curator of the Museum of that city, was present at the bombardments of the 4th and the 19th of September. He was well placed to enlighten us on the destruction accomplished at the time.

He was kind enough to send us the communication which we publish below. From the testimony of M. Jadart, it will appear how many monumental constructions at Rheims were mutilated or destroyed, and how these attest, not less than the ruins of the cathedral, the vandalism of the German armies:

Friday, Sept. 4.—The bombardment, which took place suddenly from half-past 9 till quarter-past 10 in the morning, caused some accidents to the cathedral, more or less notable from the point of view of art, (some stained glass more or less ancient, some slight scratches to the statues;) at the Church of Saint-Rémi (ancient stained glass, tapestry of the sixteenth century, pictures of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, altar screen, statues, south portal, and vault of transept) and at the Museum of Fine Arts, Rue Chanzy, 8, (salle Henry Vasnier broken in by a shell, about twenty modern pictures damaged.) Besides, among the houses struck, the Gothic house, 57 Rue de Vesle, suffered mutilation in the sculpture of a fireplace—it was entirely demolished by the bombardment and fire of Sept. 19.

Saturday, Sept. 19.—This was the day of the great destruction by the bombs and the fires caused in the cathedral, the ancient residence of the Archbishop, in the houses of the Place Royale, and the Cérès quarter. On the afternoon of this day and during the night from Saturday to Sunday, flames consumed the most precious collections of the city, at the Archbishop's palace and in private houses, an inventory of which it will never be possible to prepare.

The top of the cathedral burned after

the scaffolding of the northern tower of the great portal had taken fire, toward 3 o'clock in the afternoon. The statues and sculptures of this side of the same portal were licked by the flames and scorched through and through. The eight bells in this tower also were caught by the flames, and the whole thing fell down near the cross aisle of the transept. The spire of the Belfry of the Angel, at the apse, fell, and with it disappeared the leaden heads which decorated its base. In the interior the sculptures and the walls of the edifice were damaged by fire in the straw which had been strewn about for the German wounded; the great eighteenth century tympanums of the lateral doors, west side, were damaged likewise. The thirteenth century stained glass suffered shocks from the air and were perforated, in the rose windows as also in the high windows of the nave. The pictures in the transept were spared, but the choir stalls (eighteenth century work) were consumed—at the left on entering.

Of the adjacent palace all the buildings were attacked by the flames and are now nothing but ruined walls, save the chapel of the thirteenth century, of which the main part subsists intact, and the lower hall of the King's Lodge, under the Hall of Anointment, (of the end of the fifteenth century.) The anointment rooms on the ground floor, reconstructed in the seventeenth century, contained a great number of historical portraits and furniture of various periods, which were all a prey to the flames. It was the same in the apartments of the Archbishops, which also contained numerous pictures and different views of the city, transported from the Hôtel de Ville and intended for the formation of a historical museum of Rheims. Precious furniture, bronzes of great value—like the foot of the candelabra of Saint Rémi and the candelabra of the Abbaye d'Igny—were also in these apartments, of which nothing is left but the walls. The archaeological collections of the city were consumed in the upper apartments, as also a whole museum, organized and classified to represent the ethnography of la Champagne by a thousand objects tracing back the ancient industries, the trades, the arts, and usages of this province. Finally, the rich library founded by Cardinal Gousset, offering superb editions and assembled in a vast paneled hall, was totally burned up in the modern building constructed for it at the expense of the State.

After the disasters to the arts at the cathedral and the palace, we must note also the mansions and private houses, remarkable through their architecture and their decoration, that were demolished, burned, and annihilated. No. 1 Rue du Marc, Renaissance mansion—damage to the sculptured ceiling and the sculptures of the court. Two pavilions of the Place Royale, creations of the eighteenth century, are now only calcined walls. The same fate overtook the Gothic house, 57 Rue de Vesle, (of which mention was made above;) the house, 40 Rue de l'Université, built in the eighteenth century; the house next to the Ecu de Rheims, of the same period; the mansion at 12 Rue la Grue, which was decorated with carved lintels and forged iron banisters; the mansion at 19 Rue Eugène-Destenque, in the style of the Henri IV. period, having a great stone fireplace and decorative paintings in one gallery. Finally, in the Rue des Trois-Raisinets, the remains of the monastery of the Franciscans, with a cloister, and the framework of a granary of the Middle Ages.

These notes are really only observations to be completed later with the aid of descriptions of ancient date, but they offer sure information of the lamentable losses suffered by our unfortunate city during the first month of its bombardment.

Paris, Jan. 20, 1915.

No. 2.

THE FIXED IDEA.

From M. Auguste Dorchain we receive this striking observation:

The idea of destroying the cathedral haunted them for a hundred years, at least. Three dates, three texts, three proofs:

April, 1814, Jean-Joseph Goerres, an

illustrious professor, the pious author of a "Christian Mysticism," in four volumes, wrote, in the Rheinische Merkur:

"Reduce to ashes that basilica of Rheims where Klodovig was anointed, where that Empire of the Franks was born—the false brothers of the noble Teutons; burn that cathedral! * * *"

Sept. 5, 1914, we read in the Berliner Blatt:

"The western group of our armies in France has already passed the second line of defensive forts, except Rheims, whose royal splendor, which dates back to the time of the white lilies, will not fail to crumble to dust, soon, under the fire of our mortars."

Jan. 1, 1915. In the artistic and literary supplement of the Berlin Lokal-Anzeiger M. Rudolf Herzog sings an ode "in honor of the destruction of the Cathedral of Rheims":

"The bells sound no more in the cathedral with two towers. Finished is the benediction! * * * With lead, O Rheims, we have shut your house of idolatry!"

A lyric cry of the heart, when the national wish, a century old, is at last accomplished.

No comment on these three texts—it suffices to bring them together.

AUGUSTE DORCHAIN.

Feb. 20, 1915.

No. 4.

LETTER OF M. L'ABBE DOURLENT.

M. l'Abbé Dourlent, Curate Archpresbyter of the Cathedral of Senlis, was one of the principal witnesses of the drama. So he has had to speak of it several times. But up to now we had no written deposition from him over his signature. Here is the document which comes from this priest. It attests his courage and sincerity at the same time.

Diocese of Beauvais, Archpresbytery and Parish of Senlis, (Oise.)

SENLIS, Jan. 8, 1915.

Monsieur: You do me the honor to ask for my testimony as to the actions of the enemy at Senlis at the time of the occupation, on the 2d of September.

I beg to send you my attestation, and express my confusion and regret at not having been able to do so sooner.

On the 2d of September an engagement took place between the French and German troops on the plain of Senlis from 10 o'clock till about half-past 2, and it was ended by the bombardment of our beautiful cathedral and a part of the city. The enemy entered the city about half-past 3 and were received at the end of the Faubourg St. Martin by a fusillade directed against them by delayed soldiers and a company armed with machine guns, charged with arresting the pursuit of the French Army, which was bending back toward Paris.

Immediately the superior officer, who was conversing with M. Odent, the Mayor of Senlis, accused the civilians of having fired on the German Army, and rendered him responsible for it. Then began the burning of the whole Rue de la République. This untruth was immediately spread about, and two hours after the affray a General said at Villers-Saint-Frambourg what another General said next morning at Nanteuil-le-Haudouin: That Senlis was burned because the civilians had fired on the German Army. The thirty-seven hostages brought to Chamant heard the same statement.

To this testimony I will add my own, which will only confirm what is said above: As soon as the enemy arrived soldiers of the cyclist corps obliged me to conduct them to the top of the belfry of our cathedral, from which they pretended that they had been shot at. Their inspection revealed nothing of what they thought to find, for I alone had the key and I had confided it to no one. Some moments later I was consigned to the Hôtel du Grand-Cerf as a hostage. The German General Staff had gone to Chamant. Some hours later I accosted a superior officer and asked him what I should do, seeing no one of whom I could inquire the reason for my arrest. "Remain here, where you will at least be in safety. Poor curate! Poor Senlis! But, then, why did you receive us as you did? The civilians shot at us, and we were fired at from the tower of your church. So Senlis is condemned. You see that street in flames? (and, in fact, the Rue

de la République was burning everywhere, 114 houses in ruins) well, this night the city itself will be entirely burned down. We have the order to make of Senlis a French Louvain. At Louvain the Belgians shot at us from their houses, from their belfries—Louvain no longer exists. Tomorrow it will be the same with your place. We admit fighting among soldiers, that is war; but we are pitiless with civilians. Paris and the whole of France need a terrible example which shall remind them that warfare by civilians is a crime that cannot be too severely punished."

My energetic protest against the accusation concerning the cathedral and my other doubts formulated against the intervention of civilians (I did not know what was the nature of the engagement in the Faubourg) seemed to interest the officer, who promised to make a report to the General and to plead our cause. Thanks to God, the sentence was repealed; our poor Mayor and ten hostages were shot, but the city was spared.

Such are the facts, which I thought might be of interest in your researches. I am at your orders to complete them if you need more.

I beg you, Sir, to accept the expression of my most respectful sentiments.

(Signed.) DOURLENT.
Curate Archpresbyter of Senlis.

No. 5.

THE LIBRARY OF LOUVAIN.

To close the series of depositions collected by us, here is that of M. Paul Delannoy, Librarian of the University of Louvain. The few lines he was kind enough to address to us will suffice to show the extent of the treasure formerly at Louvain and also of the disaster accomplished, which seems irreparable:

The library of the University of Louvain possessed 500 manuscripts, about 800 incunabulae, and 250,000 to 300,000 volumes. One noted especially the original of the bull of foundation of the university in 1425, an example on vellum of the famous work of André Vésale, De Humani Corporis Fabrica, an example given to the university by Charles V., a precious manuscript by Thomas à Kempis. The bibliographical curiosities were numerous; the collection of old Flemish bindings of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries contained some curious specimens. The souvenirs of the ancient university, seals, diplomas, medals, &c., were preciously guarded in cases. The old printed matters of the sixteenth century formed an extremely rare treasury; all the pieces, pamphlets, and placards on the reform of the Low Countries were kept together in a " varia " volume, thus constituting a unique ensemble. It was the same with a host of pieces relating to Jansenism.

The great halls of the books, with artistic woodwork, were jewels of eighteenth century architecture; the Salle des Pas-Perdus of the Halles Universitaires, with its vaults and capitals, has been reproduced in manuals of art and archaeology.

The reading room of the library contained a whole gallery of portraits of professors of the ancient university; this museum was a very precious source for the literary history of the Low Countries.

PAUL DELANNOY.

No. 6.

THE TESTIMONY OF M. PIERRE LOTI.

Finally, covering these various testimonies, and deriving from his illustrious signature a character of high distinction, here is what M. Pierre Loti writes us:

More or less, everywhere in the north and east of our dear France, I have seen with my eyes the German abominations, in which, without this experience, I could not have believed.

In indignation and horror I associate myself with the protestations above, as well as with all those, not yet formulated, which will come out later on and which will always be below the monstrous reality. PIERRE LOTI.

So we may say that the present memorial, tempered many a time, is less an excessive than a perfectly moderate picture.

APPENDIX II.

No. 1.

NOTRE DAME DE PARIS.

It will be remembered that on the 11th of October a Taube, having managed to penetrate the zone of Paris, flew over the city, hovered just above Notre Dame, and dropped several bombs on the cathedral. Note that this was on Sunday and that at the hour when this Taube accomplished its disastrous mission there was in Notre Dame a very great crowd of worshippers. None of them was hurt, but the distinction was undeniably that of killing unarmed people and mutilating a marvel of French art.

Let us now read the first report, signed by M. Harancourt, who was able to proceed to interesting discoveries on the very day of the attempt:

Musée des Thermes et de l'Hôtel de Cluny.
Sunday, Oct. 11, 1914.

To the Under Secretary of State for the Fine Arts, Service of Historic Monuments.

As I reside in the arrondissement of Notre Dame, I got to the cathedral some moments after the explosion of the bombs. In the company of a Commissary of Police, of an architect of the city, of a Canon, and of two Sergeants of the Fire Department, I examined the damage caused in order to be able to advise the Service of Historical Monuments immediately if the case should be urgent.

The bomb exploded on the west slope of the roof of the north transept, a little above the gutter, near the clock. After having pierced the lead covering it seems to have exploded only after having struck the transverse beam, whose end is splintered. The explosion, having thus taken place under the covering, pushed the edges of the tear outward, making a hole in this covering through which a young person could pass; six small beams were split round about. The bomb was loaded like shrapnel, apparently with leaden bullets of different calibres, for the roof is riddled with circular holes to a distance of twenty meters from there. The holes are of various diameters, but none of the bullets could be found. The nearest turret was damaged—several ornaments were broken from it—the modern clockstand that incases the big clock was riddled by pieces of shell. The bomb thrown at the apse and which fell in the garden was not this time a shrapnel bomb, but an incendiary bomb, which only threw out a sheet of flame. The third having fallen into the Seine, toward the south side of the porch, it is difficult to say whether it was a shrapnel bomb or an incendiary.

To sum up, the damage from the artistic point of view is almost nil; it simply calls for some work by carpenters and roofers.

But the intention to harm the building is evident, and I have thought that perhaps it would be well to take certain precautions to protect, if possible, the fine fourteenth century statue of th Virgin that stands near the pillar, and that it is not impossible perhaps to transfer it to a safer place.

E. HARANCOURT,
Member of the Commission on Historical Monuments.

A report from M. Paul Boeswillwald, Inspector General of Historical Monuments, confirms the first statements:

Historical Monuments, Cathedral of Paris.
PARIS, Oct. 12, 1914.

The Inspector General of Historical Monuments to the Under Secretary of State for the Fine Arts.

I have the honor to report that I went this morning to Notre Dame to examine the damage caused by the bomb thrown yesterday afternoon on to the cathedral by a German aviator. The bomb struck the lower part of the west slope of the top of the north transept, tearing the lead, breaking a piece of the wooden frame, and smashing by its explosion the crown of the pinnacle which cuts the balustrade at the right of the flying buttress intermediary in the sexpartite vault of the transept. Other effects of the explosion were the striking of some stones and the leads of the dormer window which carries the frame of a clock, as also some small windows. The fragments of the pinnacle fell on the roof of the lower slope, where they made a deep

imprint on the lead cover without breaking it through.

The projectile was not an incendiary bomb, since the wood splintered by it bears no trace of fire.

To resume, the damage is, fortunately, quite unimportant.

The order has been given to set aside all the fragments of stone belonging to the decoration of the pinnacle, remains of crockets, ornaments, &c.

(Signed) PAUL BOESWILLWALD.

With all the friends of civilization and of art, we think that the question of the slightness of the damage caused by this Taube is not to be considered at all. But the fact of this Taube having accomplished such a raid with the sole design of bombarding a cathedral in a peaceful city, 100 kilometres off from the military operations—is it not the most patent and evident demonstration of the kind of Neronian dilettantism which, along with calculation, inspires the crimes of the barbarians?

Appendix III.

No. 1.

WHAT OUR PROVINCIAL CITIES ARE.

Here is a page published by Anatole France apropos of the bombardment of Soissons:

I had just read in a newspaper that the Germans, who have been bombarding Soissons these four months, have dropped eighty shells on the cathedral. A moment later chance brought before me a book of M. André Hallays, where I find these lines, which I take pleasure in transcribing:

" Soissons is a white city, peaceful and smiling, that raises its tower and pointed spires at the edge of a lazy river, at the centre of a circle of green hills. The city and the landscape make one think of the little pictures that the illuminators of our old manuscripts lovingly painted. * * * Precious monuments show the whole history of the French Monarchy, from the Merovingian crypts of the Abbaye de Saint-Médard to the fine mansion erected on the eve of the Revolution for the Governors of the province. Amid narrow streets and little gardens a magnificent cathedral extends the two arms of its great transept; at the north is a straight wall, and an immense stained-glass window; at the south, that marvelous apse where the ogive and the full centre combine in so delicate a fashion." ("Around Paris," Page 207.)

That charming page from a writer who dearly loves the cities and monuments of France brought tears to my eyes. It charmed my sadness. I want to thank my colleague for it publicly.

The brutal and stupid destruction of monuments consecrated by art and the years is a crime that war does not excuse. May it be an eternal opprobrium for the Germans!

No. 2.

MARTYRDOM THAT ENNOBLES.

To illustrate this memorial, which is first addressed to the Friends of the Beautiful, and whose object is to touch the heart, we give a sonnet of M. Edmond Rostand. It is entitled, " The Cathedral," and will show that pride may be taken by the victim of violence, and that a crime against the beautiful diminishes only the brute who commits it:

Nought have they done but render it more immortal! The work does not perish that a scoundrel has struck. Ask Phidias, then, or ask of Rodin if before bits of his work men no longer say, " It is his!" The fortress dies when once dismantled, but the temple shattered lives but the more nobly; and our eyes, of a sudden, remember the roof with disdain and prefer to see the sky in the lace work of the stone. Let us give thanks, since till now we lacked what the Greeks possess on the hill of gold—the symbol of beauty consecrated by insult! Let us give thanks to the layers of the stupid cannon, since from their German skill there results for them—shame; for us—a Parthenon!

No. 3.

A SOLEMN PROTEST.

We mean the one issued on the 29th of October by the Académie Française at one if its sessions, meeting under the Presidency of M. Marcel Prévost, M. Etienne Lamy being Perpetual Secre-

tary. The President of the Republic, M. Raymond Poincaré, made it a point to be present at this session, and here is the document that, after long deliberation, was approved by the unanimous vote of the members present:

The Académie Française protests against all the affirmations by which Germany lyingly imputes to France or to its allies the responsibility for the war.

It protests against all the negations opposed to the evident authenticity of the abominable acts committed by the German armies.

In the name of French civilization and human civilization, it stigmatizes the violators of Belgian neutrality, the killers of women and children, the savage destroyers of noble monuments of the past, the incendiaries of the University of Louvain, of the Cathedral of Rheims, and those who wanted also to burn Notre Dame.

It expresses its enthusiasm for the armies that struggle against the coalition of Germany and Austria.

With profound emotion it salutes our soldiers who, animated by the virtues of our ancestors, are thus demonstrating the immortality of France.

*When these words were published they may have appeared excessive to certain minds outside of the best-informed circles. * * * Since then diplomatic documents have appeared, followed by various official reports on German atrocities, and today the truth is known to all.*

No. 4.

THE FRENCH POINT OF VIEW.

On the 9th of November the President of the Council, M. René Viviani, traveled to Rheims in order to deliver to the Mayor, M. Langlet, the Cross of the Legion of Honor that his courage had gained for him. On this occasion the President of the Council pronounced the discourse from which the following is cited as exhibiting French thought on *the present war:*

As if it were really necessary to accentuate the rôle of France, German militarism has raised its voice. It proclaims, through the organ of those whose mission it is to think for it, the cult of force and that history asks no accounts from the victor. We are not a chimerical people, nor dreamers, we do not despise force; only we put it in its place, which is at the service of the right. It is for the right that we are contending, for that Belgium is struggling by our side, she who sacrificed herself for honor; and for that, also, our English and Russian allies whose armies, while waiting till they can tread this unchained force under foot, oppose it with an invincible rampart. France is not a preying country; it does not stretch out rapacious hands to enslave the world. Since war has been forced upon her, she makes war. Soon the legitimate reparations will come which shall restore to the French hearth the souls that the brutality of arms separated from it. Associated in a work of human liberation we shall go on, allies and Frenchmen united in war and for peace, as long as we have not broken Prussian militarism and the sword of murder with the sword of freedom.

Chronology of the War

Showing Progress of Campaigns on All Fronts and Collateral Events from June 15, 1915, Up to and Including July 15, 1915.

CAMPAIGN IN EASTERN EUROPE

June 16—Austro-German drive toward Lemberg continues, although Russians are moving reinforcements to their retreating line; only section where Russians are checking the Teutonic allies is that between the Dniester marshes and Zurawna; Austrian official statement says that 108 Russian officers, 122,300 men, 53 cannon, and 187 machine guns were captured during the first fifteen days of June; Russians estimate that 2,800,000 men are operating against them.

June 17—Austro-German drive at Lemberg continues from the west and northwest; at one point Russians are retreating over their own frontier toward Tarnogrod, four miles from the Galician border; Austro-Germans have battered their way through Niemerow, thirty miles northwest of Lemberg, and are advancing toward Jaworow, twenty-five miles from Lemberg.

June 18—Austro-Germans are nearer Lemberg; the battle for the Galician capital is raging along a fortified line at Grodek, sixteen miles west of Lemberg; Austro-Germans drive Russians across the frontier of Poland near Tarnogrod, which falls into the hands of the Teutonic allies; Austrians penetrate ten miles into Bessarabia.

June 19—Austro-Germans make important gains in their drive on Lemberg; they take the strongly fortified town of Grodek, and cross the River Tanew; they take Komarno, twenty miles southwest of Lemberg.

June 20—Russians are in general retreat along their entire front west of Lemberg; Mackensen's men take Russian trenches along a front of nearly twenty-four miles northwest of Lemberg.

June 21—Austro-Germans take Rawa Ruska, and are now fighting east of that town, the investment of Lemberg being almost complete; advance forces of the Teutonic allies are within nine miles of the limits of Lemberg; north and south of Lemberg the Russians are falling back toward the city; on the Upper Dniester the Russians are beginning to evacuate their positions.

June 22—Austro-German forces take Lemberg, capital of Galicia, which has been held by the Russians since Sept. 3, and which they have called Lvov, the Second Austrian Army, under General von Boehm-Ermolli, entering first; Russians withdraw systematically and in good order, leaving behind few prisoners and removing the Russian documents from the city; Russians along practically the whole line in Galicia are abandoning as much territory as they can cover in the twenty-four hours each day, retreating in fairly good order.

June 23—Russians are retreating near Rawa Ruska and Zolkiew; Russians are also retreating between the San and Vistula Rivers and in the hill district of Kielce, Russian Poland; Montenegrins are marching against Scutari, Albania, in three columns.

June 24—Russians are still retreating in Galicia.

June 25—Russians throw part of General Linsingen's army back across the Dniester to the south bank; Petrograd reports that the Russian armies, despite their weeks of retreat in Galicia, are practically intact, and that they have inflicted vast losses on the Austro-Germans, having captured 130,000 men, 60 cannon, and nearly 300 machine guns; severe fighting in Bessarabia.

June 27—Russians retreat in Galicia, both north and south of Lemberg; Serbians capture Micharskaada, Austria, near Shabatz, taking much war material.

June 28—Austro-Germans take the Galician town of Halicz and cross the Dniester; Russians are falling back to the Gnila Lipa River; northeast of Lemberg the Austro-Germans are forcing back the Russians, who are forming along the Bug River; Montenegrins occupy the Albanian harbor of Giovanni Medua and are now marching on Alessio.

June 29—Austro-Germans drive Russians across the Russian frontier north of Lemberg, taking the town of Tomaszow, Poland; Austro-Germans reach the Gnila Lipa River and the Bug River, near Kamionka; Rome reports that the Montenegrins have entered Scutari, Albania.

June 30—To the north and northwest of Lemberg the Russians continue to retreat; the Austro-Germans take another Polish town, Zawichost, just over the frontier.

July 1—Austro-Germans continue their drive into Poland from Galicia, and take the fortress of Zamost, twenty-five miles north of the Galician frontier; east of Lemberg the Austrian troops are pressing forward; von Mackensen's troops advance between the Vistula and Bug Rivers; Austrian official statement says that during June the Teu-

tonic allies in Galicia captured 521 officers, 194,000 men, 93 guns, 164 machine guns, 78 caisson, and 100 military railway carriages.

July 2—Austro-Germans continue to advance in Galicia and Poland.

July 3—Austro-Germans continue to advance as the Russians fall back in good order; west of Zamosc the Russians are repulsed beyond the Por River; east of Krasnik, the Austro-Germans capture Studzianki; it is unofficially estimated by Berlin experts that from May 2 until June 27 the Russians left in the hands of the Germans 1,630 officers and 520,000 men as prisoners, 300 field guns, 770 machine guns, and vast quantities of war material.

July 4—Linsingen's army is advancing toward the Zlota Lipa River, the Russians falling back; along the Bug River Mackensen's armies are attacking; Teutonic allies take the heights north of Krasnik; there is fierce fighting in the Russian Baltic provinces.

July 5—Russians are making a desperate stand between the Pruth and Dniester Rivers.

July 6—With the exception of certain sectors between the Vistula and the Bug Rivers, the Austro-German drive seems to be losing its momentum; the Russians are holding at most points along their line.

July 7—Russians, who have been strongly reinforced, check the Austro-German advance toward the Lublin Railway, which threatens to imperil Warsaw.

July 8—Russians hold up Austro-German attempt to outflank Warsaw from the southwest; Austrians are compelled to retire north of Krasnik; Austro-Germans are checked on the lower Zlota Lipa River.

July 10—Russians are delivering smashing blows against the Austrians, commanded by Archduke Ferdinand, in Southern Poland.

July 12—On the East Prussian front, near Suwalki, the Germans take 2½ miles of Russian trenches; in the Lublin region, Southern Poland, the Russian troops, having completed their counter-offensive movement, occupy the positions assigned to them on the heights of the right bank of the River Urzendooka; Austrians repulse strong and repeated Montenegrin attacks on the Herzegovina frontier.

July 13—The Austrians in the Lublin region are retreating toward the Galician frontier and some of them have crossed the border into their own territory.

July 15—Germans renew their drive on Warsaw from the north, and take Przasnysz, a fortified town fifty miles north of Warsaw.

CAMPAIGN IN WESTERN EUROPE

June 16—British resume offensive near Ypres, north of Hooge, capturing trenches along a front of 1,000 yards; French make gains north of Arras, in the labyrinth, and near Souchez and Lorette; French make progress in the Vosges, on both banks of the Fecht River.

June 17—After severe fighting for two days, during which the Germans bring 220,000 men into action and the French fire 300,000 shells, French make important gains near Souchez and at other points in the sector north of Arras; French retain nearly all their gains, despite furious counter-attacks.

June 18—A strong and concerted attack is being made by the British and French upon the German front from east of Ypres to south of Arras; British retain a first line of German trenches won east of Ypres.

June 19—French carry by assault the position of Fond de Buval, a ravine west of the road between Souchez and Aix-Noulette, where fighting has been in progress since May 9; French advance northwest of the labyrinth; French advance farther on the Fecht River in Alsace, Germans evacuating Metzeral, after setting it on fire.

June 20—Germans make a strong attack on the French lines in the Western Argonne, the French stating that it was preceded by a bombardment with asphyxiating projectiles.

June 21—French take trenches on the heights of the Meuse; in Lorraine the French advance and take the works to the west of Gondrexon; in Alsace the French are advancing beyond Metzeral in the direction of Meyerhof.

June 22—It is officially announced that the French are in possession of the labyrinth, for which furious fighting has been in progress day and night since May 30; the labyrinth consists of a vast network of fortifications built by the Germans between Neuville-St. Vaast and Ecurie, north of Arras, forming a salient of the German line.

June 25—On the heights of the Meuse, at the Calonne trench, Germans make a violent night attack, with the aid of asphyxiating bombs and flaming liquids, and penetrate that portion of the former German second line of defense recently taken by the French, but the French retake the ground by a counter-attack.

June 26—Germans retake some of their trenches north of Souchez.

June 27—Violent artillery fighting occurs in Belgium and north of Arras.

June 28—Severe artillery duels are fought along the front from the Aisne to Flanders.

June 29—Heavy cannonading is in progress north of Arras, particularly near Souchez.

June 30—Artillery actions are fought north of Arras and on the banks of the Yser; in the Argonne the Germans gain a foothold at some points of the French line near Bagatelle.

July 1—North of Arras and along the Aisne heavy artillery engagements are being fought.

July 2—In the western part of the Argonne a German army under the Crown Prince

takes the offensive, and northwest of Le Four-de-Paris German troops advance from one-eighth to one-fifth of a mile on a three-mile front, taking war material and prisoners.

July 3—German artillery carries on severe bombardments along practically the whole front; French repulse two German attacks in the region of Metzeral.

July 4—Spirited artillery actions are fought in the region of Nieuport and on the Steenstraete-Het Sase front.

July 5—Germans take trenches from the French at the Forest of Le Prêtre; French repulse attacks north of Arras.

July 6—British gain near Ypres, expelling Germans from trenches near Pilkem won during the gas assaults in April.

July 8—French take 800 yards of trenches north of the Souchez railway station, Germans recapturing 100 yards; German counter-attacks on the trenches southwest of Pilkem, recently taken by the British, are repulsed by British and French artillery.

July 9—British press on north of Ypres, the Germans falling back after a two-days' bombardment; in the Vosges, near Fontenelle, the French advance.

July 10—French check the Germans north of Arras and the Belgians check them on the Yser.

July 11—Artillery actions are in progress at Nieuport, in the region of the Aisne, in Champagne, in the territory between the Upper Meuse and Moselle, and in the Vosges; Arras and Rheims are again shelled.

July 13—German Crown Prince's army, attacking in force, is thrown back by the French in the Argonne, the move being regarded by military observers as the beginning of a new offensive against Verdun.

July 14—The German Crown Prince's army in the Argonne advances two-thirds of a mile, the French then halting it.

July 15—Germans hold gains made in the Argonne.

ITALIAN CAMPAIGN

June 16—Along the Isonzo River, on the line from Podgora to Montforton and to the intersection of the Monfalcone Canal, Austrians are holding Italians in check by elaborate defenses, which include intrenchments sometimes in several lines and often in masonry or concrete, reinforced by metallic sheeting and protected by a network of mines or batteries often placed below ground; Italians are attacking Austrian positions at Goritz.

June 17—After a two-days' fight, Italians take the heights near Plava, on the left bank of the Isonzo River; Italians operating in the Trentino occupy Mori, five miles from Rovereto.

June 18—Austrians are taking the offensive from Mori and Rovereto against the Italians at Brentonico, at Serravale, and in the Arsa Valley; Austrians repulse Italians near Plava; Italians are shelling Gradisca.

June 19—It is unofficially reported from Rome that the Italian army now occupies 10,000 square kilometers of "unredeemed" territory, or more than twice as much as Austria offered to Italy for remaining neutral.

June 20—In the Monte Nero region, Italians take further positions; Italians repulse two counter-attacks on the Isonzo.

June 21—Italians are making a general attack on Austrian positions; Austrians repulse Italians east of the Fassa Valley; Austrians repulse two attacks near Preva.

June 22—Italians have had heavy losses during the last four days in attempting to take by assault Austrian positions along the Isonzo River.

June 23—Italians gain possession of all the positions defending Malborgeth in Carnia, after hard fighting, and are bombarding the city.

June 24—Austrians take a general offensive, made possible by extensive reinforcements, but fail to make gains; heavy artillery fighting is in progress along the Isonzo.

June 25—Italians are advancing gradually along the Isonzo River and have taken Globna, north of Plava, and on the lower Isonzo have taken the edge of the plateau between Sagrado and Monfalcone.

June 27—West of the Monte Croce Pass the Italians occupy the summit of Zeillenkofel, 2,500 feet high; official Italian report states that at various points on the Isonzo River the Austrians are using shells containing asphyxiating gases.

June 28—Italians have entered Austrian territory south of Riva, on the western side of Lake Garda, through the Nota Vil passes about 5,000 feet high, and have descended the precipitous cliffs of Carone Mountain, over 8,000 feet high, and have entered the Ledro Valley, reaching the Ponale River.

June 29—Austrian artillery is active in the Tyrol and Trentino regions.

June 30—Italians on the Carnic front capture three passes in the Alps; Austrians repulse attacks in the Monfalcone and Sagrado district, and near Plava.

July 1—Austrians repulse Italians northeast of Monfalcone.

July 2—Italians take the village of Tolmino, on the Isonzo, north of Gorizia, but the Austrians hold the neighboring fortifications and are bombarding the village.

July 3—Italians make slight gains along the Isonzo; Austrians repulse repeated Italian attacks near Folazzo and Sagrado.

July 4—A battle is raging on the Isonzo River, between Caporetto and Gradisca; Italians are advancing on the east bank between Plava and Tolmino.

July 5—Italians are shelling the Austrian defensive works at Malborgeth and Predil.

July 6—Austrian attacks in the Tyrol and Trentino region are repulsed; Italians gain ground on the Carso plateau beyond the Isonzo.

July 7—Austrians repulse repeated and strong Italian attacks against the Doberdo Plateau; Austrians hold the bridgehead at Goritz, despite terrific bombardment by massed guns.

July 8—Italians repulse attacks in Carnia; Italians are slowly advancing on the Carnic Plateau.

July 9—In the upper Ansici Valley the Italian artillery bombards Platzwisce Fort; Italian artillery continues to bombard the defenses of Malborgeth and Predil Pass.

July 12—Austrians are making desperate attempts to penetrate Italy through the Carnic Alps, relying chiefly upon night attacks, but all attacks have thus far been repulsed.

July 13—Attempt to invade Italian territory at Kreusberg is repulsed with heavy loss.

July 14—Italians take two miles of Austrian trenches in the Carnic Alps; Italians take two forts south of Goritz.

TURKISH CAMPAIGN

June 16—Turkish artillery damages Allies' positions at Avi Burnu.

June 17—British repulse Turks who attempt to retake trenches lost by them a few days ago; a German officer leads the Turks.

June 20—Turks are undertaking offensive operations in the Caucasus; Turks defeat Russians near Olti, Transcaucasia, fifty-five miles west of Kars, capturing war material.

June 21—Turkish Asiatic batteries bombard allied columns on way to new positions.

June 22—French attack Turkish lines along two-thirds of the entire front on the Gallipoli Peninsula, infantry charges following a heavy bombardment; on the left the French carry two lines of the Turkish trenches and hold them against counter-attacks; to the right, after an all-day battle, the French also take Turkish works, most of which are wrecked by the French artillery; the French now hold the ground commanding the head of the ravine of Kereves Dere, which had been defended by the Turks for several months.

June 27—In the Caucasus region the Russians recently occupied the town of Gob, twenty-five miles north of Lake Van, and Russian forces are moving toward Biltis, Armenia, where Turkish forces are concentrated.

June 30—Allies take several lines of Turkish trenches near Krithia.

July 2—Recent gains made by the Allies on the Gallipoli Peninsula are held despite furious counter-attacks.

July 4—Turks deliver a general attack, preceded by a heavy bombardment, against the Allies' line on the southern part of the Gallipoli Peninsula, but are repulsed with severe losses.

July 7—In a furious fight on the southern part of the Gallipoli Peninsula, British and French advance their lines five-eighths of a mile, inflicting Turkish losses which they estimate at 21,000; the advance is part of the work of throwing forces around Atchi Baba, described as now being one of the strongest fortresses in the world.

July 9—Turkish forces, supported by Arabs, are threatening Aden.

July 13—Lively fighting between the Russians and Turks has occurred recently north and south of Van Lake, Turkish Armenia, and south of Olti, Transcaucasia, the Russians having the advantage.

CAMPAIGN IN AFRICA

June 19—French Minister of Colonies announces that on May 24, after heavy fighting, French colonial troops forced the Germans to capitulate at Monso, Kamerun, after taking position after position; the French captured many prisoners, including considerable numbers of white troops, and large amounts of stores; French troops continue an offensive movement toward Besam, southeast of Lomis.

June 25—By land and water the British attack the German fortified port of Bukoba, German East Africa, on Lake Victoria Nyanza, destroying the fort, putting the wireless station out of action, sinking many boats, and capturing and destroying guns.

July 8—All the German military forces in German Southwest Africa surrender unconditionally to General Botha, commander of the forces of the Union of South Africa.

NAVAL RECORD—GENERAL

June 18—Austrian squadron bombards Italian coast at the mouth of the Tagliamento River, but withdraws on being attacked by Italian destroyers; Austrian destroyer shells Monopoli; Austrian torpedo boat sinks Italian merchantman Maria Grecia; Italian squadron, supported by an Anglo-French contingent, bombards several islands of the Dalmatian Archipelago, doing considerable damage.

June 21—Allied ships bombard Turkish batteries on Asiatic side of the Dardanelles.

June 22—German warships in the Baltic Sea capture five Swedish steamers, lumber laden, bound for England; French battleship St. Louis bombards Turkish batteries on Asiatic side of the Dardanelles.

June 24—British torpedo gunboat Hussar bombards the ports of Chesmeh, Lidia, and Aglelia, opposite Chios, destroying small Turkish vessels and doing other damage.

June 26—Netherlands steamer Ceres is sunk by a mine in the Gulf of Bothnia, crew being saved.

June 30—British torpedo boat destroyer Lightning is damaged off the east coast of England by a mine or torpedo explosion, but makes harbor; fourteen of the crew missing.

July 2—A battle occurs between Russian and German squadrons in the Baltic, between the Island of Oeland and the Courland coast; after a brief engagement the German squadron, outnumbered and outmatched in strength, flees; the German mine layer Albatross is wrecked by Russian gunfire and is beached by her crew; the Russian squadron then sails northward, sighting another German squadron, which is also outmatched in strength; the German ships flee after a thirty-minute fight, a German torpedo boat being damaged; Dutch lugger Katwyk 147 is sunk by a mine in the North Sea, ten of crew being lost.

July 6—Italy closes the Adriatic Sea to navigation by merchant vessels of all countries.

NAVAL RECORD—SUBMARINES

June 16—German submarine sinks British steamer Strathnairn off Scilly Isles, twenty-two of the crew being drowned; German submarines sink British trawlers Petrel, Explorer, and Japonica.

June 17—Austrian submarine torpedoes and sinks Italian submarine Medusa, this being the first instance on record of the sinking of one under-sea boat by another; German Admiralty announces the loss of the submarine U-14, her crew being captured by the British; Athens reports that a British submarine has torpedoed and sunk three Turkish transports, loaded with troops, in the Dardanelles above Nagara; German submarine sinks British steamer Trafford, crew being saved.

June 18—German submarine sinks British steamer Ailsa off Scotland, crew being saved.

June 19—German Admiralty states that the submarine U-29, commanded by Captain Weddigen, which was destroyed weeks ago, was rammed and sunk by a British tank steamer flying the Swedish flag, after the tanker had been ordered to stop; British Government makes an official statement that the U-29 was sunk by "one of His Majesty's ships"; German submarine sinks British steamer Dulcie, one of the crew being lost.

June 20—German submarine torpedoes British cruiser Roxburgh in the North Sea; the damage is not serious and the cruiser proceeds to port under her own steam.

June 21—German submarine sinks by gunfire the British steamer Carisbrook, crew being saved.

June 22—It is officially announced at Petrograd that Russian submarines have sunk a large Turkish steamer and two sailing vessels in the Black Sea.

June 23—German submarine torpedoes and then burns Norwegian steamer Truma, near the Shetland Islands, crew being saved.

June 26—Austrian submarine torpedoes and sinks an Italian torpedo boat in the Northern Adriatic.

June 27—German submarine sinks British schooner Edith, crew being saved.

June 28—German submarine U-38 sinks the British steamer Armenian, of the Leyland Line, off the Cornwall coast, twenty-nine men being lost and ten injured; among the dead are twenty Americans, employed as attendants for the horses and mules composing the chief portion of the Armenian's cargo; recital of one of the crew of the British submarine E-11—the vessel which entered the Sea of Marmora and the harbor of Constantinople, her commander being given the Victoria Cross and each of the crew the Distinguished Service Medal—shows that the E-11 sank one Turkish gunboat, one Turkish supply ship, one German transport, three Turkish steamers, and six Turkish transports.

June 29—German submarine sinks British steamer Scottish Monarch, fifteen of crew being lost; German submarines sink Norwegian steamers Cambuskenneth and Gjeso, and Norwegian sailing vessel Marna; the crews are saved.

June 30—British steamer Lomas is sunk by a German submarine, one man being killed; British bark Thistlebank is sunk by a German submarine; some of crew missing.

July 1—German submarines sink British steamers Caucasian and Inglemoor, crews being saved; German submarine sinks Italian ship Sardomene off Irish coast, two of crew being killed and several wounded.

July 2—German submarines sink steamer Welbury, bark Sardozne, and schooner L. C. Tower, all British, the crews being saved; captain of the Tower says that the submarine which sank his ship was disguised with rigging, two dummy canvas funnels, two masts, and a false bow and stern, having the appearance of a deeply laden steamer; at the entrance of Danzig Bay a Russian submarine blows up by two torpedoes a German battleship of the Deutschland class, which is steaming at the head of a German squadron, while a Russian destroyer rams a German submarine.

July 3—German submarines sink the steamships Larchmore, Renfrew, Gadsby, Richmond, and Craigard, all British, and the Belgian steamship Boduognat, the crews being saved; Russian submarine in the Black Sea sinks two Turkish steamers and one sailing ship.

July 4—German submarine sinks French steamer Carthage.

July 5—German submarines sink Norwegian bark Fiery Cross and British schooner Sunbeam.

July 7—Nearly 20,000 vessels have entered or left the Port of Liverpool since the German submarine blockade began, yet only 29 ships have been captured or destroyed; Austrian submarine sinks Italian armored cruiser Amalfi in Upper Adriatic, most of the officers and crew being saved.

July 10—British steamer Ellesmere, Norwegian steamer Nordaas, and Italian steamer Clio are sunk by German submarines; one of the crew of the Nordaas is killed.

AERIAL RECORD

June 16—Official British statement shows that sixteen persons were killed and forty injured by a Zeppelin raid on the northeast coast of England on June 15, and that twenty-four persons were killed and forty injured by a Zeppelin raid on the same coast on June 6; German aeroplanes drop bombs on Nancy, St. Die, and Belfort.

June 17—Sub-Lieutenant Warneford, who won the Victoria Cross for blowing a Zeppelin to pieces, is killed by the fall of his aeroplane at Buc, France; French air squadrons bombard German reserve forces at Givenchy and in the Forest of La Folie, dispersing troops about to attack the French; squadron of Italian dirigibles bombards Austrian positions at Monte Santo and intrenchments facing Gradisca, doing considerable damage; the squadron also damages the Ovoladeaga station on the railroad from Gorizia to Dornberg.

June 18—Italian dirigible bombards an ammunition factory near Trieste.

June 19—In a duel between a French and a German aeroplane near Thann, in Upper Alsace, fought at a height of 10,500 feet, the French aviator kills the German.

June 20—Germans shoot down one allied aeroplane near Iseghem, Flanders, and another near Vouziers, in Champagne.

June 21—Austrian naval planes bombard the railway stations at Bari and Brindisi, doing considerable damage; allied aeroplanes bombard Turkish batteries on Asiatic side of the Dardanelles.

June 22—British aeroplane drops three bombs on Smyrna, causing seventy casualties in the garrison.

June 25—French aviators drop twenty bombs on the station of Douai, fifteen miles northeast of Arras.

June 26—British aviators drop bombs near Roulers, Belgium, causing the explosion of a large ammunition depot and the killing of fifty German soldiers.

June 27—French aeroplane drops eight shells on the Zeppelin hangars at Friedrichshafen.

July 1—French aeroplanes drop bombs on Zeebrugge and Bruges, but slight damage is done.

July 2—Austrian aeroplane bombards the town of Cormons, Austria, now in Italian hands, killing a woman and boy, and wounding five other civilians.

July 3—German aeroplanes bombard a fort near Harwich, England, and bombard a British torpedo boat destroyer flotilla; German aeroplanes also bombard Nancy and the railroad station at Dombasle, southeast of Nancy, severing railroad communication with the fort at Remiremont; a German aeroplane forces a French aeroplane to alight near Schlucht; German air squadron drops bombs on Bruges, doing slight damage; French airmen bombard the railroad stations at Challerange, Zarren, and Langemarck, in Belgium, and German batteries at Vimy and Beauraing, doing considerable damage.

July 13—A French squadron of thirty-five aviators drops 171 bombs at and near the railroad station strategically established by the Germans at Vigneulles-les-Hattonchatel, where ammunition and other stores are concentrated; the bombs start several fires; all the aeroplanes return, though violently cannonaded; French squadron of twenty aeroplanes bombards with forty shells the station at Libercourt, between Douai and Lille; aeroplanes furnished with cannon, part of the squadron, bombard a train.

AUSTRIA-HUNGARY

July 15—A Red Book issued by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs charges cruelty and breaches of international law against the Allies.

BELGIUM

July 2—General von Bissing, German Governor-General, issues an order forbidding, under penalty of fine or imprisonment, the wearing or exhibiting of Belgian insignia in a provocative manner, and forbidding absolutely the wearing or exhibiting of the insignia of the nations warring against Germany and her allies.

CANADA

June 23—The Victoria Cross is conferred on three Canadians for bravery near Ypres, while seventy other Canadians get the C. B., the C. M. G., or the D. S. O.

July 10—The Canadian casualties since the beginning of the war total 9,982, of which the killed number 1,709.

July 14—Sir Robert Borden, Premier of Canada, now in London, on invitation of Premier Asquith attends a meeting of the British Cabinet, this being the first time a colonial minister has joined British Cabinet deliberations.

FRANCE

June 21—Announcement is made in Paris that the French Postal Service is handling mail in ninety towns and villages of Alsace, all of which bear the names they had in 1870; the total amount of credits voted since the beginning of the war exceeds $3,123,000,000; at present France's war expenses are about $400,000,000 a month.

July 1—Ministry of War officially states that at no time during the war has the French artillery used any shells whatever manufactured in the United States, this statement being called forth by German declarations that much American ammunition is being used by France.

GERMANY

June 18—Unofficial statement from Berlin shows that the prisoners thus far taken by the German and Austro-Hungarian armies total 1,610,000, of whom 1,240,000 are Russians, and 255,000 French.

July 1—The Prussian losses alone to the end of June total 1,504,523.

GREAT BRITAIN

June 22—House of Commons unanimously gives a first reading to a bill authorizing the raising by loan of $5,000,000,000, if that much be necessary.

June 23—Minister of Munitions Lloyd George announces in the House of Commons that he has given British labor seven days, beginning to-morrow, in which to make good the promise of its leaders that men will rally to the factories in sufficient numbers to produce a maximum supply of munitions of war; failure will mean compulsion, he states.

July 1—John E. Redmond, leader of the Irish Nationalist Party, in a speech at Dublin, states that up to June 16, 120,741 Irishmen from Ireland had joined the army.

July 2—The Munitions Bill is passed in all its stages by the House of Lords.

July 12—After more than a fortnight's work, the 600 labor bureaus opened when Minister of Munitions Lloyd George gave labor a chance voluntarily to enroll as munitions workers, closes with a total registration of 90,000.

July 13—The total subscription to the war loan is close to $3,000,000,000, subscribed by 1,097,000 persons, stated by Chancellor of the Exchequer McKenna to be by far the largest amount subscribed in the history of the world; Lord Lansdowne tells the House of Lords that there are now about 460,000 British soldiers at the front.

July 15—Two hundred thousand Welsh coal miners strike, defying the Ministry.

INDIA

July 4—There are repeated and insistent reports in Europe, chiefly from German sources, that riots are occurring at various points in India; it is stated that recently the Indian cavalry at Lahore mutinied, killed their officers and British civilians, and pillaged and destroyed hotels and houses; two battalions of troops ready to be transported to Europe are also said to have mutinied and to have dispersed, after shooting their officers; there are declared to have been serious battles between police and mutinous troops in Madras.

RUMANIA

July 7—The Austro-Hungarian Minister to Rumania presents to the Rumanian Prime Minister proposals offering Rumania certain concessions in exchange for definite neutrality and facilities for supplying Turkey with munitions of war; one month is given Rumania for decision.

SOUTH AFRICA

June 21—General Christian de Wet, one of the leaders of the South African rebellion against the British Government, is found guilty of treason on eight counts at Bloemfontein, Union of South Africa; he is sentenced to six years' imprisonment and is fined $10,000.

UNITED STATES

June 16—A report is received by the State Department from Ambassador Page on the injury to the Nebraskan on May 25, when she was struck by either a torpedo or a mine; the report contains evidence tending to show that she was torpedoed by a German submarine.

June 28—Text of the American note to the German Government on the William P. Frye case, in reply to the last German note on this subject, which note has just been delivered by Ambassador Gerard, is made public in Washington.

June 29—Austro-Hungarian Minister of Foreign Affairs sends a note to the American Ambassador at Vienna protesting against the exports of arms from the United States.

July 2—A bomb wrecks the east reception room on the main floor of the Senate wing of the Capitol Building at Washington just before midnight, no one being injured.

July 3—J. P. Morgan is shot twice at his country estate on East Island, near Glen Cove, L. I., by Frank Holt, a former instructor in German at Cornell University, who, under arrest, states that he went to the Morgan home to induce the banker to use his influence to stop the exporting of munitions of war, the firm of J. P. Morgan & Co. being the fiscal agent of the Allies in the United States; both revolver bullets strike Mr. Morgan in the groin, the attending doctors stating that no vital organ is affected; by his own confession, Holt is the one who set the bomb that wrecked the Senate reception room in the Capitol at Washington last night, saying that he wanted to call the nation's attention to the export of munitions of war; extra precautions are being taken by Secret Service men to guard President Wilson, who is at Cornish, N. H.

July 6—Frank Holt kills himself in the Nassau County Jail at Mineola; identifications show that Holt was Erich Muenter, a former Harvard instructor, who murdered his wife by poison in Cambridge in 1906.

July 7—Government decides to take over the Sayville wireless plant at once, in the interests of neutrality.

July 10—The text is made public of the German reply to the last American note on submarine warfare and the sinking of the Lusitania; the reply evades the cardinal points of the American note; makes new proposals, and shows that the submarine war is to be continued; the American press generally regards the reply as unsatisfactory.

July 15—Germany expresses formal regrets for the torpedoing of the American steamship Nebraskan, stating it was due to a mistake, and offers to pay damages.

GENERAL VON BUELOW

Whose Advance Threatened the Retirement of the Russian Armies from Warsaw

GENERAL VON WOYRSCH

Commander of the German Army That Took Ivangorod After Warsaw Fell

(Photo from Bain News Service)

PERIOD XII.

Pope Benedict's Plea for Peace—The German Navy in the War—Great Britain's Blockade—War and Money—A Crisis in the Balkans—After Warsaw's Fall—The Brave and Cheerful Briton—India's Loyalty—France's Fight Against "Kultur"—The War and the Jews—The Collective Force of Germany—A Vision of the Battle Front.

Facing the Second Year

Outgivings by Heads and Leading Men of the Warring Nations

So rich and authoritative an assemblage of appraisals of the war's progress as appears below from leaders of the nations on the occasion of the first anniversary of the conflict, has not been gathered together during any of its previous stages. It is alike a retrospect and a prospect as the powers stand facing the second year of the mightiest struggle of history. Whether the war can go on for another year, with its tremendous wastage of life and wealth, is a question that is grappled with from the standpoints of the nations involved, as incidental to the question of ultimate victory.

"God Is With Us"

By the German Emperor

Emperor William II. issued the following manifesto from German Army Headquarters on Sunday, Aug. 1, 1915:

ONE year has elapsed since I was obliged to call to arms the German people. An unprecedented time of bloodshed has befallen Europe and the world.

Before God and history my conscience is clear. I did not will the war.

After preparations for a whole decade the coalition powers, to whom Germany had become too great, believed that the moment had come to humiliate the empire, which loyally stood by her Austro-Hungarian ally in a just cause, or to crush it in an overwhelming circle. No lust for conquest, as I already announced a year ago, has driven us into the war.

When in the days of August all able-bodied men were rushed to the colors and troops were marched into a defensive war, every German on earth felt, in accordance with the unanimous example of the Reichstag, that it was a fight for the highest good of the nation, its life, its freedom. What awaited us if the enemy force succeeded in determining the fate of our people and of Europe has been shown in the hardship endured by my dear province, East Prussia.

The consciousness that the fight was

forced upon us accomplished miracles. Political conflict of opinion became silent; old opponents began to understand and esteem each other; the spirit of true comradeship governed the entire people.

Full of gratitude, we can say today that God was with us. The enemy armies who boasted that they would enter Berlin in a few months are with heavy blows driven back far east and west. Numberless battlefields in various parts of Europe, and naval battles off near and distant coasts, testify what German anger in self-defense and German strategy can do. No violation of international law by our enemies will be able to shake the economic foundation of our conduct of the war.

The communities of agriculture, industry, commerce, science, and technical art have endeavored to soften the stress of war. Appreciating the necessity of measures for the free intercourse of goods, and wholly devoted to the care of their brethren in the field, the population at home has strained all its energies to parrying the common danger.

With deep gratitude the Fatherland today and always will remember its warriors—those who, defying death, show a bold front to the enemy; those who, wounded or ill, return; those, above all, who rest from battle on foreign soil or at the bottom of the sea. With mothers, widows, and orphans I feel grief for the beloved who have died for their Fatherland.

Internal strength and a unanimous national will in the spirit of the founders of the empire guarantee victory. The dikes they erected in anticipation that we once more should have to defend that which we gained in 1870 have defied the highest tide in the world's history.

After unexampled proofs of personal ability and national energy, I cherish the bright confidence that the German people, faithfully preserving the purification acquired through war, will vigorously proceed on the tried old ways and confidently enter the new.

Great trials make the nation reverent and firm of heart. In heroic action we suffer and work without wavering until peace comes; peace which offers us the necessary military and political economies and guarantees for a future which fulfills the conditions for the unhindered development of our producing energy at home and on the free seas.

Thus we shall emerge with honor from a war for Germany's right and freedom, however long the war may last, and be worthy of victory before God, who, we pray, may bless henceforth our arms.

WILHELM.

Pope Benedict's Anniversary Plea for Peace

The text of the peace appeal issued on the first anniversary of the war by Pope Benedict appears below:

WHEN we were called to succeed to the apostolic throne of Pope Pius X., whose upright and exemplary life was brought to an end by the fratricidal struggle which broke out in Europe, we, too, felt—after gazing fearfully upon the bloody battlefield—the despair of a father who witnesses his home torn asunder and ravaged by a furious tempest.

We thought with inexpressible sorrow of our young sons cut down by death; we felt in our heart, enlarged by Christian charitableness, the great unspeakable sadness of mothers and of wives made widows before their time, and the tears of children deprived too soon of parental guidance.

Participating in our soul in the fear and anguish of innumerable families, and well knowing the imperial duties imposed upon us by the mission of peace and love with which we have been confided during these sad days, we adopted a firm resolve to concentrate our whole activity and all our power to the reconciliation of the peoples at war. We made a solemn promise to our Divine Father, who

wished with the price of His blood to make all men brothers.

Words of peace and love were the first we addressed to the nations and their chiefs as the supreme guardian of their souls. Our affectionate and insistent counsels as father and friend were not heard. This increased our sadness, but did not shake our resolution. We continue with confidence to appeal to the All-powerful, who holds in His hands the minds and hearts of subjects as well as Kings, imploring Him to end the great scourge.

In our humble but ardent prayer we want to include all the faithful, and, to make it more effective, we have taken care that it be accompanied by works of Christian penitence.

Today, on the sad anniversary of the terrible conflict, our heart gives forth the wish that the war will soon end. We raise again our voice to utter a fatherly cry for peace. May this cry, dominating the frightful noise of arms, reach the warring peoples and their chiefs and induce kindly and more serene intentions.

In the name of the Lord God, in the name of the Father and Lord in heaven, in the name of the blessed blood of Jesus —the price of the redemption of humanity—we implore the belligerent nations, before Divine Providence, henceforth to end the horrible carnage which for a year has been dishonoring Europe.

This is the blood of brothers that is being shed on land and sea. The most beautiful regions of Europe—this garden of the world—are sown with bodies and ruins. There, where recently fields and factories thrived, cannon now roar in a frightful manner, in a frenzy of demolitions, sparing neither cities nor villages, and spreading the ravages of death.

You who before God and men are charged with the grave responsibility of peace and war, listen to our prayer, listen to the fatherly voice of the vicar of the eternal and supreme Judge to whom you should give account of your public works as well as private actions.

The abundant riches which the creating God has given to your lands permit you to continue the contest. But at what a price! Is the answer of thousands of young whose lives are lost each day on the battlefields, and of the ruins of so many cities and villages, so many monuments, due to the piety and genius of our forefathers?

The bitter tears which flow in the sanctity of homes and at the foot of altars, do they not also repeat that the price of the continuation of the contest is great, too great?

And it cannot be said that the immense conflict cannot be ended without violence of arms. May this craze for destruction be abandoned; nations do not perish. Humiliated and oppressed, they tremblingly carry the yoke imposed on them and prepare their revenge, transmitting from generation to generation a sorrowful heritage of hate and vengeance.

Why not now weigh with serene conscience the rights and just aspiration of the peoples? Why not start with good will a direct or indirect exchange of views with the object of considering as far as possible these rights and aspirations, and thus put to an end the terrible combat, as has been the case previously under similar circumstances?

Blessed be he who first extends the olive branch and tenders his hand to the enemy in offering his reasonable condition of peace.

The equilibrium of world progress and the security and tranquillity of nations repose on mutual well-being and respect of the right and dignity of others more than on the number of armies and a formidable zone of fortresses.

It is the cry of peace which issues from our supreme soul this sad day and which invites the true friends of peace in the world to extend their hands to hasten the end of a war which for a year has transformed Europe into an enormous battlefield.

May Jesus in His pity, by the intermediary of the Mother of Sorrows, end the terrible tempest and cause to arise a radiant dawn and the quietude of peace formed in His own Divine image. May hymns of thanks to the Most High Author of all good things soon resound.

Let us hope for the reconciliation of the States; may the people once again become brothers and return to their peace-

ful labor in arts, learning, and industry; may once again the empire of justice be established; may the people decide henceforth to confine the solution of their differences no longer to the sword, but to courts of justice and equity, where the questions may be studied with necessary calm and thought.

This will be the most beautiful and glorious victory. In confidence that the tree of peace will soon allow the world to enjoy again its fruits which are so much to be desired, we bestow our apostolic benediction upon all those who are part of the mystic flock which is confided to our keeping, even also upon those who do not yet belong to the Roman Church. We pray the Holy Father to unite Himself to us by bonds of perfect charity.

BENEDICT XV.

The German Army's Achievements

By Major Ernest Moraht

Major Ernest Moraht, the military correspondent of the Berliner Tageblatt, reviewing the twelve months of the war for The Associated Press, said on July 31:

A YEAR ago a coalition with a powerful numerical superiority declared war on Austria-Hungary and Germany. The hostile countries have a far larger population than have the two central powers, and their combined armies originally outnumbered those of the latter. The Central States, however, have known how to improve this difficult situation by alternately taking the offensive and defensive on the western and eastern fronts.

In the west the German armies, in a rapid, triumphant advance, carried their standards to within fifty miles of Paris and have kept them flying there since mid-September. Even though the right and left wings of our wide-flung battle front in France and Belgium have been bent back since then, (because there was no other method for the time being of counteracting the numerical superiority of the British, French, and Belgians,) still we hold the positions, fortified during the nine months, firmly in our hands, so that almost all of Belgium and the northeastern departments of France have been occupied by the troops of Germany.

In the east the Austro-German armies first held up the Russian millions on the Galician frontiers and then were forced to retire before a manifold numerical superiority, to intrench themselves on the crest of the Carpathians and to beat back until May 1 the Russian assaults with heavy losses. Meanwhile Field Marshal von Hindenburg, in East Prussia, was able to destroy several large Russian armies and free East Prussia; to occupy, conjointly with Austrian troops, Poland almost to the Vistula River, and in the northeast to carry the war into the Russian provinces.

While the positions in the war in the west continue to surge to and fro, and three great attempts made to break through our lines, in the Winter, Spring, and Summer, were repulsed with awful losses to our enemies, the German and Austro-Hungarian armies on May 1 launched a great offensive against the Russian main armies in Galicia.

In the series of battles and under constant pursuit the Russians were hunted out of 43,470 square miles of Galicia, their principal force was severed at several places, and they were driven eastward and northward.

The west bank of the Vistula in Poland has been cleared of Russian armies. The siege of Warsaw is about to begin and Field Marshal von Hindenburg, in the northward, has pressed forward against Riga and now has reached the vicinity of the city after numerous victories. The successes of the Germans have cost the Russian army millions in dead, wounded,

and prisoners. The Russian Empire possesses only fragments of its mighty armies and no longer can supply these adequately with arms and munitions. Their fate will be decided very shortly. The Russian forces will be destroyed or forced to flee deep into the interior to the eastward.

The battles in the west have cut so deeply into the French strength that now 18-year-old lads must bear arms. Great Britain's original army has been destroyed and only enough substitutes can be raised to hold a forty-four mile front in Belgium. The British losses, particularly those of officers, have been very heavy. The army of 3,000,000 men which Lord Kitchener promised six months ago has not yet appeared, and our opponents in the west never again will be able to raise superior forces to expel the Germans from the country.

The action in the Dardanelles, which has been in progress for months against the Turks, shows results for the British and French only in great losses of men, ships, and war supplies of all kinds. The Turkish Army steadily is improving in numbers and quality. The Turkish fortifications are quite as strong as they were at the outset. The prospects of the attackers reaching Constantinople, therefore, have vanished, and since none of the Balkan States are willing to enter the Anglo-French service, and since the Russian army which should have participated from Odessa has been destroyed in Galicia, it is difficult to see any chances for France and Great Britain.

Should Italy send an army to the Dardanelles it will find a superior Turkish Army ready to receive her. Italy, after conducting mobilization secretly for nine months, entered the field against Austria-Hungary at the end of May. An Italian Army 1,000,000 men strong has been attempting for two months to sweep over the fortified Austrian passes and to cross the Isonzo River, behind which the Austro-Hungarian defensive army occupies strong positions. All the attempts of the Italians up to the present have been unsuccessful. The cost to the attackers has been hundreds of thousands in dead and wounded. Austria-Hungary grows stronger day by day, and although its valiant struggle is a difficult one against Italian superiority in numbers it will be able to bar the way to the coastland and to Trieste and Tyrol. Meanwhile Italy has lost her entire colony at Tripoli to the Arabs, and apparently is about to declare war on Turkey.

The Serbian Army, after great losses in the Winter, has undertaken no military operations, being content to guard the frontiers of its country, on which there no longer is an Austro-Hungarian army.

The other Balkan States are about to decide which side they will take in the war. Since Russia's forces have been driven back and badly beaten and a German and Austro-Hungarian Army has been arrayed near the frontier of Rumania, Bulgaria has come to an understanding with Turkey, and Greece remains the opponent of Italy, and an increase in the number of our enemies under control of the Entente Allies no longer is to be anticipated by Austria-Hungary.

The Germans have every reason, therefore, at the end of the first year of the war to consider their sacrifices in blood and treasure have been rewarded. We are well prepared for a continuance of the war. Our nation still possesses determination to conquer and to make the necessary sacrifices. Our supplies of war material are assured by efficient organization. Our finances are far from exhausted, and there is no lack of provisions. Our fleet, despite a few losses among the cruisers, is ready to be thrown into the struggle at the proper moment and in full strength, and our submarines in all the seas are the dread of our enemies. Thus their offensive has changed to a defensive, and the prospects of eventual victory for the central powers is materially increased.

The German Navy in the War

By Captain I. Persius

Although the main German and British fleets have not been matched in battle, the ending of the first year of the war finds that Germany has distinguished herself at sea, says Captain I. Persius in a review prepared for The Associated Press. Captain Persius, formerly an officer of the German Navy, is a recognized authority on German naval affairs, and is naval expert of the Berliner Tageblatt. He says Germany's policy has been to attempt to weaken her chief opponent at sea by using submarines and mines to a point where there will be some prospect of success of an attack on the main British fleet. His review, published Aug. 1, 1915, *follows:*

THE German fleet may boast that the offensive spirit it has displayed has constituted the most prominent and decisive feature of all the naval war theatres. War was declared against Russia on Aug. 1, and on Aug. 2 the cruiser Augsburg bombarded the Russian war port of Libau. The declaration of war against France was issued Aug. 3, and on the following day the cruisers Goeben and Breslau shelled the troop embarkation points of Philippeville and Bona, on the North African Coast. Finally, England declared war on Aug. 4, and on the 8th the minelayer Koenigin Luise planted mines at the mouth of the Thames, one of which destroyed the cruiser Amphion.

We thus see that from the very beginning German warships displayed a spirit of daring offensive. Not only in European waters but in distant seas we heard of victorious combats wherein our cruisers were engaged. In a majority of cases the foreign cruisers, like the home units, fought against much superior forces.

In Germany the gigantic task of our sea forces is in no wise underestimated. We know that the British fleet alone, so far as material strength is concerned, is considerably more than twice our superior, but we are certain that the same heroic spirit of determination to win exists in the fleet as in the army, and that we can depend upon the efficiency of our material which, even though inferior in quantity, can brave comparison with that of any other power for excellence in construction of artillery and machinery.

We do not forget that the British fleet, first in the world and of glorious history, is an opponent worthy of all respect. Nevertheless, at the close of the first year of the war, it may be said without exaggeration, that its achievements do not measure up to our expectations. It has lacked, it seems, the iron determination and ability to conquer.

The British Admiralty has held strictly to "the strategy of caution." The German submarine danger is, we realize, partly responsible, but it cannot be questioned that, as a consequence of undeniably evident lack of initiative, the prestige of the British sea power no longer stands so unshaken throughout the world as formerly. British forces have been victorious only in engagements where they were overwhelmingly superior, as at the Falkland Islands, and even this is not claimed by the British press to be an unconditional success, because the battle was too costly in time and sacrifice.

Our naval authorities followed generally the principle of keeping battleships in harbor while attempting to weaken the enemy through minor warfare, particularly with submarine and mines, to a point where the attack on the main fleet will offer some prospect of success. How correct this strategy was is proved by the past twelve months. Thanks to the effectiveness of our submarines, which excited the justified admiration of the whole world, it has been

possible sorely to wound the British fleet. In addition, our submarine arm has busied itself since the beginning of the year in an entirely unexpected way, as a destroyer of commerce. Views may differ as to the final outcome in this field, but it is undeniable that a nation like Germany, whose commerce has been driven from the seas, but which can subsist without imports, has an extraordinary advantage over a country dependent almost entirely, like Britain, upon importations of food and raw materials across the water. The submarine danger unquestionably weighs like a nightmare upon the inhabitants of the sea-washed land. The future results of the wide extension, as we hope, of the fruitful activity of our submarines cannot be predicted, but the expectation is generally cherished in Germany that the submarine campaign will help to accelerate the demand for peace in England.

Every type of warship has fallen victim to German submarines—the battleships Formidable, Triumph, and Majestic, the armored cruisers Hogue, Cressy, and Aboukir, the Russian armored cruiser Pallaba, the cruisers Hawke and Pathfinder, and the British destroyer Recruit, for example—and neither the express steamer nor the slow fishing boat is safe from our deadly torpedoes.

In addition, the aerial arm of the service has won many laurels. Zeppelins crossed the North Sea safely, even to London and back, and German aeroplanes participated in the destruction of the enemies' war and merchant ships. The question whether airships and aeroplanes could be used offensively at sea must, in the light of the achievements of our aircraft, be answered affirmatively.

German aircraft have been fought successfully against the dreaded submarines. A Russian submarine was destroyed in the Baltic by bombs from an aeroplane, and at least one British submarine met the same fate in the North Sea.

The general fear of submarines is responsible for the remarkable spectacle of the heavily armed and strongly armored battleships rarely venturing to leave sheltering harbors—ships which before the war were counted as decisive factors in sea power, but finding themselves condemned to inactive rôles. Clashes of heavy battleships, like those in distant waters, have borne out the old rule that superiority in numbers, artillery, and speed make up the decisive factor for victory.

The British were defeated off Coronel, Chile, because the Monmouth and Good Hope depended for the most part on 6-inch guns, while the German cruisers Gneisenau and Scharnhorst carried many 8.3-inch guns. The victory at the Falkland Islands was easy for the British battle cruisers Invincible and Inflexible and their consorts because they mounted 12-inch guns and also were much faster than the German ships.

In warship duels also weight and armament were decisive. The Sydney, armed with 6-inch guns, was thus able to destroy the Emden, with only 4.2-inch cannon.

The lessons which may be drawn from past events may be summed up briefly as follows:

Superiority of technical material plays, as in earlier naval battles, an important rôle, perhaps to a greater extent now than before. Given crews practically equal in skill, the side which is inferior in artillery and speed is at so heavy a disadvantage that victory is possible only under exceptionally favorable circumstances.

The submarine has proved itself a thoroughly dangerous weapon to which unsuspected possibilities must be conceded. All methods of defense hitherto employed have failed to fulfill their purpose in requisite manner.

Dirigibles and aeroplanes have not only demonstrated their value in scouting, but also have been engaged effectively upon the offensive.

The lessons learned even thus far will have a marked influence upon the construction of fleets, and I can understand why in the United States efforts are being made to take advantage of them.

Britain's Courage Undaunted

By Sir Edward Carson

British Attorney General

Sir Edward Carson, the British Attorney General, prepared for The Associated Press a signed statement to be published on Aug. 1, giving a broad outline of the first year of the war from the British standpoint, together with an expression of what he declared to be the unalterable purpose of the British Government and people to carry on the war to a successful conclusion. The statement appears below.

HOW long will the war last, and what will be the result? To such questions as these any British subject can give but one answer, and that is that the war will last until the cause of the Allies has been brought to a successful issue and Europe and the world have been relieved from the ideals involved in the aggression of Prussian domination. The world peace does not enter into our vocabulary at the present time. It is banished from our conversation as something immoral and impossible under existing circumstances. And yet we are the most peace-loving people in the world; a nation which throughout the globe, within its many dominions, has inculcated good government and social and industrial progress and the free exercise, in its widest sense, of civil and religious liberty.

Rightly or wrongly, we have in the past devoted our energies and our intelligence, not to preparations for war, but to that social progress which makes for the happiness and the contentment of the mass of our people. And this, no doubt, is the reason why other nations imagine that we, as a nation of shopkeepers, are too indolent and apathetic to fight for and maintain these priceless liberties won by the men who laid the foundation of our vast empire.

But they are entirely mistaken in forming any such estimate of the temperament or determination of our people. Great Britain hates war, and no nation enters more reluctantly upon its horrible and devastating operations; but at the same time no nation, when it is driven to war by the machinations of its foes who desire to filch from it or from its co-champions of liberty any portion of their inherited freedom, is more resolved to see the matter through, at whatever cost, to a successful issue.

A year of war has transformed Great Britain. Of our navy I need hardly speak. It has upheld to the fullest extent the great traditions which fill the pages of history in the past, it has driven its enemies off the seas, it holds vast oceans free for almost the uninterrupted commerce of neutral powers, and it has preserved these highways for its own supplies of material and food almost without interruption. I do not minimize the peril of the submarines, which is in process of being dealt with through the careful and zealous watchfulness of our Admiralty, but, while the submarine has enabled the Germans to commit savage and inhuman atrocities contrary to the laws of civilization and against the settled rules of international law, it has done nothing to affect the vast commerce of our empire.

The German submarine attack has signally failed to hamper our military operations. Under the protection of our navy hundreds of thousands of men have been brought to the fighting area from the most distant parts of the empire. Troop ships are crossing daily to France, and not a single ship or a single soldier has been lost in the passage. The manner in which our troops have received their supplies is a source of satisfaction to us and admiration to our enemies.

At the commencement of the war we were not, and never did pretend to be, a military nation. An expeditionary force of 170,000 men and a small terri-

torial army of 260,000 men for defense against invasion was all we could boast of, but today Great Britain teems with military camps in which millions of men of the finest material are being trained and equipped to cope with every emergency.

No other nation in the world ever produced, or hoped to produce, a volunteer army of such proportions. Each day brings to the colors thousands of men who had never thought of military service before, and each day, as our enemy grows weaker, the infancy of our strength is growing into manhood, and with increasing virility and prowess. No doubt some people are foolish enough to be influenced by the misrepresentations which are a part of the equipment of our German enemies, who represent us as a decadent race. But they know little of the spirit of our people.

As the problem unfolds from day to day and the task before us expands in its herculean form, our spirit becomes more determined and our efforts and organization quietly shape themselves to meet the emergencies that are before us. That all this is being accomplished without dramatic demonstration and foolish boasting is not a sign of weakness, but of strength.

The splendid heroism of our Russian and French allies is not only an example which stimulates us, but it is an additional incentive to our national honor to carry on to an end the obligations we have undertaken. And if for the moment we are confronted with the impossibility of offensive action by our brave Russian allies, and are compelled to wage a costly and difficult war against the Turks in the Dardanelles, as well as against our enemies in Flanders, we cheerfully resolve to fit ourselves for the situation which confronts us.

It is, of course, true that our country has not been accustomed to organization and discipline, which leads unthinking men from time to time to imagine that there could be a different discipline in the coal fields or the workshops from that which prevails in the trenches; but all that is a mere temporary difficulty, and it cannot impede the country, which has made up its mind to win if it has to spend the last man and its last dollar in the process.

The success of the recent war loan shows how anxious our people are to invest their money in the prosecution of the war. Not only is it the largest loan that ever has been floated, but it represents not merely the accumulation of capital of a few large banks, but the hard-earned savings of small investors in every part of the country. Although our shores are not invaded and we have not experienced the impelling necessities of a war waged in our own country, yet there is hardly a family in any village in the land that has not willingly sent its sons to fight our battles in foreign lands. While I see day by day more and more anxiety from every man to do his share, I can see no sign nor trace of wavering in any section of the community.

We have the right to say to neutrals that our cause is just; that the war has been forced upon us, and that we are making and are going to make every sacrifice that makes a nation great to bring our cause to a successful conclusion. We have a right, I think, to ask neutrals to examine their own consciences as to whether they have done everything that neutrals ought to do or can do in insisting that the laws of humanity and the doctrines of international law, which have been so carefully fostered in times of peace, are carried out. Neutrals are the executive power to compel observance of the principles of international law, and, if they fail to do so, the result must be disastrous to the world at large, in the present and in the future, and give free play to a savagery and barbarism which is none the less revolting because it carries out its methods by the aid of the discoveries of scientific research and progress.

But, however that may be, our courage is undaunted. It grows into exaltation by reason of the difficulties that surround us, and we will go on to the end without fear or trembling and in the certain inspiration of a victory which will restore to the world that peace which can

alone bring happiness and contentment to the mass of its citizens.

EDWARD CARSON.

By PRIME MINISTER ASQUITH.

The Prime Minister of Great Britain, the Right Hon. Herbert H. Asquith, has made the following authorized statement:

I have been asked to send a message to the United States of America at the end of the first year of the war. The reasons why we are fighting are known in America. The world has judged, and will judge, not our words, but our actions. The question today is not of our hopes or our calculations, but our duties.

Our duty, which we shall fulfill, is to continue to the end in the course which we have chosen and "to do all which may achieve and cherish a just and lasting peace."

By SIR EDWARD GREY.

Sir Edward Grey, the British Secretary for Foreign Affairs, made this authorized statement:

I have been asked to send a message to the United States of America at the end of the first year of the war.

The reasons which led Great Britain to declare war and the ideals for which she is fighting have been frequently set forth. They are fully understood in America. I do not feel, therefore, there is any need to repeat them now. I am quite contented to leave the rights and wrongs of the causes and conduct of the war to the judgment of the American people.

The United Kingdom, and the entire empire, together with their gallant allies, have never been more determined than they are today to prosecute this war to a successful conclusion, which will result in honorable and enduring peace based on liberty and not burdensome militarism.

August 4, 1915

[From the Westminster Gazette.]

By EILY ESMONDE.

Twelve months ago!—
O God!—What tongue
Could have foretold
The horror and the agony of woe
That those twelve months should hold
For hearts as yet unwrung.
And now—
Pray we—for strength
Our honor still
To keep through all the anguished hours
Of unknown length,
That yet may bring—we know not—good or ill—
That Hope be ours
Though pain-filled day, and sorrow-stricken night
Threaten beyond—
That Resolution may fulfill
In valiant strife, what Peace did will—
That Right be Right,
Our Word our Bond,
Whate'er the pain,
The loss. The gain—
God! witness Thou.

The War to Date, From a British Standpoint

By Sir Gilbert Parker

The article printed below was sent from England by Sir Gilbert Parker in response to a series of questions cabled to him on the occasion of the first anniversary of the outbreak of the war in Europe. Readers of THE NEW YORK TIMES CURRENT HISTORY will find the article one of the most striking and illuminating contributions to the literature of the great conflict.

YOU ask me to look back over the first year of the great war and tell you what I think about it in relation to several vital factors of England's life.

In one sense, Americans can judge as well as I what has been done; but it is worth saying that, when the unpreparedness of Great Britain and her overseas dominions for a great land war is remembered, the accomplishment is immense.

The British Army was not more than 250,000, excluding the reserves. There are now in training or in the field 350,000 troops of the overseas dominions alone, while this country, on estimate, has at least 2,775,000 men in the field or in training.

We are producing probably 350 times as much ammunition per month as we produced in September last, and we have supplied our allies also with munitions of war.

The achievement of our armies and of the Allies, as a whole, has been enormous.

Germany had prepared for forty years for a great European war, in which she would make herself the supreme power of the world, dispossessing Great Britain on land and sea and making it impossible for any other nation, however powerful, to challenge or to revolt against her supremacy.

She had laid up great stores of munitions, she had organized for a vast production when war should begin; she had, with mathematical precision, meticulously, and with devoted industry made her whole industrial, commercial, and educational life conform to a military organization for national and imperial purposes.

Her object was not the object of nations with civil, humanitarian, and social ideals. Power, not the amelioration of human life or the development of individual independence and character, was her object and her goal.

Therefore, when the war broke out, she had such a military machine as the world had never seen. And it must not be forgotten that Austria, which is so constantly left out of the calculations of the world in thinking about this war, had also made huge military preparations, as was shown by the great guns she brought into the field in the very early stages of the war.

To talk of Germany fighting the world is nonsense. Germany and Austria, two great central empires of Europe, with 117,000,000 of people, are fighting the Allies. In the field of war they were able at the start to put nearly twice as many equipped men into the field as the Allies.

That they did not defeat the Allies is a marvel.

It is also splendid evidence of the capacity of the Allies and of Great Britain's power; for, though Great Britain's sector of the field of battle has been small, her contributions in other directions have been prodigious, all things considered.

She has had troops fighting in France, Belgium, the Dardanelles, Egypt, British East Africa, Southwest Africa, the Cameroons, and the Persian Gulf.

Her navy has done what was expected of it. It has cleared the seas of German commerce and German ships of war. It has taken some of Germany's island possessions in the South Seas. It has bottled up the German fleet behind its mine fields, rendering it powerless, and it is now waiting patiently for that navy to come out and give battle.

In money and in munitions, and by her

sea power enabling the Allies to trade freely, she has played a great part in this conflict, and presently the part will be gigantic, for she will have an army of 3,000,000 equipped, backed by a preponderating navy.

By next Winter her output of shells will give her superiority in that field, and she will be able to supply Russia with much that she needs. It has not been German bravery which has kept Russia back, which has dispossessed Russia of ground which she won by valor, but shells and guns, which the Germans had in abundance.

Great Britain asleep! The American Nation may be assured, in spite of all carping and pessimistic statements, that Great Britain and her people are awake, and no democracy ever produced a voluntary army approximating three millions in the world's history, not even your United States.

You resorted to compulsory service for your great civil war. It may be that we shall not get through this war without compulsory service, but the response to the call of the Government for men has vastly exceeded what was thought possible.

In spite of her critics, whose object no doubt was so to alarm the nation that we should secure the utmost contribution of her strength, it is certain that there is not a street in the most secluded town or village of this kingdom which has not felt the call and contributed, if not to its utmost, then sufficient to show that the utmost will be forthcoming.

We are a slow people, but without boasting it may be said that we are sure; and that the citizens of this empire do not love their land and are concerned for its future less than the Germans are for Germany is a statement which time and fact are belying.

You ask me how, in this limited monarchy, the war has affected the democracy.

First let me say that the democracy governs itself; though it has a King as the permanent and stable element in the Constitution, representing the principles and traditions of that Constitution through their long course of development, by being also the head of his people; the chief of his clan, as it were.

Well, wealth and peace are potent factors in every country toward separating people into classes. Even the United States has not escaped that. Social distinctions quite as imperious as in this country exist there, though they are not so extensive, not so carefully graded.

A great war like this shakes people of all classes and sections together to do the work demanded by the vital emergency.

So it is that a labor leader like Will Crooks, whose opinions have been repeated by many of his colleagues, says that the officer-peer and the artisan-private have shown the same valor, the same sense of duty; that the man higher up, as he is called in America, has, with an unmatched gallantry, risked and lost his life, hand in hand with the man on the lower levels.

You ask me if I think that Kitchener's army is democratic in a wide sense.

Let me say this: that what is called "Kitchener's army" is the most democratic, and it is probably the best, army that ever took the field since the armies of the civil war of the United States won their reputation.

In it are a very high proportion of elementary school teachers as non-commissioned officers, who are trained to organize and direct, who are typical of the bridging of the gulf between classes by the bond of education.

But not only Kitchener's new battalions are democratized. The professional army was always a mere handful, and to bring up the required battalions to war strength, to fill the gaps, a stream of reserve officers and men was called up—"city" men, lawyers, university lecturers, industrial workers, policemen, street car drivers, &c. These took their place in the framework at once.

Hence, the whole of the British armies in this conflict are like the American armies in the civil war.

They possess the intelligence, method, perseverance, the devoted courage of the Northerners, and the natural aptitude, adaptability, and improvising power of the Southerners.

In this war officers and men are

brought into much closer association than in any previous wars, since it has been a trench war, and, figuratively speaking, they sleep under the same blanket and eat out of the same dish.

In the close and confined area of the trenches officer and man are shoulder to shoulder, with practically no distinction in dress, while all are practically doing the same thing. The companionship of danger and purpose and endurance was never better manifested.

How many hundreds of stories have we heard and letters have we read from privates, telling how splendid, self-sacrificing, tirelessly considerate for their comfort, and utterly regardless of danger, their officers were; and how many hundreds of letters and how many speeches of officers have we read in which they tell of the magnificent courage, selflessness, cheerfulness and friendship of the private.

Their acts of heroism for each other have produced a great camaraderie. What began in duty has ended in affection.

"He was terrible bad hurt," said a private of his officer in a letter which I saw a day or two ago—"he was hurt so bad he had to groan, and he kept apologizing to us, saying he wished he could help it.

"He was true blue he was, and the hurt he had would ha' made any man squeal.

"Well, we just held 'is hands and done what we could, and one of my pals what was hurt too, he crawled over and he kissed the officer on the cheek, and they was both dead in half an hour. They was both good pals."

Innumerable stories like that have come to me, and I have in my possession letters now, of men no longer living, telling always of the great deeds done by others, and as time has gone on one has learned from others what they themselves had done.

I am not cracking up the bravery of the British officer or soldier, I am only saying that there never was a war in which officer and man, Duke and ditcher, Privy Councilor and miner have so preserved discipline, and yet their personal sympathy, together with the men-to-men attitude.

This is easily understood in a country like the United States, and in all the overseas dominions, for the armies of these new lands must have these characteristics; but it was not generally supposed that, in a nation with a hereditary aristocracy, and apparently dependent classes far below, there would be this democratic feeling and action.

I frankly say that I think this war has democratized the British Army enormously, for in the face of vast issues and prolonged fighting, which tests men to the utmost, the private has lifted himself far above his rank in life by the ennobling feeling of doing a great duty, which yet he calls "his little bit."

I have seen this in my own household. A footman of mine, with not much apparent personality or sensibility—as how can a footman have much personality in the somewhat rigid work of a household, with its set and specific duties, with even its below-stairs class distinction?—left me to enlist.

He was gone several months in training. I saw him just before he started for the front. He was not the same man that had been in my service. There was modest self-possession; there was determination; there was the dignity of purpose in his bearing when he said to me:

"I'm keen to get out, Sir, I think I'm fit for it now, and I'll try and get one back at them Germans that aren't content to fight, but have to murder, too."

I had a feeling that he would give a good account of himself. I have had several letters from him; but one, received after he had had his baptism of fire, contains a few sentences which describe a revolution taking place, a development increasing with lightning rapidity in the men on the lower levels in this country; while the man on the higher levels of birth, position, and money has stepped down to the level road, where he and Tommy Atkins are one in temper and in character for the national welfare.

Here are the sentences from my footman-friend's letter:

We got as far as where the communication

trench began when the Germans caught us, and the shrapnel they put into us was something terrible.

I'm not afraid to say that the first half hour of it I was nearly frightened to death. Still, I never lost my head, and my chums were getting knocked over all around me.

We rushed to a hedge and stayed under it for nearly three hours with the shells ripping up the earth and tearing down trees wholesale. It was not a bang, bang affair; it was one continuous roar of splintering.

Our next move was up the trench leading to the firing line. It took us just upon two hours, and the sight I saw there I shall never forget as long as I live. The trench was nearly filled with water, and the wounded men, or rather what had been men, now wrecks of flesh and bone, were crawling through this stuff.

Not till I saw them did I realize how much I wanted to get my bayonet into the body of a German. Perhaps that will come soon. Then I hope the good God will give me courage and strength enough to take a good revenge.

We left the trench soon after midnight. As we were coming along the road I stayed a few seconds with a few more of the Sixtieth at a house where the trees had been blown across the road, and just as we got to the house a German flare went up, and before we had time to take two more steps three Jack Johnsons were tearing the place down about our ears.

I forgot to say that the Germans shelled us with gas shells, so we had to fight with respirators and smoke helmets on. I think you will agree with me when I say that we had a good baptism.

Well, I think it will be agreed that this is the letter of a young man who has found himself.

The other day I watched a regiment of Kitchener's army at work in Norfolk. The physique of the men was remarkable, they were stalwart, bronzed, healthy, hearty, happy. Willingness, esprit, were everywhere; but the thing that got deep into my mind was the quiet confidence and understanding between the officers and the men.

You would see an officer speaking to a lance corporal as though to a friend, confidentially, as he stood with his company; and the lance corporal replied with easy naturalness. There was no gap of formality between them. When their talk was finished—a talk upon work to be done or work done, something connected with the company—there was no lack of respect. Just as the soldier of old days would have done under the older system, the lance corporal touched his cap.

Discipline was there, but something which made discipline a thing to have joy in, for it was a happiness in common effort for the honor of the regiment. All were playing the game of the Eleven.

One of the most remarkable aspects of this war in the field and in training for the field is the wonderful happiness of the men. They may be fatigued and worn, but they are never downcast. Nothing has been too good for them as to food and necessaries, and even luxuries.

The love of the nation has been spent on them, but it has not been squandered. In the rough earthquake of war we have been shaken together. Horrible as it all is—the bloodshed, the treasure poured out, the loss in life and material—still we can truthfully say that the nation has profited by its sacrifice, its effort, and its bereavement. National character has been made; inherent goodness has become magnificent merit.

In Parliament some one once said contemptuously of socialism, "When that time comes we shall all be feeding out of the same municipal trough." Well, we are not doing that, but we are all working in the same national field.

There are some slackers—that has always been the case. There are some cowards, but they will not be able to escape the passion of loyalty which is spreading and forever spreading; which is tenfold greater than it was on the 4th of August, 1914.

Yes, your question as to whether drink has prevented Great Britain from rising to the height of her necessity during the year of war should be answered at this point.

I have seen in some American papers most cruel libels upon the British workingman. I have seen London likened to Babylon or Byzantium. I have seen it stated in a Philadelphia paper that 90 per cent. of the people in this country are apathetic, and that this is all due to degeneracy, self-indulgence, and drink.

This is a charge of a ghastly nature; and if it were true, then the fate of Sodom and Gomorrah would be too

good for Great Britain and this empire. England has had great opportunities and vast responsibilities, and her people have done masterly and prodigious things, as her history shows.

She has peopled overseas dominions; she has preserved, with a handful of men, the loyalty of the vast Indian empire; she has a commerce throughout the world greater than that of any other nation; her shipping represents more than half of the world's shipping; and if her people were so degenerate as to fail the State in its hour of need and peril, then indeed should all the world turn their backs upon her.

I make this challenge, however: If half a dozen American journalists of repute and capacity will come to this country and will go into any city, town, or village in England, or come to this vast metropolis, and will take any street in any one of these villages, towns, or in any borough of London, I declare that he will find, not 90 per cent. apathetic, but 90 per cent. representing homes from which some person is gone to fight, to be trained to fight, is employed in the manufacture of munitions of war, or has relatives fighting, preparing to fight, or occupied in the manufacture of munitions of war, or some other work which is essentially war work.

I know of what I speak. It has been tried. An American journalist has gone from house to house in one of the worst quarters of London, and the truth of my statement has been sustained. I make this challenge; I hope it will be accepted; I have no doubt of the result.

Drink there is and has always been in this country, and too much drink. Congestion, with poverty and crowded homes, of great cities such as New York, Chicago, St. Louis, Philadelphia, Boston, or London, Paris, or Rome, and many others one knows, is the cause of excess.

There was a sudden, passionate outburst on the part of an English Minister to the effect that it was drink which prevented us from winning the war, through irregular work in the factories where munitions were made.

That was taken with great seriousness in this country; it was taken with infinitely greater seriousness in countries like the United States.

The same Minister who made that statement now declares that the lack of munitions was due to lack of organization months ago. Both things are in part true, but only in part.

Undoubtedly in the rush and excitement, in the demand for extra output, a percentage of the workmen who drink and who ordinarily drink too much plunged into greater self-indulgence, and to some extent helped to disorganize the mass.

But again, if any one who knows this country will come here now and go from town to town, village to village, and city to city, will make inquiry at public houses, will go to the usual saloon resorts, he will find that, though wages are higher, though there is more employment than there has been for many years, there is less drink, not more.

We have no right to expect the sympathy of the United States and of other neutral countries if England is more drunken now than she was; and we have a right to ask that, when these charges are made against her, investigation should also be made.

The responsibility of the people of this country is great, and American journalistic enterprise would only be doing its duty if it made the investigation which I suggest, since this great war is an international question, and the judgment of neutral nations must affect the end of it directly and indirectly.

The real result of the war has been, not to increase general depravity, but, through the greater inflow of money, to increase the depravity of those already depraved. There has been a great drain from industry into the army; certain industries have enormously increased their demand for labor; therefore the premium on the labor of the disreputable 10 per cent of the drinking laboring classes has been vastly increased.

The misdoings of the 10 per cent. set up a certain amount of sympathetic demoralization and interfere materially with sober workmen in jobs that require co-operation, as, for instance, the riveters in shipbuilding.

This unsatisfactory minority will now

be dealt with under powers granted by the Government, to the great satisfaction of labor as a whole, which repudiates the acts of the inevitable minority of degraded workers.

You ask me, "How has the war affected the suffrage movement and the suffrage disorders which were so widespread in this country over a year ago?"

Well, in the first place, immediately after the declaration of war, the Women's Social and Political Union called a meeting and suspended the publication of their organ, The Suffragette, and mobilized all their members for national work: that is, nursing, production of clothing, relief work, &c.

The leaders of the suffragette movement soon saw that the individual devotion of its members was not enough, so they resolved to devote their vast organization, as an organization, to national purposes. Officially they organized recruiting meetings; they made a reissue of The Suffragette as a war paper, which is doing good work in combating the stupid criticism of a small minority with cosmopolitan sympathies, who are full of the love of God and all their fellow creatures, and who would throw bouquets to murderers, because human sympathy is such a divine thing!

It is notable that the leaders of the suffragette movement desire a thorough settlement, that they want, not alone peace with honor, but peace of such a nature as shall see the world secured against a barbarous and aggressive militarism.

Miss Annie Kenney was asked by me whether the Social and Political Union approved of The Hague Peace Conference of Women.

The reply was: "No. We think the evolution of the woman movement in the last generation has produced two types—the success and the failure.

"The personnel of the Peace Conference represented the failure. We sent to The Hague one of our members to protest, and we saw that the conference was merely playing into Germany's hands. Every woman who attended that conference will one day bitterly repent it."

Miss Kenney was asked whether suffragette activity in the national cause would ultimately affect the question of the vote.

The reply was that the vote question was not in their minds, that the vote will come of itself; that if they knew for certain that it would be denied for an indefinite period they should still work every bit as strenuously as they were working now; that the greater cause comes before the less for all Britishers—the cause of liberty and democracy.

She said that if the Allies win the woman's cause will be at most retarded, but that if Prussianism wins the whole cause of freedom would be immeasurably weakened and set back, that women's suffrage would not merely be retarded, but removed from the sphere of possibility altogether. And Miss Kenney added:

"No. Our union is too sensible of the danger to tolerate any compromise with Prussianism. We have never been believers in compromise with injustice."

She was finally asked how she would sum up the present attitude of the suffragettes. The answer was very fine; and I, who have been opposed to the granting of the vote to women, frankly say that it is an utterance deserving of perpetual remembrance. This is what she said:

"Duties come before rights. We have dared to demand; we have also the courage to give to the uttermost."

That is what this war has done. It has made men and women who differ fundamentally in many things, who have opposed each other politically, meet with a common patriotism on the ground of deeper fundamentals still, on the ground of issues that affect the whole of civilization, and not alone the social and political history of one country.

You have not asked me the question to which I am now going to reply, but I am going to ask it of myself. It is this:

"What has been the part played by the United States in this year of war? From the British standpoint, has she helped or retarded us?"

The account which we render of ourselves brings no blush to our cheeks, though we differ and criticise and gibe

PRINCE LEOPOLD OF BAVARIA

Who Led His Victorious Army Into Warsaw. He is Brother of King Ludwig III. of Bavaria

(Photo copyright by Underwood & Underwood)

GRAND DUCHESS OLGA

Eldest Daughter of the Czar of Russia. She is Nearly 21 Years Old

and challenge each other, as Britishers have always done, as Americans did in the time of their civil war, when Lincoln's heart was almost broken by opposition from his political foes, and by savage criticism of his friends. At this time we are all in a state not perfectly normal.

We are living, as it were, at the top of our being, and we are inclined to exaggerate, to be extravagant in denunciation or in criticism when things do not go as we think they ought to do, but go as they always do in war, with staggering ups and downs.

There are those among us who have thought that the United States, as a vast democracy inspired by high national ideals, and as the enemy of all reactionary and tyrannical elements, might have done more to help us in our fight for civilization, might indeed have entered the war with us.

But let me say—and in this I believe I speak for the great majority of British people—that we have not had the least desire to invoke the armed assistance of the United States, or to influence her in the slightest in this matter.

The United States has performed immense service to the Allies by resisting all attempts to wean or force her from her neutrality by prohibiting the export of munitions of war. Her perfect propriety and adherence to the spirit of true neutrality have resisted German pressure.

Secondly, the services she has performed to civilization by organizing relief for Belgium have been a service to humanity, and therefore a service to the Allies, who are fighting to restore to Belgium her ursurped dominion.

Thirdly, the United States has rendered immense services to this country by caring for the interests of British subjects abroad, and, above all, by making the lot of British prisoners of war easier. Some of the worst cruelties and inhuman oppressions have been removed by her intervention.

Lastly, her sympathy, expressed in a thousand ways, and not the least by fair consideration of the action taken by Great Britain in the blockade and other matters, has eased the minds of millions of King George's subjects. Lack of sympathy might easily have misinterpreted the acts of our Government.

I wish Americans would believe that in this country there has been since this war began a larger and truer understanding of the American people. For my own part I have known the United States intimately for many years, have had faith in her national purposes and confidence in her diplomatic integrity, and, from reading her history, a realization of her sense of justice.

And in this war of ideals, fundamentally different, I believe the people of both nations have come to a sense of kinship and of mutual admiration, not diminished by the possible mistakes which may have been made by Great Britain largely due to improvised organization, or in the United States by her rigid neutrality, which may not have seemed to chime with her sympathy.

Her diplomacy has been unimpeachable, and we in Great Britain are grateful for an understanding which is as material a support as an army in the field.

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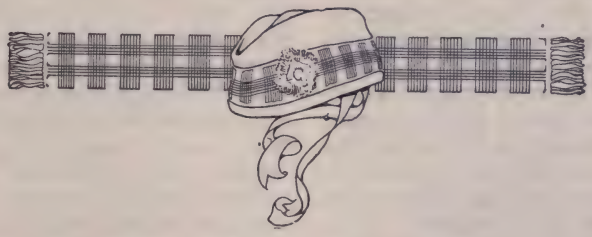


United France

By Raymond Poincare, President of the French Republic

The first meeting of the French Chamber of Deputies after the anniversary of the beginning of the war, and following the establishment of the union of all political parties in France, to endure so long as the war shall last, was held on Aug. 5, 1915. A message from President Poincaré was read in the Chamber by Premier Viviani, and in the Senate by Aristide Briand, Minister of Justice. It was addressed to the French Parliament and reviewed the first year of the war. The text of the message follows:

YOU will find it natural that after a year of war the President of the Republic has the honor to associate himself with the Government and the two houses of the Legislature to render homage, admiration, and gratitude to the nation and the army.

When a year ago I recommended to the country this sacred union, which was then and still remains one of the conditions of victory, I had no doubt but that my appeal would be immediately heard. Our enemies, who always have misunderstood France, alone believed that we would offer an evidence of our dissensions to their brutal aggression.

At the precise hour when they audaciously asserted that Paris was a prey to upheaval the capital of the republic assumed that grave and serene physiognomy in which could be read its cold resolution. From the largest cities to the smallest villages there passed a great current of national fraternity which, among the people as well as in Parliament, wiped out even the memory of civil quarrels. The whole people turned a united face to the enemy.

For a year this unity of will has not belied my belief that nothing will weaken it. If Germany is counting on the possibility of dividing France at the present time, she is deceived today as she was a year ago. Time will not weaken the ties binding the great French family. United France is great and strong, and because she is united she is confident and calm. Every day in the smallest communities there is spontaneous collaboration between the old people, the women and the children, which makes sure the continuance of the normal life of these villages in its regular course. Fields are sowed and cultivated and crops harvested, and this organization of labor is a material factor to the keeping alive of patience and firmness in the soul of the people.

Every day Frenchmen of all parties and all religions bring their offerings to the Treasury, and hands which bear noble marks of daily labor push over the counters of the banks gold pieces which they have painfully saved up.

Everywhere the country gives a sublime example of common thought and resolution.

A generous emulation inspired all lines of French activity to come to the aid of the national defense, and this aid is given utterly without selfishness. The country should encourage not only harmony among political parties, but also private co-operation and good-will.

Individual energies, recognizing how to submit themselves to discipline, constitute a great force in the nation. In war time such energies never are too numerous or too powerful, nor is there ever a greater need to co-ordinate national action to produce a single effect.

The merits of a people are luminously reflected in the army. The army, composed of the substance of the nation, immediately understood the grandeur of its rôle. It knows it is fighting for the safety of the race and the traditions and liberties of the country. It knows that on the victory of France and the Allies rests the future of civilization and humanity.

Into the hearts of the most modest of our soldiers and marines has come a high appreciation of this great historical duty. Each man is completely devoted to his mother country, and those who fall die without fear, since by their death France lives and will live forever.

In the error of its arrogance, Germany

has represented France as light, impressionable, unstable and incapable of perseverance and tenacity. The people and the army of France will continue to controvert this calumnious judgment by their calm course. They will not let themselves be troubled by that false news, which has its effect only on impressionable souls; by noisy manifestos for peace by our enemies, or by the perfidious and suspicious insinuations whispered by the agents of the enemy in the ears of neutrals—cowardly counsels aimed at future efforts at demoralization. No one in France is disturbed.

The only peace which the republic can accept is that which guarantees the security of Europe and which will permit us to breathe and to live and to work to reconstruct our dismembered country and repair our ruins, a peace which will effectively protect us against any offensive return of the Germanic ambitions.

The present generations are accountable for France to posterity. They will not permit the profanation of the trust which their ancestors confided to their charge. France is determined to conquer; she will conquer.

M. DESCHANEL'S SPEECH.

Paul Deschanel, President of the Chamber, opened the session with a speech, which was apparently intended to follow the example of the address of M. Rodzianko, President of the Russian Duma, at the recent opening of that legislative body, and as a reply to the anniversary manifesto of the German Emperor. To this Premier Viviani gave response in the name of the Government. M. Deschanel said a year had passed since the enemy of France, even before declaring war, had violated French territory. He added:

This year has been so full of a glory so pure that it will forever illumine the human race. It has been a year in which France, the France of Joan of Arc and Valmy, has risen, if possible, to even greater heights.

Be the war of short or long duration, France accepts it. The country is summoning its genius and changing its methods. Each French soldier before the enemy repeats the words of Joan of Arc, "You can enchain me, but you cannot enchain the fortunes of France."

"France Is Fit"

By Count Adrien L. de Montebello

A year of war finds "France fit to continue the struggle to the end and confident of the outcome," says Count Adrien Lannes de Montebello in a review of the first twelve months of hostilities given to The Associated Press on July 31. Count de Montebello, a recognized authority on military affairs, was one of the strongest advocates of the three-year military service law and its co-author with the ex-Premier, Louis Barthou. He was formerly Deputy from Rheims and Vice President of the Committee on Military Affairs of the Chamber of Deputies. His grandfather was Marshal Lannes, at whose death on the battlefield of Essling Napoleon is said to have wept. Count de Montebello's review follows:

FRANCE was not expecting war, and her preparations therefore were less complete than those of her adversaries, who, knowing their intentions, had accumulated an immense supply of fighting material and disposed of their troops in such a manner as to strike the most powerful blow of which they were capable.

Germany threw against Belgium and France fifty-two army corps, or almost her entire military force as mobilized in August. Under the impact of the German advance the French armies, with their British allies, suffered initial re-

verses and great losses, especially in the battle of Charleroi. While the French armies were in retreat a national Ministry was formed, and the civil population of France organized for war. The French and British armies stood on the line of the Marne from a point near Paris to the eastern frontier of France. They received the shock of more than 1,200,000 German troops, and defeated them with somewhat inferior forces. The Germans were outled and outfought in a vast general action over a line of more than 120 miles.

The French troops were too exhausted by their fifteen days of marching and fighting to make their victory decisive. The Germans checked their retreat upon the line of the Aisne, and had sufficient time to dig in. The battle of the Aisne developed by the Germans endeavoring to turn our left and by the simultaneous French effort to turn the German right. This contest resulted in a race for the sea in the obstinate two months' battle along the Yser in October and November. The Germans again failed, and finally gave up that part of their offensive, on account of their terrific losses.

Simultaneous with the battle of the Marne, though forming no part of the battle front of what has been called the battle of the Marne, were the operations in the Argonne, the Woevre, and the Grand Couronne de Nancy. The army of the German Crown Prince, marching on Verdun, and the army of Crown Prince Rupprecht of Bavaria, marching on Nancy, both were defeated in some of the bloodiest engagements of the entire war.

The ultimate result of these defeats was the liberation of that part of the ancient Province of Lorraine left to France after 1870 from the occupation of the German Army. The German forces had penetrated fifteen or eighteen miles. They were not only driven out before the 1st of November, but since then the French have invaded Upper Alsace, of which they now hold a considerable part. This country, taken from France in the war of 1870-71, has been reorganized and is under control of a civil government which restored the school and judicial systems of France.

From the battle of Charleroi to the end of the first year of the war the Germans achieved no successes on the western battle front save the slight advance at Soissons during the floods of the River Aisne and the advance at Ypres, partially lost afterward, at the time of the first attack with the assistance of asphyxiating gas.

The successes of the Allies since the battle of the Marne are in the recapture of Thann, Steinbach, Hartsmans-Weilerkopf, Metzeral, La Fontenelle, together with considerable territory in the Alsatian Vosges; the capture of an entire German position in the Forest of Le Prêtre, along the wedge the Germans are still holding in the French lines at St. Mihiel; an advance of a mile along a front of ten miles at Beausejour, in the Champagne country; the capture of Neuve Chapelle by the British, the capture of Notre Dame de Lorette, Carency, and Neuville St. Vaast, and an advance of two or three miles along a front about seven miles north from Arras by the French, and the clearing of the left bank of the Yser of the enemy by the Belgian Army.

Never since the war began has the French Army been so fit to continue it to a triumphant conclusion as today. We have not only carried on the war with success during the year, but we have accumulated immense reserves of every necessity for continuing the war until it has been won. Our reserve troops in depots and under training are relatively greater than those of the Germans. The army is absolutely confident. The people behind the army, to a man, are equally so.

The French people, through no fault of theirs, have suffered and are suffering today, but they are equal to every hardship, every effort necessary to drive the war to a final victorious conclusion.

Prospect of Russia's Second Year of War

By a Russian Military Expert

"I hereby solemnly declare that we will not conclude peace until the last enemy soldier has left our land."

These words of Emperor Nicholas of Russia, uttered at the Winter Palace on Aug. 1, 1914, were reproduced in the press of Petrograd on the anniversary of the war. A message in the Bourse Gazette on July 31, 1915, *printed in all the languages of Russia's allies, says:*

FOR a year past the enemy has been threatening the freedom of the world. We deeply appreciate the self-sacrificing aid of the Allies in exerting a combined pressure on him on all sides.

A firm confidence in victory in a community of worldwide interests and in the final triumph of right fires the spirit of the nation. It has been our guiding star throughout this year of bloodshed. It will serve us in the coming months, maybe years, of this terrible struggle.

Russia greets her allies—France, Great Britain, Belgium, Serbia, Montenegro, Japan, and Italy. All hail to their heroic loyalty and firm determination to stand by her to the end; till light dispels the gloom.

From a person who, although not connected officially with the War Department, is in close touch with the Government officials and is well acquainted with the military situation and the Russian state of feeling, The Associated Press has obtained the following review of the first year of the war:

The end of the first year of the war finds Russia's potential fighting ability undiminished. Her armies are intact, her resources virtually untouched; and the determination of her people, the morale of her troops have only been deepened with the growing realization of the enemy's strength.

This determination is expressed most forcibly in the mobilization of vast industrial resources for the production of war munitions. These efforts are rapidly lessening the disparity of the combatants in guns and ammunition. Russia does not look for a speedy termination of the struggle, but feels confident of her power to exhaust the enemy.

The campaign on the eastern front must be viewed in relation to the enormous extent of territory over which battles have been waged, from the Baltic to Bukowina. The far-flung advances and retreats here have had no more significance relatively than gains and losses of a thousand yards on the western front. To interpret Russia's temporary loss of territory as German success is to ignore Russia's rôle to engage as great a part of the enemy's forces as possible, to relieve pressure on her allies. Russia's refusal to accept battle in disadvantageous conditions, even though she must temporarily abandon territory, has kept her armies and defensive lines unbroken.

It is the assertion of Russian authorities that every German advance has cost Germany more men, both relatively and actually, than it cost Russia. They regard Germany as now committed definitely to a campaign which is carrying the German armies further and further from their bases; and to abandon this campaign would be disastrous defeat for her. Moreover, it is maintained that not even the territorial ambitions of Germany have been realized, since the German objectives on this front have not been fully attained.

The advance of the Austrians into Southern Russia in the early stage of the war met with full defeat. It was followed by Austria's loss of Galicia. General Ivanoff, at the head of the southern Russian armies, carried on one of the most brilliant offensive campaigns of the war. The present stage may possibly be regarded as an uncompleted repetition of this earlier movement.

Furthermore, the repeated German drives at Warsaw from the west have cost the enemy tremendous losses. It

was only after six weeks of the most intense fighting in the Bzura region due west of Warsaw last Winter that the Germans recognized the futility of attempting to break the Russian front by direct frontal movements. On the other hand, by exacting a heavy toll of lives in rearguard actions during the carefully ordered retreats and by keeping her own army intact, Russia successfully performed her appointed task.

The East Prussian aggressive, which manifested itself periodically, and latterly the Baltic campaign, never have been regarded otherwise than as diversions. A parallel to these movements is found in the Bukowina operations, in their relation to the general Galician campaign. Their chief importance has been to draw men from other fronts, where more serious fighting has been in progress.

While it is understood the fate of the Turkish provinces on the Caucasian front will be determined by the general course of the war, this should not minimize the genuine military successes Russia has achieved in that distant field. Russia did not desire to expend her strength in Asiatic Turkey, but when opposed by the threatening Turkish advance in December she exerted her power, flung back the Turkish army at Sari Kamysh, and began a series of movements which carried the Russian arms to Van and the approaches to Bitlis and Mush, in Turkish Armenia.

BY THE RUSSIAN MINISTER OF WAR.

This statement was prepared by M. Polivanoff, the Russian Minister of War:

My opinion, in a few words, after one year's duration of this war, unprecedented in the world's annals, is as follows:

The enemy is strong and cruel, and that is the very reason why Russia and her heroic allies must continue the war —should it last for several years—until the enemy is completely crushed.

ALEXEI ANDREIEVITCH POLIVANOFF, Minister of War.

First Year's Slain and Wounded

German and British Estimates of Aggregate Casualties

In a London Cable Dispatch to The New York Times, dated July 31, *the following estimates appeared:*

OVER two and a half million of lives cut short and some five million men wounded, a certain proportion of the latter maimed and partially incapacitated for useful purposes—this is one result of one year of the world war, according to a statistician who has gone to the sources available for information.

Great Britain's casualties, announced by Premier Asquith in Parliament, amount to a third of a million, including killed, wounded, and missing.

Neither Germany, France, nor Russia makes any comprehensive statement of the kind, but it is obvious that the losses of all three are proportionately much heavier than England's.

Estimates published in the English papers derived from indications given in the Prussian official lists of casualties carry the German losses to a total of 3,500,000. This figure largely exceeds the computations made by the German authorities, but even the latter, who may be assumed to desire to put the best aspect possible on the war's cost in the matter of life and limb, admit that Germany up to the end of June had 482,000 men killed and 852,000 wounded.

In regard to prisoners, the Germans admitted a loss of 233,000 up to the end of last month, altogether a grand total of 1,567,000 killed, wounded, and missing.

The German claims as to the number of the enemy disposed of are surprisingly high. Mr. Asquith's figures of 330,000 up to a late date in July were

exceeded, according to German calculations, before the end of June, at which period, according to Teutonic computations, Great Britain had lost 116,000 killed, 229,000 wounded, and 83,000 prisoners, a total of 428,000.

When there is such a discrepancy between the German claims and the British Governmental statements as to British losses the possibly natural inference is that the German claims in respect to other hostile nations, such as France and Russia, which publish no figures to serve as a corrective, are likely to be greatly exaggerated. Consequently the following figures are given for what they are worth, stress being laid on the fact that they are derived from a usually well-informed source:

	Killed.	Wounded.	Prisoners & Missing.	Total
France	400,000	700,000	300,000	1,400,000
Russia	733,000	1,982,000	770,000	3,485,000
Austria	341,000	771,000	183,000	1,295,000
Belgium	47,000	160,000	40,000	247,000
Serbia	64,000	112,600	50,000	226,600
Turkey	45,000	90,000	46,000	181,000
Japan	300	910	.....	1,210

It is interesting to compare these figures, which are based on German calculations, with figures collected by Beach Thomas, a correspondent of The Daily Mail in Northern France. Mr. Thomas says his lists have been compiled on the Continent from the best available figures and checked and counterchecked in every way from both public and private information.

Extreme as the figures sound, the evidence given for the Turkish losses, which are the most surprising, is at least plausible. If the total population of, say, Canada and Australia or London and Manchester were wiped out, the loss would have been smaller than the sum of the men recorded as casualties in this war.

Following are the figures, quoted for what they are worth:

	Killed.	Wounded.	Prisoners.	Total.
Germans...	490,000	1,636,000	1,880,000	4,006,000
Austrians..	810,000	1,710,000	1,855,000	4,375,000
Turks.....	95,000	110,000	140,000	345,000
Total...	1,395,000	3,456,000	3,875,000	8,726,000

"It is alleged and strongly maintained by the authorities," says Mr. Thomas, "that the proportion of killed to wounded is as 2 to 3, not as 1 to 4, or even 5, which was once supposed to be the ratio. The French and British have the highest proportion of wounded to killed, but it never rises as high as 2 to 1 when the record of the hospitals is complete, and of course prisoners are excluded."

In regard to the German computation of the French losses, it is to be observed that it tallies with the unofficial estimate of the French losses given by the committee of the French Relief Fund, which computed the German losses as something more than double. The rate of loss was calculated to be 127,000 men per month for the French. At this rate of wastage France can go on fighting for another twelve months without any weakening of her units in the field.

Harbored Ships

By LOUISE DE WETTER.

Still, as great birds with folded wings,
Their masts black spears against the moon,
They ride at anchor on a silvered sea,
Wrapped in the lapping waves' low croon.

Beyond, the hills lie—fold on fold
Against the Night's dark star-pierced sky;
Long since, the two-score village lights have died,
And hushed at last the sea-gull's wailing cry.

The Dawn will shine upon a flock of wind-curved sails,
On clustered, pale-faced women, filled with dread. * * *
Far out beyond the harbor's circling hills
The ocean thunders deep—above its dead!

Kirkwall, Orkney Islands, May 29, 1915.

War's Toll Upon Famous Families

By Charles Stolberg

This article appeared in The New York Evening Post of Aug. 7, 1915, and is here reproduced by permission.

WHEN on June 28 of last year at Serajevo, Bosnia, the bullets of assassin Gavrio Princep felled Archduke Francis Ferdinand of Austria-Hungary and his wife, the Duchess of Hohenberg, there resulted a single tragedy whose indirect consequences have since caused countless other tragedies in the lives of millions of people, not only in Europe, but in the remotest parts of the world.

The great world conflict which broke out soon after this murderous attack has placed the pall of mourning over every third home in the belligerent countries of Europe, and has even made its grim presence felt among people of unaffected neutral nations by the untimely deaths of those who may have ventured too near the zones of destruction.

The dreadful slaughter has fallen with especial heaviness on the upper and wealthy classes, and the names of hundreds of people prominent in all walks of life are being continually added to the growing casualty lists. Death knows no distinctions, and in taking victims has leveled all classes, from Prince to pauper. The bluest blood of Germany, England, and France has been poured out in battle. So great has been the loss in British officers in particular, that quite a number of heirs of great wealth among them have passed their entailed fortunes on to babies. Germany has had to give of her foremost families of the ancient nobility, of high Government officials who were serving as volunteers or reserves, of college professors, authors, scientists, newspaper men, artists, actors, musical virtuosi, sportsmen, and other prominent men of business or public life. A similar loss has been borne by France, Austria-Hungary, England, Russia, and all the belligerent countries.

Death's harvest among champions in the athletic and sporting world has been sweeping. It includes names known to followers of tennis, golf, polo, horse racing, pugilism, rowing, running, and track events. Some of these victims had won fame as heroes in Olympic contests. And in their untimely deaths on the battlefields these athletes and sportsmen have covered themselves with glory.

The biggest loss in lives sustained by neutrals occurred, of course, in the sinking of the Lusitania off Kinsale Head, Ireland. A score or more Americans of national prominence had to sacrifice their lives in this terrible disaster. Although deaths of neutrals have occurred to some extent in the fields of military operations, by far the greatest number of neutral lives have been lost, like those on the Lusitania, in the German naval war zone about the British Isles.

No less than ten Princes of German royal houses have already fallen on the battlefield. The very first of these to lose his life was William, the reigning Prince of Lippe, shot before Liége last August by a Flemish carabineer, who had stumbled on the royal reconnoitring party, killing, at the same time, another Lippe, the nephew of Prince William, who was accompanying his uncle on a tour of inspection. Still another Lippe, Prince Ernest, met his death on the field of battle a month later. In the death of Prince Frederick of Saxe-Meinigen, who served as a Lieutenant General and was killed at Namur in August, 1914, by a shell, the Kaiser's eldest sister lost her brother-in-law and heir to the Saxe-Meinigens. The Prince was one of the most accomplished men of the empire, having rare gifts in music and art. The second son of Prince Frederick of Saxe-Meinigen, Prince Ernest, only 19 years old, was wounded at Maubeuge, the last of August, dying a few days later in the hospital. The youngest sister of the Kaiser, Princess Margaret, the wife of

Prince Frederick Charles of Hesse, gave her second son, Prince Maximilian, to the Fatherland. He was but 20 when slain, on Oct. 12, in France, in the engagement near Mount Descats.

The Kaiserin and the Queen Mother of the Netherlands have lost a relative in Prince Wolrad Frederick of Waldeck-Pyrmont, who was felled by a bullet while on patrol duty in France. Others of the German royalty killled in action are Prince Otto Victor of Schoenburg-Waldenburg, Premier Lieutenant of the Life Guards Hussar Regiment; Prince Henry of Reuss, son and heir to Prince Henry XXVII. of Reuss, and Prince Adelbert of Schleswig-Holstein and Sondeburg, whose niece married the Kaiser's fourth son, and who was a General of cavalry.

In England the only royal Prince who has fallen is Prince Maurice of Battenberg, the son of Queen Victoria's daughter, Princess Beatrice, and her German husband, Prince Henry of Battenberg. Prince Maurice, who was 23 and a Second Lieutenant in the King's Royal Rifle Corps, met his death at Ypres the last week in October.

Of the Romanoffs in Russia two have died in the present war, Grand Duke Alexander Michaelovitch, brother-in-law and cousin of the Czar, and Prince Oleg, a son of Grand Duke Constantine. Grand Duke Alexander was killled in the fighting at Miandoab, Persia, last January. In the Fall of 1913 he had visited America and was a guest of Mrs. John Astor at Beachwood, Newport. The affair which cost the life of Prince Oleg was a dashing cavalry charge on the Niemen last October, gallantly led by the Prince, who was carrying a standard at the time he received his mortal injury.

Strangely enough, no members of the royal house of Hapsburg have lost their lives since the death of Archduke Francis Ferdinand just before the outbreak of the war. The toll among Austrian titled families, however, has been just as heavy as in other countries. In Belgium, Prince George de Ligne, who had joined the Belgian colors as a volunteer, was killed during the fighting early last August.

The list of peers and titled English who have laid down their lives is a long one. To this unexpected development of the war in England, the re-establishment of the prestige of the aristocracy—berated for a decade by Lloyd George, and bereft of political power by Prime Minister Asquith—has been due. The gallant conduct of the British officers in France and Flanders has been carefully used as a reminder to the middle-class Britisher that the aristocracy may have its good points. Most of the names of British nobles who have lost their lives in the service of their country are more or less familiar to the American public. Lord de Freyne, the fifth Baron and Captain in the Third Battalion of the South Wales Borderers, and his brother, the Hon. George Philip, Lieutenant in the same regiment, were killed in battle last May. Lord de Freyne served as an enlisted man in the United States Army in the Philippines, and succeeded to the title in 1913. Killed in action in Flanders on Oct. 30 was Lord Worsley, the eldest son of the Earl of Yarborough and a Lieutenant in the Royal Horse Guards.

A great fighting name is recalled by the death last Fall in Belgium of Captain Lord Richard Wellesley, great-grandson of the "Iron Duke" of Wellington. Captain the Hon. Henry Lyndhurst Bruse, husband of Camille Clifford, the so-called original "Gibson Girl," was killed at Ypres in December, while seving with the Royal Scots. Lord Grenfell's twin sons, Captain Riversdale Grenfell, V. C., a great polo player, and Captain Francis Grenfell, were both killed in France within a few months of each other. Sir Richard Levinge, a great Irish landowner and prominent sportsman, was killed while serving as a cavalry officer. Sir Robin Duff, a Lieutenant in the Second Life Guards, lost his life in France about three weeks after succeeding to the title and estate of his father, Sir Charles Asheton-Smith, classed among the richest men in England.

One of the very first distinguished Britons to fall was the young Lord Charles Nairn, who had been a personal member of King George's household, and

the possessor of many orders and decorations. He had served in the Boer campaigns with distinction. King George has lost a godson in Lieutenant George Naylor-Leyland, who died early in October from wounds received in France. He was but 22 and the heir to the title and fortune of his brother, Sir Albert Edward Naylor-Leyland. Lord Cowdray's youngest son, the Hon. Geoffrey Pearson, was killed by the Uhlans in France while carrying dispatches on his motor cycle. Captain William Cecil of the Grenadier Guards, eldest son of Lord William Cecil, leaves by his death a widow and a little son of two years to assume finally the honors of the Barony of Amherst and Hackney.

The Marquis of Crewe's son-in-law, Captain E. B. O'Neill, the heir of Baron O'Neill, was the first member of Parliament on the list of dead soldiers. William G. C. Gladstone, a Liberal member of the House of Commons, great-grandson of the Liberal statesman, was killed in action last April. Colonel William Wyndham, a bachelor of 38, Lord Rosebery's nephew and heir to the Earl of Leconfield, fell on the battlefield in Flanders last November. Death in battle has also taken young Percy Wyndham, son of the Countess Grosvenor and half brother to the Duke of Westminster. A famous Irish peerage, the Earldom of Dartry, is likely to become extinct through the death in action last November of Captain E. S. Dawson of the Coldstream Guards. He was the only male member of the family. Colonel George Lumley, brother and heir of the Earl of Scarborough, has fallen. Kaid Sir Harry Maclean, the hero of British operations in Morocco, has lost his son and heir, Captain Andrew Maclean of the East Surrey Regiment.

Other Britons of rank who have given their lives during the first year of the war are the following: Robert Cornwallis Maude, sixth Viscount Hawarden, a Lieutenant in the Coldstream Guards; Lord Bernard Gordon-Lennox, a Major in the Grenadier Guards; Lord John Spencer Cavendish, younger brother of the Duke of Devonshire; Lieutenant Archer Windsor-Clive of the Coldstream Guards, second son of the Earl of Plymouth; Captain Beauchamp Oswald Duff, the son of Sir Beauchamp Duff, commander of the army in India; Lord John Hamilton, brother of the Duke of Abercorn; the sons of Viscount Hardinge and Lord St. David; Lieutenant the Hon. Vere Boscawen, third son of Viscount Falmouth; Captain the Hon. A. E. S. Mulholland of the Irish Guards, eldest son of Baron Dunleath; Captain the Hon. Christian M. Hore-Ruthven, third son of Lord Ruthven; Captain Sir Frederick Villiers Laud Robinson; Captain the Hon. Charles Henry Stanley Monck, the heir of the Viscount Monck; Captain Sir Francis Ernest Waller; Lieutenant W. F. Rodney, brother of Lord Rodney; Lord Spencer Douglas Compton, brother and heir of the Marquis of Northampton; Captain the Hon. Douglas Arthur Kinnaird of the Scots Guards, eldest son of Lord Kinnaird; Major the Hon. Hugh Dawnay, second son of Viscount Downe; Major the Hon. A. C. Weld-Forester, third son of Baron Forester; Lieutenant Keith Anthony Stewart, son of the Earl of Galloway; Captain Eric Upton of the Royal Rifles, son-in-law of Viscount Templeton, and Major the Hon. C. B. Freeman-Metford, eldest son of Lord Ridesdale.

Of the old French aristocracy, there are but few houses that have not been placed in mourning. Lieutenant Count Jean de Rochambeau, a direct descendant of Marshal de Rochambeau, the French commander at Yorktown in the Revolutionary War, was killed on the battlefield in upper Alsace, June 14; Prince Ernest d'Arenberg, of the French branch of the Arenberg family and a Lieutenant in the Thirty-second Regiment of Infantry, was slain in the trenches last March. Count de Pierrefeu, who was employed in an office of the United States Steel Corporation in Chicago, went to France at the outbreak of the war and joined his regiment. Injured in the trenches last Winter, he joined an ambulance corps after his recovery. Later he met his death while engaged in Red Cross work. The Count's widow was a daughter of Mrs. William Tudor of Boston. In the death of the aged Baron Jean de Klopstein,

who was prominent in social and financial circles of Paris, the life of an innocent noncombatant was taken. The unfortunate Baron was shot dead while seated at a window of his château near the fighting front. It seems he had been unaware of the fact that an engagement was raging quite close by. Guy, Duc de Lorge, fell fighting against the Germans as a twenty-five-year-old Lieutenant of a French Dragoon regiment.

The Austrian Count George Festetics is reported to have been killed in battle in Galicia. Count Festetics was well known in London society, having been attached to the Austrian Embassy there. Count and Countess Széchényi lost a cousin during the fighting in Galicia recently.

Of prominent German families the von Bülows have, perhaps, suffered a greater loss than any other. The Berlin Kreuz Zeitung last March contained a notice announcing the deaths of ten members of that family at the front, all officers. Lieutenant von Bethmann-Hollweg, son of the German Chancellor, was killed in Poland early this year while daring the fire from the Russian trenches with a skirmishing party. Captain von Falkenhayn, son of the German Chief of General Staff, was shot dead 2,000 feet in the air near Amiens in January. Edwin Beit von Speyer, nephew of James Speyer of the New York banking firm, fell on Sept. 24 in a skirmish near Arras.

Germany and France have each had to sacrifice one of their leading statesmen. Jean Leon Jaurès, who for a decade had been the most prominent French Socialist leader, besides being a brilliant orator, debater, and journalist, was assassinated on the eve of war by a crank who had singled out Jaurès because of the latter's determined agitation for peace. Germany likewise lost a leading figure of her Reichstag in Dr. Ludwig Frank, the popular Socialist Democratic leader, also one of the foremost orators in Germany. Dr. Frank had volunteered at the outbreak of war and was killed in action before Lunéville, in the very first engagement in which he took part. Three Judges of the Paris bench lost their lives in battle last October. Justice Blondell fell on the Meuse, and Justices Matillon and Perlange in the battles at the Aisne. Henri Collingnon, French Counselor of State, was killed March 19 in Eastern France during a trench attack. He had volunteered as a private soldier, although 58 years old.

Jean, the youngest son of Premier Viviani, fell on Aug. 22 in a charge against the German trenches. Mme. Simone le Bargy, one of the most talented actresses in France, has lost her husband, Casimir Perrier, who was killed near Soissons early this year. Young Perrier was a son of ex-President Casimir Perrier of France and a member of a wealthy family. Dr. Godfrey Scheff, a surgeon in the Austrian Army and father of Fritzi Scheff, the actress, was killed in the fighting around Serajevo. While leading his company in a bayonet charge near Ypres in December, Dr. Karl Wilhelm Gross met his death. Dr. Gross had been exchange professor at Cornell University.

In the world of art and letters England has lost Colonel Guy Louis Busson du Maurier, whose play, "An Englishman's Home," based on the idea of a German invasion of England, attracted widespread attention some years ago. No other noted British author has been killed so far, though death has overtaken the sons of three well-known writers. Sir James M. Barrie's adopted son, Lieutenant George Davis, was slain in France. The young officer was the inspiration for Barrie's popular play, "Peter Pan." The death in action of Second Lieutenant Oscar Hornung, only son of E. W. Hornung, the novelist, and a nephew of Sir Arthur Conan Doyle, was reported recently. Lieutenant Harold Marion Crawford, eldest son of the late F. Marion Crawford, was accidentally killed by a bomb explosion at Givenchy on April 16.

The well-known German novelist, Herman Loens, author of "Der Wehrwolf," fell in the attack on Rheims. He was serving as a private in a regiment of volunteers, although more than 50 years old. Alberie Magnard, composer of the opera "Berenice," was killed by

Uhlans while attempting to defend his villa near Nanteuil. Of the Parisian artists connected with the National Beaux Arts School who have gone to the front several have fallen. One of the first was Morris Berthon, chief of Jaussely's atelier. Another, Jean Hillmacher, lost his life at the battle of Vitry-le-François. Noel Hall, Pierre Sylvian Petit, Henry Caroly, Georges Aussenard, Maurice Vidal, Pierre Sibien, Louis Ringuet, and Jean Petit have all been killed in battle. Gustave Boisson, the guardian, has also fallen as a colorbearer in his regiment.

The effect of the stupendous struggle on athletics and sports will make itself felt for years to come. There is hardly a branch of sport that has escaped without losing one or more of its noted exponents. The havoc wrought by death among famous runners has unquestionably been the most startling. The names of some of these, known the world over for their prowess, follow: Lieutenant W. W. Halswelle, the Olympic champion in several events held in 1908; Anderson of Oxford, who competed in the Olympics at Stockholm; James Duffy, the Canadian distance runner, winner of the Yonkers and Boston marathons; Jean Bouin, the great French runner, whom experts considered the greatest distancer in the world; R. Rau, the champion Teuton sprinter and record holder; Hans Braun, the wonderful middle-distance runner; Max Hoffmann, who might have been the former's successor; Heinz Hegemann and Herman Lerow, German relay runners, and Karl Schoenberg, cross-country runner.

In the death of Anthony F. Wilding, killed in action at the Dardanelles, the tennis world loses a player who had been universally considered as the most skilled wielder of the racquet in the history of the sport. Kenneth Powell is another famous English tennis player to meet Wilding's fate. Germany's leading lawn tennis promoter, Dr. Otto Nirnheim, died in the hospital in Louvain, having been wounded by a bursting shell. Edward Kraeusel of Breslau, winner of German tennis tournaments, was killed in East Prussia. Chelli, a player of exceptional ability, and du Bousquet are the French tennis players of note who have fallen.

Of noted golfers, one of the world's greatest amateurs, Captain John Graham, lost his life during a charge at Ypres. Lord Annesley, formerly amateur champion of Ireland, was killed in attempting a flight across the Channel on an air raid. Captain C. F. Barber of Chester went down in the Dardanelles on the battleship Goliath. Norman Hunter is reported among the "wounded and missing." Captain W. A. Henderson, who defeated Jerome Travers some years ago, was killed last Fall. Lieutenant H. N. Atkinson, erstwhile Welsh title holder, is another to lose his life. Julian Martin-Smith died of wounds received in battle. Miss Neill Fraser, a noted Scotch woman player, died with fever after serving as a field nurse.

The followers of polo mourn the loss of the great stars, Captain Francis Grenfell, V. C., and his brother, Riversdale, both killed in action, and of Captain Noel Edwards. Captain Riversdale Grenfell had been largely responsible for the revival and development of modern polo. Fletcher and McCraggin of the crews of Cambridge and Oxford are two noted oarsmen who have been killed. Captain Ludwig Peters of Mainz is another famous sculler who has fallen. The boxing world has lost Young Snowball, the Manchester paperweight; Battling Pye of Preston and Marcel Moreau, the French boxer. The list of dead among famous international football players includes the names of R. W. Poulton of the Oxford Blues; F. H. Turner, the Scottish international; R. O. Lagden, and Mijou Vernaud, André Nernaud, and Elie Carpentier, well-known French soccer players. Popular German swimmers, Eugen Uhl and Adolf Rees of Stuttgart, Count Ferdinand Fischler von Treuberg of Munich and Captain Wimsen of Magdeburg also have fallen on the battlefield. Thoubaus, the champion javelin thrower of France, and Fritz Buchholtz, Germany's most expert spear thrower, were both slain in Flanders. Germany also lost her best high jumper in Erich Lehmann. One of the most prominent steeplechase riders of the German turf, Count von Wedel, bosom

friend of the Cown Prince, lost his life in action, as did also the popular English huntsman, Theodore Edward ("Teddy") Brooks. Brooks received a mortal wound while fighting with a relief brigade on the Ypres road.

Undoubtedly the most famous name among those of military leaders whose lives have gone to pay grim toll in the war is that of Field Marshal Earl Roberts, Great Britain's most distinguished soldier. Earl Roberts was so generally well known that it is hardly necessary to dwell here on his notable career, which came to an end last November after he had contracted pneumonia during an inspection tour of the trenches in France. Other British Generals and commanders whose names are to be found among the dead are the following: Brig. Gen. Charles Fitzclarence of the Irish Guards, Brig. Gen. Norman Reginald McMahon of the Royal Fusileers, Brig. Gen. Neil Douglas Findlay of the Royal Artillery, Major Gen. Hubert I. W. Hamilton, Lieut. Gen. Sir William Edmund Franklyn, Brig. Gen. John E. Gough, Colonel Francis Douglas Farquhar, commander of Princess Patricia's Canadian Light Infantry, and Lieut. Gen. Sir J. M. Grierson. Lieutenant Reginald A. J. Warneford, the young Indian aviator, was killed while testing his aeroplane. Only shortly before this he had won fame and distinction for having destroyed a Zeppelin in midair single-handed.

German Generals killed in action are Lieut. Gen. George Hildebrandt, Major Gen. Nieland, Lieut. Gen. Steinmetz, General von Wroohem, Major Gen. von Throtha, General von Arbou, and General von Trip. Five noted French commanders have met their deaths on the battlefield—Generals René Joseph Delarue, Marcot, Rondony, Sarrade, and de Montangon. General Welitchko, the Russian officer of Port Arthur fame, was killed in the fighting near Lodz. The famous Garibaldi family of Italy has lost two of its members, Colonel Peppino Garibaldi and Lieutenant Bruno Garibaldi, both slain in a victorious charge on the German trenches in the Argonne.

In celebrated naval commanders, Germany has suffered the principal loss. Although his fame was not established before the present war the name of Captain Otto Weddigen, the submarine commander, stands out among these. His exploits in sinking four British cruisers will be long remembered. Captain Weddigen's heroic career was suddenly ended when his submersible, the U-29, was sunk, perhaps by a British merchantman. Admiral Count von Spee, the commander of the German squadron which won a signal victory early in the war against the English off the Chile coast, went down with his flagship in a later engagement off the Falkland Islands. In the naval action off the Chile coast, the British Rear Admiral, Sir Christopher Cradock, lost his life when his flagship, the Good Hope, foundered and sank with all on board. The naval battle in the North Sea last January cost the life of the commander of the German cruiser Blücher, Captain Erdmann. The Blücher was sunk, and Captain Erdmann, though rescued, died some days later from pneumonia due to exposure.

The lives of hundreds of other naval men, ranking from Captain and Commander down to petty officer, have been lost with the large number of fighting ships sunk since the beginning of the war. To enumerate them all would take up more space than can be spared in the present article.

A striking feature of this unprecedented war has been the large loss in neutral lives it has cost. America has borne a heavy toll. In the sinking of the Lusitania last May by a German submarine public sentiment was aroused, not only by the deaths of helpless women and children, but by the loss of several accomplished and popularly known people. The following were the best-known among the many victims: Alfred G. Vanderbilt, Elbert Hubbard, author; Charles Frohman, theatrical manager; Herbert S. Stone, publisher; Lindon W. Bates, Jr., of the Belgian Relief Commission; Justus Miles Forman, author and playwright; Dr. Fred Stark Pearson, a consulting engineer; Albert Lloyd Hopkins, shipbuilder, and Charles Klein, playwright. Commander J. Foster Stackhouse, R. N., and Sir Hugh Lane, both

English subjects, also went down with the ill-fated ship.

Following are the names of several other Americans whose deaths have been directly due to the war: Dr. Ernest P. Magruder, New York surgeon, died of typhoid fever while fighting the epidemic in Serbia; Henry Beech Needham, writer and war correspondent, killed during a trial flight with Lieutenant Warneford; William Lawrence Breese, killed in battle, was son-in-law of Hamilton Fish, and formerly secretary to Ambassador Page in London; Paul Nelson, architect, mortally wounded while fighting with the French Army; Heinrich von Heinrichshofen of St. Louis, an American citizen, killed fighting as a Lieutenant in the German Army; Robert L. Cuthbert, a New York accountant, died in action with the British army in Flanders; André C. Champollion, a grandson of Austin Corbin, killed in battle serving in the French Army, and Maurice Davis of Brooklyn, also slain in France as a Lieutenant under the tricolor of the French Republic.

The Nation Speaks

By BEATRICE BARRY

Children of Liberty, awake!
In ordered ranks your places take!
Where Freedom's sons have blazed the trail,
Shall you, their leal descendants, fail
To hold in trust the ideal pure
That is their heritage secure?
Against the hour you would know how,
Learn ye to serve me—learn it now!

You, who from forms of bondage drear,
Have sought and found a refuge here—
Who reap the fruit of bitter tears
And patriot blood of former years,
Taking the most that I can give,
Learning how God meant men to live—
You promised fealty. Your vow
Was pledged to me. I need you now!

I need you now, my sons! Why wait
Till an invader storms the gate?
Your desperate resistance then
Might not avail. A host of men
Untrained, undisciplined, are less,
In time of peril and distress,
Than half that multitude would be,
Versed in the arts of soldiery.

Oh, these, my children! So secure,
So confident, so oversure,
While Europe dies, with warning writ
In blood across the face of it!
Valor, I doubt not, warms your heart—
Discretion is the better part!
Lest to the scourge your neck must bow,
Be ye prepared! I need you now!

Where, When, and by Whom Was the War Decided Upon?

By Guglielmo Ferrero

Translated from the Italian by Thomas Okey

The responsibility for the origin of this war is a matter that will occupy men's minds during its entire progress; it will be one of the first concerns of the great peace conference at its close, and historians of the future will examine again the evidences of the war's inception. What the Italian historian Ferrero thinks about the men who decided upon the conflict and how he identifies them are subjects of common concern, treated by him with the power of analysis that has placed him in the forefront of modern historical writers. The subjoined article forms the introduction to "Documents Relating to the Great War," published in London by T. Fisher Unwin, Ltd., and selected and arranged by Giuseppe A. Andriulli.

I.

EVERY apologist who in these days undertakes the defense of Germany asserts, on the authority of the White Book, that Germany is an innocent little lamb, the prey of three hungry wolves. I, too, have read this famous White Book in the English translation authorized by the German Government, a translation which has therefore an official value equal to the original. But I have not only read the White Book; I have also read the Orange Book, published by the Russian Government, and the Blue Book, which the English Government has reprinted and circulated in pamphlet form, entitled, "Great Britain and the European Crisis." Let us see if, from a comparative study of these three books, some gleam of the truth may be found.

The White Book, like the English pamphlet, is divided into two parts. The first and shorter portion contains a succinct narration of the events of the fateful last week of July; the second part is a collection of documents which are relied on to support and prove the statements made in the narration. The assertion made in the White Book is, according to the sub-title printed on the cover, that Russia and her sovereign "betrayed Germany's confidence"; that they forced her to take up arms by the premature mobilization of the Russian Army while the German Government was seeking to make peace between Russia and Austria. The cause, therefore, of all the evil was the Russian mobilization. This being the argument of the White Paper, it is essential that we should know precisely how and when the mobilization was decreed and carried into effect.

Now, it would seem that among all the causes which may give rise to a war the mobilization of an army is a cause precise and concrete enough. It is not an intention which may be dissimulated or imagined; it is a great and impressive fact visible to all. It would appear at least clear, then, whether the German contention is true or not, that the Russian Government did give orders on a certain day that its army should be placed on a war footing. But no! The reader of the White Book is constrained to ask himself over and over again—but, after all, did or did not Russia mobilize her army? Let us see. In the narrative part of the White Book we are told that the first news of the Russian mobilization reached Berlin on the evening of July 26, as the documents numbered 6, 7, and 8 prove. The first of these, that bearing the number 6, is a telegram, dispatched on the 25th by the German Ambassador at St. Petersburg—as yet not rebaptized Petrograd—to the German Chancellor. It runs thus: "Message to

H. M. from General von Chelius, (German honorary aide de camp to the Czar.)

"The manoeuvres of the troops in the Krasnoe camp were suddenly interrupted, and the regiments returned to their garrisons at once. The manoeuvres have been canceled. The military pupils were raised today to the rank of officers instead of next Fall. * * * I have the impression that complete preparations for mobilization against Austria are being made."

Document No. 7 is another dispatch from the same Ambassador sent on the 26th. The Military Attaché requests the following message to be sent to the General Staff: "I deem it certain that mobilization has been ordered for Kiev and Odessa. It is doubtful at Warsaw and Moscow, and improbable elsewhere."

Document No. 8 is a laconic telegram from the German Consul at Kovno dispatched on the 27th.

"Kovno has been declared to be in a state of war."

Setting aside the last telegram, which relates to an event that happened in a remote corner of the vast Russian Empire, the first two witnesses, who are the important ones, only transmit suppositions and conjectures. "I have the impression," says the first. "I deem it certain," "It is doubtful, improbable," says the second. It will seem strange, at least, that in order to know whether a decree for mobilization was issued or not, reliance should be placed on conjectures —a decree which must have been followed by public proclamations and brought to the knowledge of millions of men. Anyhow, it will not appear convincing to the alert reader that the spark which caused so great a conflagration could have originated from these dispatches. And such, too, was the opinion of a person who, by reason of his official position, must have been even more experienced in these matters than the most alert of readers—the Imperial Chancellor of Germany—who telegraphed on July 26 to the German Ambassador in London as follows (Document No. 10):

"* * * According to news received here, the call for several classes of the reserves is expected immediately, which is equivalent to mobilization. If this news proves correct, we shall be forced to countermeasures very much against our own wishes. Our desire to localize the conflict and to preserve the peace of Europe remains unchanged."

On July 26, therefore, the Chancellor was not yet certain that Russia had commenced mobilization on the Austrian frontier, and, at any rate, thought that even if it had, Germany would only have been compelled to take some measures dictated by prudence. To reassure him still further, there arrived from the German Ambassador at St. Petersburg on the 27th the following telegram, No. 11 in the list of documents:

"Military Attaché reports a conversation with the Secretary of War.

"Sazanoff has requested the latter to enlighten me on the situation. The Secretary of War has given me his word of honor that no order to mobilize has as yet been issued. Though general preparations are being made, no reserves were called and no horses mustered. If Austria crossed the Serbian frontier, such military districts as are directed toward Austria, viz., Kiev, Odessa, Moscow, Kazan, are to be mobilized. Under no circumstances those on the German frontier, Warsaw, Vilna, and St. Petersburg. Peace with Germany was desired very much. Upon my inquiry into the object of mobilization against Austria, he shrugged his shoulders and referred to the diplomats. I told the Secretary that we appreciated his friendly intentions, but considered mobilization, even against Austria, as very menacing."

The Russian Government, in fact, informs the German Government, by the mouth of its Minister of War, that it has made the necessary arrangements for mobilizing the army against Austria, but that the actual mobilization will take effect only if Austria declares war on Serbia. Must we take the Russian Minister's word? I think so. Because only by admitting he spoke the truth can we account for the rumors and conjectures current at St. Petersburg concerning the mobilization which were transmitted to Berlin on the 26th—rumors and conjectures followed by no actual, visible consequences which would afford any definite confirmation of the supposed mobil-

GENERAL SARRAIL

Who replaces General Goraud as Commander in Chief of the French Army of the Orient at the Dardanelles

(Photo from Medem Photo Service)

PAUL DESCHANEL

President of France's Chamber of Deputies, Who Replied to the Anniversary Manifesto of the German Kaiser

ization. On the other hand, the Russian Minister speaks clearly and sensibly enough. Russia never concealed the fact that she would arm if Austria attacked Serbia, and her Minister Sazanoff had, indeed, informed Austria of this fact during the Balkan crisis.

The reply of the attaché that mobilization, even against Austria, would be considered "as very menacing" seems strange, because this reply accords neither with the Chancellor's opinion manifested in the telegram of July 26, nor with the opinion which the German Emperor was to give expression to on the day following. In fact, the Emperor arrived at Berlin from the North Sea on July 28, and on that evening, at 10:45, sent a friendly and confident dispatch to the Czar (Document No. 20) which in every word breathes forth the steadfast purpose and certain hope of an amicable settlement. "In view of the cordial friendship," the Emperor writes, "which has joined us both for a long time with firm ties, I shall use my entire influence to induce Austria-Hungary to obtain a frank and satisfactory understanding with Russia." On the evening of the 28th, therefore, the Emperor appears to see everything in a rosy light, and does not judge that peace is endangered. Nor was he wrong in so doing, as it seems to us, if matters stood as the Russian Minister of War had said they did.

But, unhappily, on that very day Austria had declared war on Serbia, and the day after, the 29th, as we are informed in the narrative part of the White Book, the Russian Government dispatched an official communication to the German Government to the effect that a mobilization in the four districts on the confines of the Austro-Hungarian Empire had been ordered. The statement will appear credible to the alert reader because it accords with what the Russian Minister of War had told the German Military Attaché on the 27th; and the action of the Russian Government will not appear to him a provocative one, but merely the avowed reply of Russia to the declaration of war by Austria on Serbia. Both Austria and Germany had been loyally forewarned and—uomo avvisato è mezzo salvato.* But, but—turning back some pages of the White Book, we happen on a telegram from the German Military Attaché, at St. Petersburg, dispatched on the 29th, which runs thus:

"The Chief of the General Staff has asked me to call on him, and he has told me that he has just come from his Majesty. He has been requested by the Secretary of War to reiterate once more that everything has remained as the Secretary had informed me two days ago. He offered confirmation in writing, and gave me his word of honor in the most solemn manner that nowhere had there been a mobilization, viz., calling in of a single man or horse, up to the present time, i. e., 3 o'clock in the afternoon. He could not assume a guarantee for the future, but he could emphasize the fact that in the fronts directed toward our frontiers his Majesty desired no mobilization.

"As, however, I had received here many pieces of news concerning the calling in of the reserves in different parts of the country, and also in Warsaw and Vilna, I told the General that his statements placed me before a riddle. On his officer's word of honor, he replied that such news was wrong, but that possibly here and there a false alarm may have been given.

"I must consider this conversation as an attempt to mislead us as to the extent of the measures hitherto taken, in view of the abundant and positive information about the calling in of reserves."

So it would appear that while the Russian Government was officially warning Berlin of its intention to mobilize against Austria, the Chief of the General Staff at St. Petersburg was saying precisely the opposite to the German Military Attaché. What does all this mean? the reader will ask. Are we to conclude with the worthy attaché that perfidious Russia was seeking to "betray Germany's confidence"? Nor is this all. Another surprise awaits us. At 6:30, on the evening of the 29th, the Emperor William sends a further dispatch, (Document No. 22,) still cordial, but no longer

*A man forewarned is half saved.

so confident as that of the day before. And in this he professes to suspect, but not indeed to know from certain knowledge, that the Russian mobilization may have been decreed. Among other things we read: "I believe that a direct understanding is possible and desirable between your Government and Vienna, an understanding which, as I have already telegraphed you, my Government endeavors to aid with all possible effort. Naturally, military measures by Russia, which might be construed as a menace by Austria-Hungary, would accelerate a calamity. * * *" The Emperor seems no longer easy in his rôle of peacemaker; he begins to fear that the military preparations made by Russia may endanger his efforts at mediation, all the while speaking of them not as if they had been, but as if they might have been, made. But whatever does this mean, if the Russian Government had officially announced at Berlin that it was mobilizing?

But even this is not all. Seven hours later—one hour after midnight—the Emperor William dispatches another telegram, (Document 23,) whose tone is wholly changed and which is couched in a dry, curt, almost menacing style. The German Emperor now almost refuses to act the peacemaker. Here is the text:

"My Ambassador has instructions to direct the attention of your Government to the dangers and serious consequences of a mobilization; I have told you the same in my last telegram. Austria-Hungary has mobilized only against Serbia, and only a part of her army. If Russia, as seems to be the case, according to your advice and that of your Government, mobilizes against Austria-Hungary * * * my position as mediator * * * becomes impossible. The entire weight of decision now rests on your shoulders. You have to bear the responsibility for war or peace."

So, then, in those seven hours the Emperor had at length persuaded himself that Russia's mobilization against Austria would imperil the maintenance of peace, although even then he was not certain that the mobilization had actually been commenced, since he speaks of it as an event which seems to be verified. Two questions, therefore, force themselves upon us. After all said and done, had Russia, or had she not, mobilized her army on that day? And, for what reason was the German Emperor, who had still been so confident on the 28th, so uneasy during the night of the 29th, because Russia seemed to be mobilizing against Austria; while on the 31st, when it was known that Russia was mobilizing, Count Forzach, Under-Secretary of State for Austria-Hungary, informed the British Ambassador at Vienna that mobilization was not regarded as a necessary hostile act either by Russia or by Austria (Blue Book, Document 118) * * * ?

II.

The truth concerning Russian mobilization appears to be contained in the dispatch which the Czar sent to the German Emperor on July 30 at 1:20 P. M., in reply to a telegram from the Emperor. The Czar's dispatch is as follows:

"I thank you cordially for your quick reply. * * * The military measures now taking form were decided upon five days ago, and for reasons of defense against the preparations of Austria. I hope, with all my heart, that these measures will not influence, in any manner, your position as mediator." (Document 23A.)

On July 25, therefore, Russia had decided to mobilize the districts of Kiev, Moscow, Odessa, and Kazan, if Austria were to make war on Serbia. But as late as 3 P. M. on the 29th, when the Chief of the General Staff spoke with the German Military Attaché, Russia had not begun to give effect to her decision, and she did begin, as it would appear, only on the 30th. Austria having declared war on Serbia on the 28th, Russia then allowed two more days to pass, still hesitating, before putting her threat into execution. A new proof it would seem of her long-suffering patience and pacific intentions. Nor was the German Government ignorant that this was the position of things, for otherwise the Emperor would not, in his last dispatch, have spoken of the Russian mobilization as of a measure which might

still be carried into execution or not. The German Government, therefore, on the evening of July 29, was convinced that the Russian Chief of the General Staff was speaking the truth on the day of his interview with the German Military Attaché, and that the latter's suspicions were unfounded. Evidently the Czar had good grounds for his astonishment that the German Emperor felt himself, on the 29th, embarrassed as a peacemaker by measures taken on the 25th, since on the 28th, while fully cognizant of them, he had made no allusion to them, nor believed that they would impede his efforts. And we, too, are justified in our astonishment and have the right to ask what happened on that 29th day of July to make the German Emperor so suddenly change his ideas and his tone in his dispatches to the Czar. What happened to make him fear, as a grave and imminent danger, that mobilization against Austria which had only been deliberated upon, while knowing all the time that Russia, after having threatened mobilization, still hesitated before passing from words to deeds; while Austria, too, was not in the least alarmed even two days later when the mobilization was not only threatened but had already begun?

In vain do we seek the cause of this mysterious change in the White Book, where immediately after this imperial dispatch the thunderbolt of an ultimatum is launched under the date of July 31. On that date the Chancellor charges the German Ambassador at St. Petersburg to intimate to Russia that she must stop every measure of war within twelve hours, and he begins his telegram with these words: "In spite of negotiations still pending * * * Russia has mobilized her entire army, hence also against us. Wherefore, &c."

General mobilization! But this is another surprise. All the documents and information we have read up to the present in the White Book speak of a partial Russian mobilization against Austria. In a moment, without telling us when or how, nor by what channel the information reached the German Government, the Russian general mobilization and the consequent German ultimatum are announced to us, at one and the same time, as if between one and the other no greater lapse of time had passed than that which separates the lightning-flash from the thunder-clap. And thus, in fact, it was. In the narrative part of the White Book we are told that the Russian Government ordered a general mobilization on the afternoon of July 31, and that the ultimatum was delivered by the German Ambassador at St. Petersburg on July 31 at midnight—less than twelve hours afterward! If one bears in mind the time needed for the news of the mobilization to reach the German Embassy at St. Petersburg and from thence to be transmitted by dispatch to Berlin; if one also reflects on the time necessary to telegraph the ultimatum from Berlin to St. Petersburg and to deliver it to M. Sazanoff at the Russian Foreign Office, one is forced to conclude that the German Government, by its ultimatum, decided on war while one might light and smoke a cigar. So much haste, and why? Was the atmosphere so threatening that no delay was possible? No. Not only did the negotiations between Austria and Russia continue on July 30 and 31, but actually on the 31st they were much more promising than they had been during the previous days. And precisely on the 31st Austria made the greatest stride toward a compromise that she had hitherto made; for she consented to discuss her note to Serbia with Russia and the European powers, and the Czar telegraphed to the Emperor of Germany promising on his word of honor that so long as diplomatic discussions continued his troops should not be moved.

What, then, had happened?

Few are they that know, and they will defer speaking as long as possible—until the nations, decimated and impoverished by the war, shall demand of their sovereigns and of their Ministers an account of their every act, word, and intention. For the present we can only make surmises. But it appears to me that the key to the mystery may be found in two documents of capital importance in the Orange Book and the Blue Book. The first is the document

which, in the Orange Book, bears the number 58, and consists of a telegram dispatched by Sazanoff to the Russian Ambassador at Paris on July 29; the second is the document numbered 85 in the Blue Book—a telegram dispatched by the British Ambassador at Berlin on the evening of the 29th. Two dispatches sent forth on that day on which so many strange events happened—on that day when the German Emperor, as we have seen, had sent two such different dispatches to the Czar at an interval of seven hours; one at 6 o'clock in the evening, the other at one hour after midnight.

The telegram which the Russian Minister for Foreign Affairs dispatched to his Ambassador in Paris—it is to be regretted that the hour of its dispatch is not given—runs thus:

"The German Ambassador today informed me of the decision of his Government to mobilize if Russia did not stop her military preparations. Now, in point of fact, we only began these preparations in consequence of the mobilization already undertaken by Austria, and owing to her evident unwillingness to accept any means of arriving at a peaceful settlement of her dispute with Serbia. As we cannot comply with the wishes of Germany, we have no alternative but to hasten our own military preparations and to assume that war is probably inevitable. * * *"

Now do you understand, O alert reader, what a strange kind of peacemaker the German Emperor was? On July 29, when it was known at Berlin that Russia, at the supreme moment of passing from words to deeds by mobilizing against Austria, hesitated; when Austria, who must have been somewhat more interested in the matter than Germany, had not been consulted and showed no anxiety on account of the menaced Russian mobilization, Germany intimates to Russia that she must disarm in the face of Austria, and threatens to mobilize and hence to make war if she does not. How can so singular a step be explained, concerning which the White Book is silent, except by attributing to the German Government the firm intention of diplomatically browbeating Russia and, if threats proved vain, to make war and constrain Austria to follow her? Does it or does it not appear to you that in this telegram Germany is surprised in a flagrant aggression? Moreover, let us now read Document 85 in the Blue Book, and we shall discover matters of far graver import. This document, as we have said, is a dispatch sent to the Minister for Foreign Affairs by the British Ambassador at Berlin on the evening of July 29. And what does the British Ambassador telegraph to his Foreign Minister? He telegraphs that he was asked to call upon the Chancellor on that night, who had just returned from Potsdam. In the introductory narrative of events the information is given that the Ambassador was sent for late at night. Grave and urgent, therefore, were the matters which the Chancellor had to communicate to the Ambassador, and matters appertaining to the discussion that had taken place in the Conciliabule or Council with the Emperor at Potsdam, since the Chancellor had scarcely returned to Berlin from Potsdam before he sent for the Ambassador, and sent for him late at night, at so unusual and inconvenient an hour! He had, in fact, to ask him, neither more nor less, if Great Britain would promise to remain neutral in a European war, on the understanding that Germany respected the integrity and neutrality of the Netherlands, and took from France only her colonies.

This document speaks clearly enough. It tells us that war was virtually decided upon on the evening of July 29 at that colloquy or Council between Chancellor and Emperor which was held at Potsdam, and which certainly took place between the first and the second telegram sent to the Czar by the Emperor. Thus alone can the haste be explained with which the Chancellor on his return to Berlin sent for the British Ambassador and had that conversation with him which, as the introductory narrative to the Blue Book tells us, seemed so strange to the British Government when it was known in London.

Now, by the light of these two documents many things are clear. There was a party in Germany powerful at Court

and in the Government which, for ten years, had been urging Germany to take up arms. This party, probably between the 28th and the 29th, had surrounded the Emperor who, on the 28th, still appeared animated by reasonable intentions. Austria, by declaring war on Serbia, had only too effectively furnished the war party at Berlin with a terrible argument —the argument that war was inevitable. And if war could not be prevented was it not better for Germany to precipitate it? So Emperor and Government allowed themselves to be persuaded to intimate to Russia that she must disarm, and, at the same time, the Emperor changes his tone in his correspondence with the Czar. It is not improbable that on July 29 the Emperor and the German Government still deluded themselves that Russia would yield to threats as she did in 1908 and during the Bosnia-Herzegovina crisis, and the Russian Government's hesitation to mobilize may have encouraged this delusion.

But, during the afternoon, a telegram arrives at Berlin from the German Ambassador at St. Petersburg which we may search in vain for in the White Book—the telegram which we have cognizance of from Document 58 published in the Orange Book. In this telegram the conversation between the German Ambassador and the Russian Minister is reported, and it is therefore now known at Berlin that Russia refuses to suspend her military preparations: the German Government, in fact, understands that this time Russia will not yield to threats. The Chancellor hastens with the telegram to Potsdam, and at Potsdam the decision is taken to dispatch a last and more menacing ultimatum to Russia and, if that failed of its effect, to go to war. The Chancellor returns to Berlin that same night to ask of the English Ambassador the price of British neutrality; the Emperor dispatches his telegram to the Czar, one hour after midnight, which partially reflects the answer given to the German Ambassador by Sazanoff; and at two in the morning of the 30th the German Ambassador calls on Sazanoff for one last fateful colloquy. Of this we have information in the document published in the Blue Book which relates how the German Ambassador burst into tears when he perceived that Russia would not give way. He understood that war was now decided upon.

Any one who reads the White Book attentively and compares it with the Blue Book and the Orange Book will inevitably be led to believe that the war was decided upon at Berlin, not, indeed, after Russia had begun her general mobilization, but on the evening of the 29th, and before even she had begun her partial mobilization against Austria. This being admitted, it is easy to explain why the ultimatum was decided upon with such haste when the news that Russia was proceeding to mobilize the whole of her army had scarcely reached Berlin. To declare war a pretext was necessary, for it would have been strange indeed that Germany, in a dispute that had arisen between Russia and Austria—Germany who, as an ally, was only a secondary party to the quarrel—should have declared war on Russia because she was mobilizing her army against Austria at a time when Austria declared that she did not interpret this message as a threat. Even the German professors who signed the famous manifesto would then have perceived that Germany alone was the aggressor. Hence the news that arrived on the 31st of the precautionary measures taken by Russia, for a general mobolization, came pat, (and that nothing more as yet was intended on the part of Russia is proved by Document 113 in the Blue Book,) and the pretext was immediately seized upon, since war had already been decided. The precipitation with which the German Government dispatched the ultimatum on July 31 can be explained only in two ways: either we must admit that the German Government had suddenly gone mad; or that war had already been decided upon before, namely, on that fateful evening of July 29.

Unfortunately for Germany, precisely on that very day Austria-Hungary appears to have become terrified and hesitated. She, too, had contrived her Balkan adventure, hoping that Russia would let things drift. When she perceived that a European war was imminent she

grew afraid, and she sought for time and means to provide an escape. The precipitation with which, on July 31, the German Government seized the first pretext to hand in order to bring about a war in a conflict in which she was not directly interested rendered these good intentions of the eleventh hour vain. If Austria is perhaps more responsible than Germany for the decision taken at Potsdam, the responsibility for the ultimatum of July 31 seems to lie wholly on Germany. Germany and Austria, therefore, must share equally between them the responsibility for this unparalleled catastrophe before the world and before the Tribunal of History.

Viva Italia!

By J. CORSON MILLER.

"They marched forth gayly, with flowers stuck in their rifles."

On Paestum's plain the roses stir,
Dawn's gold is on the olive trees;
Fair Florence dreams of days that were,
Yet now are dusty memories.
But, see! Italia's sons are ever brave,
Though War's stern duty lead but to the grave.

For this is Dante's Land of Song,
Which Verdi's mighty music thrills;
Look! Garibaldi's legions throng,
In ghostly lines, the Tuscan hills!
Bravo! Italia's Sons shall never fail,
What time her enemies the gates assail!

See, where Anconia keeps her sleep,
Or where Salerno meets the sea,
The glad-eyed armies onward sweep,
Dreaming high dreams of destiny.
Like supple steel Italia's Sons are made,
Yea, they shall battle well, and unafraid!

The moon hangs low o'er Naples Bay,
The stars her ancient glories tell;
The almond blossoms softly sway,
While chimes the midnight chapel bell.
Italia's Sons shall fight like warriors all,
From out her splendid past her heroes call.

Britain's Blockade

Official Correspondence with the American Government

Published by Sir Edward Grey

Semi-official press utterances in Germany indicate that the character of the German Government's reply to the last protest of the United States regarding the Lusitania—that dated July 21, 1915—will be determined largely by the reply to be made by this country to Great Britain following the publication, on Aug. 3, of five diplomatic communications relating to the detention of American ships and cargoes by the British Government. An account of this correspondence appears below.

FIVE diplomatic communications relating to the detention of American ships and cargoes by the British Government, exchanged by cable between Great Britain and the United States, were made public textually and in paraphrase by the State Department at Washington on Aug. 3, 1915. Generally considered, the British responses to the American representations in opposition to the course of the British Government are a denial of the American contentions, but a disposition is shown by Great Britain to "make reasonable concessions to American interests," to quote a phrase of one of the notes.

In connection with the American protest against British prize-court procedure, the British Government suggests that appeals in behalf of American interests claiming to have been injured be taken to the proper British tribunals and, if these appeals are denied, that recourse be had to an international tribunal. But Great Britain hopes that her disposition to make reasonable concessions "will prevent the necessity for such action arising."

The British communications are signed by Sir Edward Grey, Secretary for Foreign Affairs. They comprise an answer to the American protest of March 30 against the application of the British Order in Council for preventing supplies from going into Germany—an answer to a brief telegram from this Government serving notice of an intention to insist upon the rights of American citizens without limitation by Orders in Council, and of a refusal to recognize the validity of prize-court proceedings in derogation of the rights of American citizens, and an answer to a note sent by Secretary Lansing on July 15 objecting to compulsory unloading at a British port of goods from Belgium brought in the American steamer Neches, the compulsion being applied on the ground that the goods originated in territory held by an enemy of Great Britain. The American communications furnished to the press for publication consisted of paraphrases of the brief telegram, serving notice with respect to the Orders in Council and prize-court proceedings and the note sent in connection with the seizure of the cargo of the Neches.

The response of Sir Edward Grey with respect to the Neches is one of the most interesting in the series. German and British methods of warfare at sea are cited to show justification for the strict measures taken by Great Britain to restrain trade with Germany.

In another British communication, that of July 23, in answer to the American note of March 30, on the subject of the restrictions imposed on American commerce by the British Orders in Council, Sir Edward Grey defends the Order in Council measures on the ground that it is incumbent on Great Britain and her allies "to take every step in their power to overcome their common enemy in view of the shocking violation of the recognized rules and principles of civilized warfare of which he has been guilty during the present struggle." Sir Edward Grey recalls that the attention of the American Ambassador in London already

had been drawn to some of the German irregularities of warfare in a memorandum of Feb. 19, and adds:

> Since that time Lord Bryce's report, based on evidence carefully sifted by legal experts, describing the atrocities committed in Belgium, the poisoning of wells in Southwest Africa, the use of poisonous gases against the troops in Flanders, and finally the sinking of the Lusitania without an opportunity to passengers and noncombatants to save their lives have shown how indispensable it is that we should leave unused no justifiable method of defending ourselves.

In the note in which this argument is used the British Foreign Secretary contends, in answer to the American objection to the Orders in Council, that his Government is unable to admit that a belligerent violates any fundamental principle of international law by applying a blockade in such a way as to cut off the enemy's commerce with foreign countries through neutral ports, "if the circumstances render such an application of the principles of blockade the only means of making it effective." It is asserted by Sir Edward Grey that the only question that can arise in regard to the new character of blockade instituted by the British Government, the so-called long-distance blockade, is whether the measures taken conform to "the spirit and principles of the essence of the rules of war," these being the words used in the American note of March 30.

Arguing from that basis, Sir Edward Grey cites the Union blockade of Confederate ports in the American civil war and points out that, in order to meet a new difficulty produced by the fact that neighboring neutral territory afforded convenient centres from which contraband could be introduced into the Southern States and from which blockade running could be facilitated, the United States applied and enforced the doctrine of continuous voyage. Under this application, Sir Edward Grey points out, "goods destined for enemy territory were intercepted before they reached the neutral ports from which they were to be re-exported." The argument follows:

> It may be noted in this connection that at the time of the civil war the United States found themselves under the necessity of declaring a blockade of some 3,000 miles of coast line, a military operation for which the number of vessels available was at first very small. It was vital to the cause of the United States in that great struggle that they should be able to cut off the trade of the Southern States. The Confederate armies were dependent on supplies from overseas, and those supplies could not be obtained without exporting the cotton wherewith to pay for them.
>
> To cut off this trade the United States could only rely upon a blockade. The difficulties confronting the Federal Government were in part due to the fact that neighboring neutral territory afforded convenient centres from which contraband could be introduced into the territory of their enemies and from which blockade running could be facilitated. Your Excellency will no doubt remember how, in order to meet this new difficulty, the old principles relating to contraband and blockade were developed, and the doctrine of continuous voyage was applied and enforced, under which goods destined for the enemy territory were intercepted before they reached the neutral ports from which they were to be re-exported.
>
> The difficulties which imposed upon the United States the necessity of reshaping some of the old rules are somewhat akin to those with which the Allies are now faced in dealing with the trade of their enemy. Adjacent to Germany are various neutral countries which afford her convenient opportunities for carrying on her trade with foreign countries. Her own territories are covered by a network of railways and waterways, which enable her commerce to pass as conveniently through ports in such neutral countries as through her own. A blockade limited to enemy ports would leave open routes by which every kind of German commerce could pass almost as easily as through the ports in her own territory. Rotterdam is indeed the nearest outlet for some of the industrial districts of Germany.
>
> As a counterpoise to the freedom with which one belligerent may send his commerce across a neutral country without compromising its neutrality, the other belligerent may fairly claim to intercept such commerce before it has reached, or after it has left, the neutral State, provided, of course, that he can establish that the commerce with which he interferes is the commerce of his enemy and not commerce which is bona fide destined for or proceeding from the neutral State. It seems, accordingly, that if it be recognized that a blockade is in certain cases the appropriate method of intercepting the trade of an enemy country, and if the blockade can only become effective by extending it to enemy commerce passing

through neutral ports, such an extension is defensible and in accordance with principles which have met with general acceptance.

To the contention that such action is not directly supported by written authority, it may be replied that it is the business of writers on international law to formulate existing rules rather than to offer suggestions for their adaptation to altered circumstances, and your Excellency will remember the unmeasured terms in which a group of prominent international lawyers of all nations condemned the doctrine which had been laid down by the Supreme Court of the United States in the case of the Springbok, a doctrine upheld by the Claims Commission at Washington in 1873. But the United States and the British Government took a broader view and looked below the surface at the underlying purpose, and the Government of this country, whose nationals were the sufferers by the extension and development of the old methods of blockade made by the United States during the civil war, abstained from all protest against the decisions by which the ships and their cargoes were condemned.

What is really important in the general interest is that adaptations of the old rules should not be made unless they are consistent with the general principles upon which an admitted belligerent right is based.

Thus it is contended that Germany is in a position of peculiar advantage in the shipment of goods to neutral ports. In supporting the British restrictions on trade with neutral ports near German territory, it is asserted that a blockade limited to enemy ports would have open routes by which German commerce could pass almost as easily as through the ports in her own territory. By this argument Great Britain seeks to show that she found precedent for her "long-distance blockade" in steps taken by the United States in attempting to prevent supplies from reaching the Southern Confederacy. The position of the British Government is that if a blockade is the appropriate method of intercepting the trade of an enemy country and can be made effective only by extending it to enemy commerce through neutral ports, the extension is in accordance with principles generally accepted.

Assurances are contained in the British response to the American communication of March 30 that Great Britain is not interfering with goods with which she would not be entitled to interfere by blockade if the geographical position and conditions of Germany at this time were such that her commerce passed through her own ports. The utmost possible care is being taken, it is declared, not to interfere with commerce "genuinely destined for or proceeding from neutral countries." The only commerce with which Great Britain proposes to interfere is that of the enemy.

The main argument of Great Britain is that when the established underlying principles governing blockade and contraband are not violated it is permissible to adopt new measures of enforcement. In view of this and the contention that there has been no violation of the underlying principles, Great Britain holds that it is impossible to maintain that the right of a belligerent to intercept the commerce of an enemy is limited in the way suggested by the United States.

Sir Edward Grey says the British Government has been gratified to observe that the measures Great Britain is enforcing have had no detrimental effect on the commerce of the United States. Figures of recent months, he points out, show that "the increased opportunities afforded by the war for American commerce have more than compensated for the loss of the German and Austrian markets."

The note of the British Government, dated July 31, supplementary to the answer to the American note of March 30, is primarily a response to the so-called caveat telegram of Secretary Lansing sent on July 14, in which notice was given of the intention of this Government to insist on the rights of American citizens under the principles of international law hitherto established without limitation or impairment by Orders in Council or other municipal legislation, and to refuse to recognize the validity of prize court proceedings taken under British municipal law in derogation of the international law rights of American citizens.

Sir Edward Grey says he is not aware of any differences between the two Governments as to the principles of law ap-

plicable to cases before the prize courts, and then discusses prize court procedure at length, quoting Lord Stowell in the case of the Fox to show that a prize court must care for the interests of subjects of other countries as well as for the interests of its own Government, but that the court must assume that there is no violation of the rights of the subjects of other countries in the orders which it receives from its own Government.

Sir Edward Grey then makes the suggestion that if appeals open to dissatisfied American litigants in the prize court are denied by British appellate courts, an international tribunal shall be called on to decide. The United States and Great Britain, he says, have both conceded that the decisions of national prize courts may properly be subjected to international review—by the Jay Treaty of 1793 and the Treaty of Washington of 1871. It is clear, therefore, he says, that both Governments have adopted the principle that the decisions of a national prize court may be open to review in certain circumstances; but if the United States should take a contrary view Great Britain would be prepared to negotiate with the United States as to the best means of procedure to apply the principle mentioned. But Sir Edward Grey hopes that the British willingness to make concessions will obviate necessity for this procedure.

The compulsory discharge of the Neches cargo because it came from belligerent territory held by Germany made cause for complaint in the American note of July 15, and the British reply thereto appears in the subjoined correspondence.

American Protest on Seizure of Neches Cargo

The Secretary of State to Ambassador W. H. Page:

Telegram-Paraphrase. No. 1852.

Department of State, Washington, July 15, 1915.

Ambassador Page is informed that it has been brought to the attention of the department that the steamship Neches, of American register, sailing from Rotterdam for the United States, carrying a general cargo, after being detained at the Downs, was brought to London, where it was required by the British authorities to discharge cargo, the property of American citizens.

It appears that the ground advanced to sustain this action is that the goods originated, in part at least, in Belgium, and fall, therefore, within the provisions of Paragraph 4 of the Order in Council of March 11, which stipulates that every merchant vessel sailing from a port other than a German port, carrying goods of enemy origin, may be required to discharge such goods in a British or allied port.

Ambassador Page is instructed in this case to reiterate the position of the Government of the United States as set forth in the department's instruction of March 30, 1915, with respect to the Order in Council mentioned, the international invalidity of which the Government of the United States regards as plainly illustrated by the present instance of the seizure of American-owned goods passing from the neutral port of Rotterdam to a neutral port of the United States, merely because the goods came originally from territory in the possession of an enemy of Great Britain.

Mr. Page is also instructed to inform the Foreign Office that the legality of this seizure cannot be admitted and that, in the view of the Government of the United States, it violates the right of the citizens of one neutral to trade with those of another, as well as with those of belligerents, except in contraband or in violation of a legal blockade of an enemy seaport; and that the right of American owners of goods to bring them out of Holland, in due course, in neutral ships must be insisted upon by the United States, even though such goods may have come originally from the territories of enemies of Great Britain. He is directed further to insist upon the desire

of this Government that goods taken from the Neches, which are the property of American citizens, should be expeditiously released to be forwarded to their destination, and to request that he be advised of the British Government's intended course in this matter at the earliest moment convenient to that Government.

British Answer on Seizure of Neches Cargo

Ambassador W. H. Page to the Secretary of State:

(Telegram.)

American Embassy,
London, July 31, 1915.

Sir Edward Grey has today sent me the following note:

The note which your Excellency addressed to me on the 17th inst. respecting the detention of the cargo of the steamship Neches has, I need hardly say, received the careful attention of his Majesty's Government.

The note which I had the honor to send to your Excellency on the 23d inst. has already explained the view of his Majesty's Government on the legal aspect of the question, though it was prepared before your Excellency's communication of the 17th had been received, and, pending consideration by the Government of the United States of the views and arguments set forth in the British note of the 23d, it is unnecessary for me to say more on the question of right or of law.

There is, however, one general observation that seems relevant to the note from your Excellency respecting the cargo of the Neches.

It is the practice of the German Government, in the waters through which the Neches was passing, to sink neutral as well as British merchant vessels, irrespective of the destination of the vessel or origin of the cargo, and without proper regard or provision for the safety of passengers or crews, many of whom have lost their lives in consequence. There can be no question that this action is contrary to the recognized and settled rules of international law, as well as to the principles of humanity.

His Majesty's Government, on the other hand, have adhered to the rule of visit and search, and have observed the obligation to bring into port and submit to a prize court any ships or cargoes with regard to which they think they have a good case for detention or for condemnation as contraband.

His Majesty's Government are not aware, except from the published correspondence between the United States and Germany, to what extent reparation has been claimed from Germany by neutrals for loss of ships, lives, and cargoes, nor how far these acts have been the subject even of protest by the neutral Governments concerned.

While those acts of the German Government continue, it seems neither reasonable nor just that his Majesty's Government should be pressed to abandon the rights claimed in the British note of the 23d and to allow goods from Germany to pass freely through waters effectively patrolled by British ships of war.

If, however, it be alleged that, in particular cases and special circumstances, hardships may be inflicted on citizens of neutral countries, his Majesty's Government are ready in such cases to examine the facts in a spirit of consideration for the interest of neutrals, and in this spirit they are prepared to deal with the cargo of the Neches, to which your Excellency has called attention, if it is held that the particular circumstances of this case fall within this category. PAGE.

Austria's Note and the American Reply

Respecting American Shipments of Arms and Ammunition

The Embassy of Austria-Hungary on Aug. 1, 1915, gave out at Washington the first official translation of the text of the note addressed by that Government to the United States with respect to the shipment of arms and ammunition from this country to the Allies. The embassy stated that the translation was "the first uncensored text to be made public in the United States." The note appears below.

THE far-reaching effects resulting from the fact that a very extensive trade in war supplies has been going on for some time between the United States and Great Britain and her allies, while Austria-Hungary and Germany have been entirely shut off from the American market, have from the first attracted the most earnest attention of the Imperial and Royal Government. If the undersigned permits himself to take part in the discussion of a question which hitherto has been brought to the attention of the Washington Cabinet by the Imperial German Government only, he merely follows the dictates of unavoidable duty of protecting the interests intrusted to him from further grave injury growing out of the situation affecting Germany and Austria-Hungary equally.

The Imperial and Royal Government is convinced that the attitude of the United States Government in this matter originates from no other intention than the maintenance of the strictest neutrality and the observance to the letter of all the stipulations of the international agreements involved, but the question arises as to whether the conditions, as they have developed in the course of the war, certainly quite independently of the will of the United States Government, are not such that the very intention of the Washington Cabinet is defeated—indeed, that exactly the opposite effect is produced. If this question be answered in the affirmative—and, according to the opinion of the Imperial and Royal Government this cannot be doubted—then another question automatically follows, namely, whether it is not possible, indeed advisable, to take measures to provide full effectiveness to the wish of the Government of the United States to assume an attitude of strict fairnesss toward both belligerent parties. The Imperial and Royal Government does not hesitate to answer this question also in the affirmative without qualification.

It certainly has not escaped the attention of the American Government, which has co-operated in the work of The Hague in such a prominent manner, that the spirit and the letter of the fragmentary stipulations of the treaties in question are not entirely coextensive.

If one takes into consideration the genesis of Article 7 of the Fifth and Thirteenth Conventions, respectively, upon which the Government of the United States apparently rests the present case, and the wording of which, as will not be denied, offers a formal basis for the toleration of the trade in war materials as carried on at present by the United States, it is not necessary to point out—in order to realize the true spirit and range of this stipulation, which incidentally seems to have been modified already by prohibiting the delivery of warships and certain supplies for warships of belligerent countries—that the various rights as conceded to neutral countries, in the spirit of the preamble of the last-named convention, are limited by the requirements of neutrality in correspondence with the accepted principles of international law. According to all the authorities on international law, who have especially dealt with the questions which here arise, the neutral Government is not permitted to allow unhindered trade in contraband of war if this trade assumes such character and proportions that the country's neutrality is thereby impaired.

In judging the admissibility of the trade in contraband of war, one can

use as a basis any one of the various criteria established by law, and arrive, according to each, at the conclusion that the export of war materials from the United States as it is carried on cannot be made to accord with the requirements of neutrality. It is not a question as to whether the branch of American industry occupied with the production of war material shall be protected in order that its export, as it has been carried on in peace times, may suffer no impairment.

Furthermore, this industry has experienced an unexpected increase because of the war. In order to manufacture the immense amount of weapons, munitions, and other war material of all kinds which Great Britain and her allies have ordered in the United States of America in the course of the last month, it required not only the full utilization and adaptations of existing plants, but the creation of new factories, as well as the diversion of large numbers of workmen from all branches of trade—in short, a widespread change in the economic life of the country—the right of the American Government can from no quarter be disputed to decree an embargo on this obviously enormous export of war material which is notoriously for the exclusive benefit of one of the belligerent parties.

The United States Government could meet with no objection if it were to avail itself of its competency, even if it took recourse to the passage of a law in accordance with its Constitution. Even if it proved correct in principle that a neutral State may not change the law in force within its jurisdiction concerning its attitude toward belligerents during the war, there is, however, an exception to the principle, as is clearly shown in the preamble of the Thirteenth Hague Convention: "* * * where experience has shown the necessity for such change for the protection of the rights of that power."

This case arises for the United States Government by the mere fact that Austria-Hungary as well as Germany are cut off from any commercial intercourse with the United States without the existence of a legal ground—a legally effective blockade.

To the possible objection that although American industry is perfectly willing to supply Austria-Hungary and Germany as well as Great Britain and her allies, the United States are not able to carry on trade in consequence of the war situation. It may well be mentioned that the United States Government is without doubt in a position to remedy the above-described condition. It would be entirely sufficient to hold out to the adversaries of Austria-Hungary and Germany the inhibition of the export of foodstuffs and raw materials if the legitimate trade in these articles between the Union and the two central powers is not permitted.

If the Washington Cabinet could find itself prepared to act in this direction, it would not only follow the tradition always upheld in the United States to safeguard the freedom of the seas, but it would also offer the great service of defeating the criminal endeavor of the enemies of Austria-Hungary and Germany to enlist starvation as an ally.

The Imperial and Royal Government, in the spirit of the excellent relations which have never ceased to exist between the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy and the United States of America, and in the name of sincere friendship, permits itself to make an appeal to the Government of the Union to submit to careful examination the point of view hereinbefore taken in this most important question and consider the statements given herewith. The revision of the present attitude of the Government of the Union to agree with the views proffered by the Imperial and Royal Government would not only be—according to the conviction of the Imperial and Royal Government—within the scope of the rights and duties of a neutral Government, but also in the direction of those principles prompted by humanity and the love of peace which the United States of America has ever written upon her banner.

The undersigned has the honor, &c.

BURIAN.

The American Reply

The Secretary of State to Ambassador Penfield

Department of State,
Washington, D. C., Aug. 12, 1915.

Please present a note to the Royal Foreign Office in reply to its note of June 29 in the following sense:

The Government of the United States has given careful consideration to the statement of the Imperial and Royal Government in regard to the exportation of arms and ammunition from the United States to the countries at war with Austria-Hungary and Germany. The Government of the United States notes with satisfaction the recognition by the Imperial and Royal Governmert of the undoubted fact that its attitude with regard to the exportation of arms and ammunition from the United States is prompted by its intention to " maintain the strictest neutrality and to conform to the letter of the provisions of international treaties," but is surprised to find the Imperial and Royal Government implying that the observance of the strict principles of the law under the conditions which have developed in the present war is insufficient, and asserting that this Government should go beyond the long-recognized rules governing such traffic by neutrals and adopt measures to " maintain an attitude of strict parity with respect to both belligerent parties."

To this assertion of an obligation to change or modify the rules of international usage on account of special conditions, the Government of the United States cannot accede. The recognition of an obligation of this sort, unknown to the international practice of the past, would impose upon every neutral nation a duty to sit in judgment on the progress of a war and to restrict its commercial intercourse with a belligerent whose naval successes prevented the neutral from trade with the enemy. The contention of the Imperial and Royal Government appears to be that the advantages gained to a belligerent by its superiority on the sea should be equalized by the neutral powers by the establishment of a system of non-intercourse with the victor. The Imperial and Royal Government confines its comments to arms and ammunition, but, if the principle for which it contends is sound, it should apply with equal force to all articles of contraband. A belligerent controlling the high seas might possess an ample supply of arms and ammunition, but be in want of food and clothing. On the novel principle that equalization is a neutral duty, neutral nations would be obligated to place an embargo on such articles because one of the belligerents could not obtain them through commercial intercourse.

But if this principle, so strongly urged by the Imperial and Royal Government, should be admitted to obtain by reason of the superiority of a belligerent at sea, ought it not to operate equally as to a belligerent superior on land? Applying this theory of equalization, a belligerent who lacks the necessary munitions to contend successfully on land ought to be permitted to purchase them from neutrals, while a belligerent with an abundance of war stores or with the power to produce them should be debarred from such traffic.

Manifestly the idea of strict neutrality now advanced by the Imperial and Royal Government would involve a neutral nation in a mass of perplexities which would obscure the whole field of international obligation, produce economic confusion and deprive all commerce and industry of legitimate fields of enterprise, already heavily burdened by the unavoidable restriction of war.

In this connection it is pertinent to direct the attention of the Imperial and Royal Government to the fact that Austria-Hungary and Germany, particularly the latter, have during the years preceding the present European war produced a great surplus of arms and ammunition which they sold throughout the world, and especially to belligerents. Never during that period did either of them

suggest or apply the principle now advocated by the Imperial and Royal Government.

During the Boer War between Great Britain and the South African republics the patrol of the coasts of neighboring neutral colonies by British naval vessels prevented arms and ammunition reaching the Transvaal or the Orange Free State. The allied republics were in a situation almost identical in that respect with that in which Austria-Hungary and Germany find themselves at the present time. Yet, in spite of the commercial isolation of one belligerent, Germany sold to Great Britain, the other belligerent, hundreds of thousands of kilos of explosives, gunpowder, cartridges, shot, and weapons; and it is known that Austria-Hungary also sold similar munitions to the same purchaser, though in smaller quantities. While, as compared with the present war, the quantities sold were small (a table of the sales is appended) the principle of neutrality involved was the same. If at that time Austria-Hungary and her present ally had refused to sell arms and ammunition to Great Britain on the ground that to do so would violate the spirit of strict neutrality, the Imperial and Royal Government might with greater consistency and greater force urge its present contention.

It might be further so pointed out that during the Crimean war large quantities of arms and military stores were furnished to Russia by Prussian manufacturers; that during the recent war between Turkey and Italy, as this Government is advised, arms and ammunition were furnished to the Ottoman Government by Germany; and that during the Balkan wars the belligerents were supplied with munitions by both Austria-Hungary and Germany. While these latter cases are not analogous, as is the case of the South African war, to the situation of Austria-Hungary and Germany in the present war, they nevertheless clearly indicate the long-established practice of the two empires in the matter of trade in war supplies.

In view of the foregoing statements, this Government is reluctant to believe that the Imperial and Royal Government will ascribe to the United States a lack of impartial neutrality in continuing its legitimate trade in all kinds of supplies used to render the armed forces of a belligerent efficient, even though the circumstances of the present war prevent Austria-Hungary from obtaining such supplies from the markets of the United States, which have been and remain, so far as the action and policy of this Government are concerned, open to all belligerents alike.

But, in addition to the question of principle, there is a practical and substantial reason why the Government of the United States has from the foundation of the Republic to the present time advocated and practiced unrestricted trade in arms and military supplies. It has never been the policy of this country to maintain in time of peace a large military establishment or stores of arms and ammunition sufficient to repel invasion by a well equipped and powerful enemy. It has desired to remain at peace with all nations and to avoid any appearance of menacing such peace by the threat of its armies and navies. In consequence of this standing policy the United States would, in the event of attack by a foreign power, be at the outset of the war seriously, if not fatally, embarrassed by the lack of arms and ammunition and by the means to produce them in sufficient quantities to supply the requirements of national defense. The United States has always depended upon the right and power to purchase arms and ammunition from neutral nations in case of foreign attack. This right, which it claims for itself, it cannot deny to others.

A nation whose principle and policy it is to rely upon international obligations and international justice to preserve its political and territorial integrity might become the prey of an aggressive nation whose policy and practice it is to increase its military strength during times of peace with the design of conquest, unless the nation attacked can, after war had been declared, go into the markets of the world and purchase the means to defend itself against the aggressor.

The general adoption by the nations of the world of the theory that neutral

powers ought to prohibit the sale of arms and ammunition to belligerents would compel every nation to have in readiness at all times sufficient munitions of war to meet any emergency which might arise, and to erect and maintain establishments for the manufacture of arms and ammunition sufficient to supply the needs of its military and naval forces throughout the progress of a war. Manifestly the application of this theory would result in every nation becoming an armed camp, ready to resist aggression and tempted to employ force in asserting its rights rather than appeal to reason and justice for the settlement of international disputes.

Perceiving, as it does, that the adoption of the principle that it is the duty of a neutral to prohibit the sale of arms and ammunition to a belligerent during the progress of a war would inevitably give the advantage to the belligerent which had encouraged the manufacture of munitions in time of peace, and which had laid in vast stores of arms and ammunition in anticipation of war, the Government of the United States is convinced that the adoption of the theory would force militarism on the world and work against the universal peace which is the desire and purpose of all nations with one another.

The Government of the United States, in the foregoing discussion of the practical reason why it has advocated and practiced trade in munitions of war, wishes to be understood as speaking with no thought of expressing or implying any judgment with regard to the circumstances of the present war, but as merely putting very frankly the argument in this matter which has been conclusive in determining the policy of the United States.

While the practice of nations, so well illustrated by the practice of Austria-Hungary and Germany during the South African war, and the manifest evil which would result from a change of the practice, render compliance with the suggestions of the Imperial and Royal Government out of the question, certain assertions appearing in the Austro-Hungarian statement as grounds for its contentions cannot be passed over without comment. These assertions are substantially as follows:

(1) That the exportation of arms and ammunition from the United States to belligerents contravenes the preamble of The Hague Convention, No. 13, of 1907;

(2) That it is consistent with the refusal of this Government to allow delivery of supplies to vessels of war on the high seas;

(3) That "according to all authorities on international law, who concern themselves more properly with the question," exportation should be prevented "when this traffic assumes such a form of such dimensions that the neutrality of a nation becomes involved thereby."

As to the assertion that the exportation of arms and ammunition contravenes the preamble of The Hague Convention, No. 13, of 1907, this Government presumes that reference is made to the last paragraph of the preamble, which is as follows:

"Seeing that in this category of ideas these rules should not in principle be altered in the course of the war by a neutral power except in a case where experience has shown the necessity for such change for the protection of the rights of that power."

Manifestly, the only ground to change the rules laid down by the convention, one of which, it should be noted, explicitly declares that a neutral is not bound to prohibit the exportation of contraband of war, is the necessity of a neutral power to do so in order to protect its own rights. The right and duty to determine when this necessity exists rests with the neutral, not with a belligerent. It is discretionary, not mandatory. If a neutral power does not avail itself of the right, a belligerent is not privileged to complain, for in doing so it would be in the position of declaring to the neutral power what is necessary to protect that power's own rights. The Imperial and Royal Government cannot but perceive that a complaint of this nature would invite just rebuke.

With reference to the asserted inconsistency of the course adopted by this Government in relation to the exporta-

GRAND DUKE ALEXIS

Son of the Czar and Heir Apparent of Russia. His Eleventh Birthday Was Celebrated on August 12

(Photo from Bain News Service)

QUEEN MARGHERITA OF ITALY

She is the Widow of King Humbert and Mother of King Victor Emmanuel

tion of arms and ammunition and that followed in not allowing supplies to be taken from its ports to ships of war on the high seas, it is only necessary to point out that the prohibition of supplies to ships of war rests upon the principle that a neutral power must not permit its territory to become a naval base for either belligerent. A warship may, under certain restrictions, obtain fuel and supplies in a neutral port once in three months. To permit merchant vessels acting as tenders to carry supplies more often than three months and in unlimited amount would defeat the purpose of the rule and might constitute the neutral territory a naval base. Furthermore, this Government is unaware that any Austro-Hungarian ship of war has sought to obtain supplies from a port in the United States, either directly or indirectly. The subject has, however, already been discussed with the Imperial German Government, to which the position of this Government was fully set forth Dec. 24, 1914.

In view of the positive assertion in the statement of the Imperial and Royal Government as to the unanimity of the opinions of text writers as to the exportation of contraband being unneutral, this Government has caused a careful examination of the principal authorities on international law to be made. As a result of this examination it has come to the conclusion that the Imperial and Royal Government has been misled and has inadvertently made an erroneous assertion. Less than one-fifth of the authorities consulted advocate unreservedly the prohibition of the export of contraband. Several of those who constitute this minority admit that the practice of nations has been otherwise. It may not be inopportune to direct particular attention to the declaration of the German authority, Paul Einicke, who states that, at the beginning of a war, belligerents have never remonstrated against the enactment of prohibitions on trade in contraband, but adds "that such prohibitions may be considered as violation of neutrality, or at least as unfriendly acts, if they are enacted during a war with the purpose to close unexpectedly the sources of supply to a party which heretofore had relied on them."

The Government of the United States deems it unnecessary to extend further at the present time a consideration of the statement of the Austro-Hungarian Government. The principles of international law, the practice of nations, the national safety of the United States and other nations without great military and naval establishments, the prevention of increased armies and navies, the adoption of peaceful methods for the adjustment of international differences, and, finally, neutrality itself are opposed to the prohibition by a neutral nation of the exportation of arms, ammunition or other munitions of war to belligerent powers during the progress of the war. LANSING.

Alleged German Attempt to Get American Munitions

Story of a Contract Made by German Agents in the United States

In its issues beginning Aug. 15, The New York World published alleged letters and reports of German agents and officials in this country and Germany, to show that the German propaganda in the United States was influenced by cash from Germany to turn American public opinion in Germany's favor; that this cash had been supplied freely, though secretly, by the German Government; that its expenditure had been directly supervised by Dr. von Bethmann-Hollweg, the German Chancellor; Count Johan von Bernstorff, the German Ambassador at Washington, and other German officials in high places, and that German agents had fomented strikes in the munition factories of New England, attempting at the same time to corner all the liquid chlorine manufactured in this country, in order to shut off from the Allies the supply of poison gas of the nature of that already used by the German armies. The most striking chapter of the correspondence purported to show that Germany itself had been secretly planning to secure munitions from the United States, although protesting, with Austria, against the shipment of munitions to enemy countries since the beginning of the war.

In this correspondence is published the alleged contract, reproduced below, which relates to the financing of the Bridgeport Projectile Company, at Bridgeport, Conn., by Hugo Schmidt, the Washington agent of the Deutsche Bank of Berlin, assigned, as alleged, to assist General Financial Agent Albert at New York in the handling of sums of money turned over to Mr. Albert by the Imperial German Government.

MEMORANDUM OF AMERICAN ARMS CONTRACT ALLEGED TO HAVE BEEN MADE BY GERMANY

[From The New York World, Aug. 17, 1915.]

THE BRIDGEPORT PROJECTILE COMPANY.

As of June 30, 1915.

STATUS OF CONTRACT BETWEEN A. & B.

Article I. (a) Specifications—A. [Bridgeport Projectile Company] advised B., [Hugo Schmidt for the German Government,] under date of June 7, that, not having heard from him with regard to any change in specifications, he has ordered tools and machinery to suit the manufacture of shrapnel cases in accordance with the specifications, attached to the contract, this being necessary in order to enable him to comply with the terms of delivery.

Thus the first cases will be manufactured under United States Government specifications, and A. proposes to make an arrangement with the Army and Navy Departments at Washington that—if no firm order from the United States Government can be secured by the time that the manufacturing is to commence—the first cases shall be manufactured under the inspection of United States Government officials and shall be tested by them, so that, upon subsequently securing any orders from the United States Government, immediate delivery may be made.

This has the advantage of bringing the B. P. Co. prominently before the United States Government officials, and overtures in that direction, made by A. personally at Washington, were received with great satisfaction.

(e) Factory—The construction of the factory is proceeding most satisfactorily, of which I convinced myself personally on a recent visit to Bridgeport.

The most important buildings, forge, and machine shops are almost under roof; the other buildings are fairly

under way; presses, machinery, and all other material are being promptly assembled, and there is every indication that deliveries will commence as provided in the contract, i. e., on Sept. 1, 1915.

Hereto attached is a plan of the B. P. Co.'s grounds, giving floor outlines of the various buildings and indicating the railway tracks leading into the factory for the delivery of raw materials and fuel and for the loading of the product directly from and to railway cars.

Article II. (a) Powder—Attached to my report of May 31 was A.'s letter to B.'s assignee (Exhibit K) of May 17, advising his compliance with provisions of this section of Article II. by contracting for the output of Aetna's smokeless powder to Dec. 31, 1915, and asking for B.'s letter of release, which until date has not been forthcoming. I recommend that it be sent.

The contract of sale of 1,000,000 pounds of powder to the Spanish Government is not yet formally signed. The delay is caused by the fact that the Official Spanish War Commission had to await the arrival of an expert from Spain, who was to pass on the specifications of the powder. He has arrived and all his objections to our own specifications have now been overcome and his recommendations have been accepted by Aetna, who have agreed to manufacture a powder to meet the Spanish requirements.

Now the legal adviser of the Official Spanish War Commission, Mr. Louis Hess of 42 Broadway, after the commission advised him that the contract was now in order and could be drawn up, writes at length and raises innumerable insignificant legally technical objections to the form of contract, submitted to him by me, and he fills an eight-page letter with reforms to the same. I have advised him in reply that his objections and suggested reforms cannot be considered, since my offer to the commission was based on our own contracts with Aetna and that my offer was accepted by the commission on such basis, and that we must insist on the contract being carried out accordingly. I hope he will now withdraw his objections and that final contract will be signed soon.

(b) Antimony—A. secured offers of antimony during May as per Exhibit L, attached to report of May 31, varying in prices from 30 to 25 cents per pound.

One further offer has been secured since, the price being 36½ cents, which indicates an upward tendency in the price of this metal.

According to this section of the contract, A. is to wait instructions from B. in case that he is to purchase antimony.

Article III. Presses—A. advised B. under date of May 17 (see Exhibit M of report May 31) that 534 hydraulic presses, suitable or necessary for the manufacture of shells of calibre 2.95 inches to 4.8 inches, had been contracted for, mostly with privilege of cancellation of part of the orders against payment of an indemnity.

There are actually being manufactured, and there will be delivered to A., 132 presses, the price of which aggregates $417,550.

There have been canceled until date 392 presses at an aggregate cost of indemnity of $238,945.64.

As provided for in the agreement, "all contracts of purchase between A. and the builders" have been "approved" by me in representation of B., but, as was anticipated during the discussions between A. and B. prior to the final drawing up of the agreement, it has been impossible to contractually "bind" such builders to exclusive manufacture for A., since that would be contrary to prevailing laws, implicating both contracting parties; furthermore, that question proved very delicate and required a good deal of diplomacy in dealing with the manufacturers, so as to avoid suspicion.

A fact is that A. succeeded in having all the builders bound to him, most of same by some legally non-committal phrase in the contracts, and one, a personal friend of A., by simple word.

By the above-mentioned payments of indemnity for the cancellation of orders the builders are not yet all bound to us until Jan. 1, 1916, as the contract between A. and B. requires, because it

was found in many cases impolitic for fear of arousing the builders' suspicions, and, furthermore, it would become a useless expenditure should the cause for the action cease to exist prior to Jan. 1, 1916.

There are three important builders in this category; they are bound to us at present until Sept. 20, Oct. 15, and Dec. 1, respectively, and, should it later be found expedient to commit them to us until Jan. 1, 1916, it would cause an additional expenditure for indemnity of $60,730, provided we shall be able to settle on the same basis as heretofore.

The total expenditure for account of presses would therefore be:

For presses manufactured.....	$417,550.00
For indemnity paid till date....	238,945.64
For indemnity still payable.....	60,730.00
Or	$717,225.64

I. e., very nearly the amount of $720,000 provided for in the agreement.

Occasionally A. receives offers of presses from hitherto unknown manufacturers, who have their attention called to that branch of machine building by the newspapers. Every one of such offers is thoroughly investigated by A., usually by a personal visit to the factory of the prospective builder, to ascertain his ability to construct presses. Until date no such concern has demonstrated such ability to satisfaction; but further offers will be likewise investigated and acted upon when considered necessary.

From all the above details is seen that A. is in spirit fully complying with the provisions of Article III. and, in order to avoid any possibility of later legal complications, in case that B. should ever reassign the agreement (which is his privilege as per Article VIII.) to some party not acquainted with the creation and development of the B. P. Co., he is most anxious to receive from B. a written acknowledgment thereof, and I consistently recommend that such be done.

FINANCES.

The statement, or finance program, submitted with my report of May 31 (Exhibit N) has not suffered any changes since that date.

GENERAL.

There exists no doubt as to the efficiency and splendid results as regards the purposes for which the B. P. Co. was created.

By the purchases of all the powder available in the United States up to Jan. 1, 1916, all the prospective contractors for complete shrapnel rounds who applied to Aetna for powder and were advised by them that the B. P. Co. was the only concern that had powder to furnish (the only other manufacturers —the du Pont Company—having all their output contracted for into 1916) have applied to the B. P. Co. for bids on complete shrapnel rounds, and such requests have come from representatives of all the allied nations. * * *

Respectfully submitted,

CARL HEYNAN.

Submitted to Dr. H. F. Albert, Captain F. von Papen, N. R. Lindheim, Esq.

American Military Preparedness

The Few Who Are Trained of Seventeen Millions of Able Men

The article presented below appeared in THE NEW YORK TIMES of Aug. 1, 1915.

A REPRESENTATIVE of THE NEW YORK TIMES was permitted recently to read some of the Government reports on the condition of the militia. The result was startling. In more than a score of States there is no field artillery of any sort and in the whole country there are fewer than forty officers of ordnance. In thirty-five States there are no organizations trained for coast artillery, twenty-four have no cavalry, a large majority are without signal troops, while the whole force of organized engineers, officers, and men totals less than 1,500 for the entire country. One State, Nevada, is without militia organizations of any kind.

In the table that follows, which gives the number of officers and enlisted men of all arms in the National Guard, the figures are from regular army Inspectors, and appear in the most recent report of the Division of Militia Affairs:

State.	Of'c'rs.	Men.	State.	Of'c'rs.	Men.
Alabama	163	2,000	Montana	40	636
Alabama	163	2,000	Nebraska	132	1,384
Arkansas	109	1,402	Nevada	..	...
California	252	3,604	New Hamp.	90	1,280
Colorado	122	1,933	New Jersey.	304	4,014
Connecticut.	177	2,511	New Mexico	57	910
Delaware	41	465	New York.	974	15,591
Dist. of Col.	124	1,721	N. Carolina.	209	2,367
Florida	73	1,075	N. Dakota.	60	679
Georgia	225	2,490	Ohio	490	5,637
Hawaii	56	858	Oklahoma	77	1,330
Idaho	58	839	Oregon	100	1,401
Illinois	508	5,447	Penn.	745	10,190
Indiana	169	2,109	Rhode Isl.	96	1,303
Iowa	217	3,014	So. Car.	156	1,794
Kansas	132	1,720	So. Dakota.	68	873
Kentucky	164	2,210	Tennessee	117	1,798
Louisiana	65	1,009	Texas	192	2,731
Maine	108	1,404	Utah	29	419
Maryland	157	1,986	Vermont	75	817
Mass.	424	5,369	Virginia	206	2,606
Michigan	189	2,478	Washington.	88	1,312
Minnesota	220	3,243	West Va.	104	1,517
Mississippi.	94	990	Wisconsin.	193	2,931
Missouri	244	3,840	Wyoming	54	760
Total				8,792	119,251

In the above total is included thirty-one Generals of the line, ninety-eight officers assigned to duty as Adjutant Generals of brigades and divisions, forty-seven Inspector Generals, and forty-eight Judge Advocates.

The apportionment among the various arms of the service is as follows:

Arms.	Officers.	Men.
Infantry	6,328	95,109
Cavalry	298	4,642
Field artillery	314	5,914
Coast artillery	450	7,150
Medical Corps	783	3,550
Engineers	78	1,246
Quartermaster	157	108
Subsistence	19	17
Pay	10	..
Ordnance	59	39
Signal	72	1,470
Total	8,792	119,251

All the States, save Nevada, have infantry troops as a matter of course. In field artillery there are twenty-three that have none. Those States are Arizona, Arkansas, Delaware, Florida, Idaho, Iowa, Kentucky, Maine, Maryland, Mississippi, Montana, Nebraska, Nevada, North Carolina, North Dakota, Oklahoma, South Carolina, South Dakota, Tennessee, Vermont, Washington, West Virginia, and Wyoming.

Only thirteen States maintain coast artillery organizations, and of the total of coast artillerymen more than half is in New York. In Maine the total of coast artillerymen is thirty. The coast States of New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, Florida, Alabama, Mississippi, and Texas are without coast artillery organizations.

Nearly half of all the National Guard cavalry in the country is in New York and Pennsylvania. The States without cavalry are Alabama, Arizona, Arkansas, Delaware, Florida, Idaho, Indiana, Iowa, Kansas, Kentucky, Maine, Minnesota, Mississippi, Montana, Nebraska, Nevada,

New Mexico, North Dakota, South Carolina, South Dakota, Utah, Virginia, West Virginia, and Wyoming. It will be noted that among the States without cavalry are a majority of those in which horsemanship is supposed to be most common, such as Wyoming, Kentucky, Montana, Kansas, and New Mexico.

Of engineering troops more than 1,100 of the 1,324 are in four States—New York with 754, Ohio with 190, Pennsylvania with 123, and Michigan with 100. Of the remaining 225 officers and men Illinois claims four of the officers and 60 men and Oklahoma three officers and 61 enlisted men. Virginia has an engineering strength of three officers, Massachusetts and California two officers each, Rhode Island, South Dakota, Minnesota, Maryland, Iowa, and the District of Columbia one officer each.

The number of men between 18 and 44 fit for military service is approximately 16,500,000, divided among the States as follows:

State.	Men.	State.	Men.
Alabama ...	803,144	Montana	48,076
Arizona	40,776	Nebraska ...	132,380
Arkansas ...	327,387	Nevada	20,000
California ..	393,784	N. Hamp....	41,235
Colorado	134,225	New Jersey..	675,805
Connecticut..	156,497	New Mexico.	60,673
Delaware....	32,489	New York...	1,616,481
Dist. of Col..	80,278	N. Carolina..	302,745
Florida	197,183	N. Dakota...	70,771
Georgia	577,678	Ohio	946,856
Hawaii	14,863	Oklahoma ...	321,271
Idaho	33,824	Oregon	136,521
Illinois	1,000,000	Penn.	1,139,526
Indiana	652,351	Rhode Island	138,402
Iowa	288,838	S. Carolina..	217,375
Kansas	386,570	S. Dakota...	70,862
Kentucky ...	342,326	Tennessee ..	376,763
Louisiana ...	339,443	Texas	502,870
Maine	104,819	Utah	40,453
Maryland ...	126,975	Vermont	50,878
Mass.	577,618	Virginia	327,817
Michigan ...	521,792	Washington..	286,189
Minnesota ..	237,923	West Va. ...	201,334
Mississippi ..	401,220	Wisconsin ..	441,396
Missouri	604,034	Wyoming ...	41,730
Total			16,647,347

The above figures reveal many strange situations. For instance, Alabama is surpassed by only four States in the number of males between 18 and 44 fit for military service, those States being New York, Pennsylvania, Ohio, and Illinois. The 1910 census gave California 200,000 more population than Alabama, yet Alabama reports that she can furnish 400,000 more men than can California. Texas, with 1,700,000 more population than Alabama, reports only 500,000 men fit for service, while Massachusetts, with 500,000 less population than Texas, offers 75,000 more men.

Minnesota, with 2,100,000 population, reports only 237,923 possible soldiers, while South Carolina, with only 1,500,000 population, comes within 20,000 of that number. Ohio, whose population is a round million greater than that of Texas, is credited with 450,000 more able men than Texas, but only 150,000 more than Alabama, which has 2,500,000 fewer people.

Mississippi, 1,800,000 population, offers more than 400,000 men, whereas Tennessee, with 2,200,000 population, returns only 376,000. Indiana, with 1,000,000 less population than Texas, reports 160,000 more fit men and 75,000 more than Massachusetts, which has 650,000 more citizens than has Indiana.

Much criticism has been leveled at the War Department because of apparent lack of interest in the militia. It is a fact, however, that never, except when the country was at war, has the Government done more for the National Guard than now. There is no press agent to keep the country informed, but the War Department is in intimate touch with the militia of every State, and now has on detail 133 of its ablest officers, who give all their time to inspection and instruction. Nineteen picked army officers are now on duty in New York.

War and Money

How Will Europe's Policy of Unlimited Liability End?

EUROPE has adopted a financial policy of unlimited liability on account of the war. The war loans of the principal belligerents in one year have amounted to fifteen billion dollars. The cost is tending to rise. It is now estimated to be altogether not less than fifty million dollars a day, of which the share of Great Britain alone is fifteen millions a day. England is the banker, purveyor, and purse bearer of the anti-German allies. She may have muddled nearly everything else at the beginning, but nobody has been heard to criticise her financial skill so far, nor to underestimate the banking aid she has extended to her allies. However, there is a limit even to British credit, and reflecting persons are beginning to wonder how long it can stand so great a strain. If the war continues to the end of March, 1916, the national debt of England will have trebled, and the rate of interest upon it will have advanced from an average of less than 3½ per cent. to 4½ per cent., with no choice but to rise higher still if the war goes on.

What is beyond?

Will there be any capital left in the world, and, if any, what will it be worth?

Those are questions to which the clairvoyant answer would be of immeasurable importance—only, perhaps, nobody would believe it.

As England must finance the Allies' side of the war, the opinions of English economists are of special interest, and, as one might suppose, they are inconclusive. So far the cost of the war has been meet principally by war loans. That puts the settlement off upon posterity. But posterity, loaded too heavily with the principal and interest of a war debt incurred without its consent, might refuse to pay. That would play havoc with capital in the world. The moods of posterity are very uncertain. Partly for this reason and partly because war loans create a flood of fixed securities which will incumber the exchanges for years to come, English commentators, in the main, agree that it would be better for the adult living to pay a larger proportion of the war's cost out of pocket in the form of taxation.

Edgar Crommond, in an article on the "Economic Position of the Allies," Quarterly Review, (July,) tells why Mr. Lloyd George made the last 4½ per cent. loan a popular financial operation:

> Ample provision has been made to enable the small investor to subscribe; and even the weekly wage earner is enabled to participate in the loan. Strong criticism has been directed against the high rate of interest offered by the Government and the expensive conversion privileges offered to holders of existing Government securities; but the bulk of this criticism may be attributed to the fact that the public are only beginning to appreciate the immense wastage of capital and the cost of the war, and the process of readjustment to the new economic conditions which have been created by the war has begun in earnest.

If people will not save their money and buy war loans they will have to be taxed:

> In order to meet the cost of the war it is necessary that our savings should be doubled; and this will mean the exercise of economy to an extent which is not yet fully appreciated by the bulk of the people. The alternative to drastic economy is drastic taxation; and economy is, from all points of view, by far the most satisfactory policy. *The people of Great Britain must strain every nerve to save money, in view of the further taxation, or possibly loans, that may still be necessary.*

Besides what can be produced in England for war consumption, quantities of food and munitions have to be bought abroad, and there arises another problem. England is running into debt with the outside world at the rate of two billion dollars a year. Mr. Crommond asks:

> How is this deficiency to be provided? It can be met to some extent by reducing our imports and increasing our exports. It is difficult to see how the latter course can be adopted if we enlist

many more workers or transfer a much larger portion of the workers from commercial production to the production of war munitions. Another possible course is the export of gold; but our stock of the precious metal is not sufficiently great to admit of our adopting this course without grave disadvantages. A third method is to sell British securities abroad. As already stated, our investments in the overseas dominions and in foreign countries have an approximate capital value of £3,904,000,000; and if we could realize only 10 per cent. of these holdings, we should be able to obtain the amount required. Unfortunately, there is only one country where sales can be effected, namely, the United States; and it is not yet clear that the New York money market is in a position to absorb securities on a sufficiently large scale. The final method is the raising of a loan in New York. The great objection to this is its extreme costliness. Money is still as cheap in London as it is in New York; and it is difficult to see how we can raise a great loan there upon terms which will not react unfavorably upon British credit at home. *It should be recognized as a patriotic duty by all classes to limit consumption, and particularly the consumption of foreign manufactures and produce, to the utmost extent possible.*

And beyond, after the war, Mr. Crommond sees the basis of taxation broadened in England, a revenue tariff, and years of rigorous economy.

A writer in The Edinburgh Review (July) on "The Outlook for Capital" covers a lot of ground in agreement with Mr. Crommond, and is likewise persuaded that taxation ought to be heavily increased currently; but when he comes to discuss the future he is not so sure of anything, and on the whole inclined to doubt the pessimistic view:

At first sight there does not seem to be any doubt about it. With eight to ten millions [£] of capital spent every day by the belligerent powers, to say nothing of the purely wasteful outlay to which many neutrals are forced by the war, it seems to be as obvious a platitude as ever has been put forward when one says that capital will be, must be, and cannot help being dear for a long time to come. When a huge amount of a thing that is very much wanted is destroyed its price must go up. Economic theory, common sense, and even the laws of mechanics seem to confirm such a proposition, which is so self-evident that one is almost inclined to show the thing happening in a diagram. No one can deny that capital, even before the war, was very much wanted.

This writer proceeds to be aghast at the rate at which war loans are piling up:

If, then, at the end of the war the world finds itself swamped with a flood of securities that have been created to pay for war, while during the war the productive power of the goods on which all securities must finally be based has been, if anything, lessened, owing to the insufficient outlay on upkeep and the slaying of many of the best of the world's workers, is it possible to doubt that the price of securities will be low, and that consequently what is called the price of capital—the rate of interest paid by the borrower—will be high?

But people are contrary minded, and were perhaps not made to demonstrate the infallibility of economic theory. The writer admits some uneconomic factors:

Some people do * * * in fact affirm that the price of capital will be low, because, they say, mankind will be so exhausted by the war that there will be a long pause in development, no new countries will be opened up, and no one will have the courage to think of using new capital, much less of asking for it from the money markets of the world. Here is the psychological problem that lurks, as it so often does, behind an economic question. And any one who dogmatizes beforehand about the feelings of mankind must have *robur et aes triplex* about his breast. All that can be said with any approach to certainty is that it will take a very long pause to allow all the present flood of securities to be absorbed so far that scarcity reigns in the stock markets and fancy prices begin to be paid for good investments. And it must be remembered that plenty of countries are outside the war zone, and making huge profits out of the needs of the belligerents. Our American cousins will not be tired at the end of the war. They will be straining every nerve and using every dollar of capital that is offered to improve the great economic advantage that the war is giving them.

And there are other psychological questions that affect the outlook for capital. Will the war end in such a way that all the nations want to spend more than ever on armaments, or will the lion lie down with the lamb? Shall we all go back as far as we can to the old habits of self-indulgence and ostentation? Or shall we recognize that no nation can be really great while the mass of its citizens lead lives of unremitting toil and poverty, and that therefore it is our first business to turn the stream of production into fields

in which it brings forth things that are really wanted?

Nobody can be very sure of anything. There are hardly any clues in all economic experience to what will happen in the future. In degree, in ratio, and in magnitude the economic phenomena now taking place are incomparable. Moreover, they are unfinished. Nobody can say how long the war will last, nor, for that matter, how long it can last at the present rate of destruction. There is really no measure of how much modern people, under the spur of great necessity, can both produce and do without. That is what makes the future of capital so uncertain. If habits of industry and self-denial learned in war continued afterward among several hundred millions of people, the world might have to revise all previous calculations as to the rate at which wealth can be increased.

The Hymn of the Lusitania

Translated from the German by Mrs. Wharton.

In an article on "Peace Insurance by Preparedness Against War," appearing in the Metropolitan Magazine for August, Theodore Roosevelt says: "Mrs. Wharton has sent me the following German poem on the sinking of the Lusitania, with her translation":

The swift sea sucks her death-shriek under
As the great ship reels and leaps asunder.
Crammed taffrail-high with her murderous freight,
Like a straw on the tide she whirls to her fate.

A warship she, though she lacked its coat,
And lustful for lives as none afloat,
A warship, and one of the foe's best workers,
Not penned with her rusting harbor-shirkers.

Now the Flanders guns lack their daily bread,
And shipper and buyer are sick with dread,
For neutral as Uncle Sam may be
Your surest neutral's the deep green sea.

Just one ship sunk, with lives and shell,
And thousands of German gray-coats well!
And for each of her gray-coats, German hate
Would have sunk ten ships with all their freight.

Yea, ten such ships are a paltry fine
For one good life in our fighting line.
Let England ponder the crimson text:
TORPEDO, STRIKE! AND HURRAH FOR THE NEXT!

A Résumé of the Military Operations in Europe

From July 15 to Aug. 15, 1915*

By a Military Expert

A REVIEW of the latest military operations in Europe finds the world's interest more than ever centred in the gigantic campaign in Russia, before which all actions in the various other seats of war have, temporarily at least, dwindled into insignificance.

The middle of July brought the first aim of the Germanic General Staff's strategy in the east—the conquest of Poland—within sight of its realization. The final stage of the campaign for this important Russian province was ushered in by the breaking of the Russian right wing protecting Warsaw and the Vistula line from the north of Przasnysz on July 15. The force of the attack threw the entire Russian front between Zjechanow and the Omulev River back on the Narew line, and its suddenness took the garrisons of Pultusk and Ostrolenka by surprise and frustrated their attempt to resist. With the capture of these two strongholds the main breadline of the Russian front along and west of the Vistula, the Warsaw-Bialystok-Petrograd railroad, was exposed to the German attack and the fall of the Polish capital sealed.

Thus Field Marshal von Hindenburg's victory on the Narew front necessitated the gradual withdrawal of the Russian Josefow- (about forty miles south of Ivangorod) Jastrshomb- (fifteen miles southwest of Radom) Tomaschew-Rawka and Bzura line behind the Vistula between Ivangorod and Novo Georgievsk. On the front from Novo Georgievsk to Goworowa and Lomza the German drive, after having forced all the Narew crossings between Pultusk and Ostrolenka, was temporarily checked, the Russians, by means of their direct Lubin-Siedlce-Ostrolenka railroad, shifting strong reserves from their southern front (between Josefow on the Vistula and the Bug, east of Grubeschow) to the points of immediate danger in the north. The consequence was that Archduke Joseph Ferdinand's and Field Marshal von Mackensen's armies, which had been held back and at times even forced to yield ground in the first half of July, in the latter part of the month were able to resume their northward advance. Thus the weakening of the Russian southern wing meant the sacrifice of the important Ivangorod-Lublin-Chelm railroad. Great as it was, it had to be made in order to save the northern army from being trapped. The purpose, the protection of the Warsaw-Bialystok road until the greater part of the army of Warsaw could be moved over it to the Grodno-Bialystok-Brest-Litovsk front, is now sure to have been accomplished, at least as far northeast as Malkin. Only a small part of this army, that which clung to Novo Georgievsk and the westernmost part of the Narew, as far as its conflux with the Bug, even after the Bavarians had crossed over the Vistula to Praga and after the German army from Pultusk had reached Serozk, was trapped in the region between the Vistula (from Novo Georgievsk to Warsaw) and the Narew, (from Novo Georgievsk to Serozk.)

The Russian line east of Serozk, between that town and the region south of Goworowa, succeeded in tearing itself from the Teutonic grip, gradually changing from a northwesterly front to one facing almost direct west, joining hands in the region southwest of Wyschkow with the troops retreating from War-

*For the chronology covering this period, see Page 1221 of this issue.

saw. Thus the second week of August saw the Russians continuing their eastward retirement on a line running approximately from Novo Minsk over Wyschkow to Wonsewo, (about ten miles northwest of Ostrow,) and from there to Lomza. The pivoting point of the retreating line was the fortress of Ossowetz, northeast of Lomza.

By the 11th of August it seemed reasonably certain that the Russian Army would reach its second line of defense, the Kovno-Ossowetz-Bialystok-Brest-Litovsk line, and later the Kovno-Grodno-Bialystok-Brest-Litovsk line, comparatively unimpaired, except for the troops cornered around Novo Georgievsk, when, on Aug. 12, Field Marshal von Hindenburg's left-wing armies under Generals von Scholz and von Gallwitz stormed Lomza and the bridgehead at Wizna, east of the fortress, thereby breaking the Russian line of retreat and endangering the Warsaw-Bialystok road, northeast of Malkin.

As yet up to Aug. 14, no news of an envelopment of any part of the Russian army southeast of Lomza has been received, and it is still possible that the Muscovites will reach their second line of defense in spite of the débacle at Lomza, but their position nevertheless seems precarious, and much, if not all, depends on how near the shelter of the Ossowetz - Bialystok - Brest - Litovsk line was the retiring Russian Army at the time the Teutons broke through Lomza. If it was still in the region of Ostrow and the Bug, from Malkin southeastward, its escape might yet prove not to have been quite as successful as is generally assumed.

While thus the original Russian Narew and Bzura-Rawka armies were fighting their way back over the Warsaw-Bialystok and the Novo Minsk-Siedlce railroads to reach their second line of defense, the armies withdrawn from the region south of the Pilica were struggling to make good their escape to this same line along the only remaining road from Ivangorod to Lukow and Brest-Litovsk, and have apparently succeeded. The Russian strategy here was identically the same as in the north. The retreat over the Ivangorod-Lukow-Brest-Litovsk road was effected under the protection of the flanking Russian left wing. The latter had meanwhile gradually given way before Austro-German attacks, and by Aug. 6 had established itself along the lower Wieprz, as far as Lubartow, stretching from there through the region north and northeast of Lentschna to the Bug, northeast of Chelm. Assuming the selfsame manoeuvre as the flanking army on the Narew the Russian flanking army at the Wieprz gradually changed its front, in this instance from a southwesterly direction to an almost westerly one. From Aug. 9 on it gradually began withdrawing its right wing northeastward in conjunction with the retirement of the army retreating from Ivangorod and north of the fortress. The front further east followed gradually.

By Aug. 14 the entire southern wing of the Russian Army had retreated to a line extending from Wlodowa over Radin and Lukow toward Siedlce, but not until the army of Ivangorod and that north of the fortress, with the exception of some 10,000 men, 8 cannon, and 20 machine guns taken when the fortress was stormed, had made good its escape. This is plainly indicated by the report that it was the army of General von Woyrisch, advancing from Ivangorod, which took Lukow, and that of Prince Leopold of Bavaria, advancing from Warsaw and south of that city, which took Siedlce, but not the army of Archduke Francis Ferdinand, advancing from the south.

The second part of August thus finds the Teutonic battle front closing in on the Kovno-Ossowetz - Balystok-Brest-Litovsk line advancing on a front forming a semicircle from Wladow over Radin-Siedlce-Malkin-Wiznita to Ossowetz. Whether or not greater parts of the Russian Narew army (outside of the troops cut off at Novo Georgievsk) will be captured in consequence of the taking of Lomza on Aug. 12, the next few days will reveal. So far the total of the German booty since the fall of Warsaw has been taken in groups mostly from enemy rear guards and amounts today, as reported, to approximately 35,000 men, 12 guns, and 40 machine guns. Irrespective though of

the yet possible capture of greater Russian units it must be admitted that the retreat of Grand Duke Nicholas's army was carried out in a manner that deserves admiration from friend and foe alike.

Simultaneously with the struggle around the Ossowetz-Brest-Litovsk line, two important campaigns are being waged on the extreme southern and northern wings flanking the second Russian defensive line. In the south the Russian flanking protection is established through the fortified line extending from the lake region (about forty-five miles south of Brest-Litovsk) over Luboml (thirty miles west of Kovel) to the fortresses of Luzk and Rowno. The advance of General von Mackensen's extreme right wing on Vladimir-Wolynski and the fighting for the Bug crossing at Dorogusk (about ten miles west of Luboml) strongly indicate the coming of extended operations against the southern Russian flanking position. Their first object will be Kovel and the road from there to Brest-Litovsk.

Aside from Kovel's importance for operations against Brest-Litovsk from the southeast the possession of that town by the Teutons would also mean the severance of all direct communications between the Russian Galician armies, established along the banks of the Dniester, Zlota Lipa, and upper Bug Rivers, and those operating in Wolhynia and north of that province. Threatening Luzk and Rovno from the flank and the rear, the advance on Kovel would thus, simultaneously with exposing Brest-Litovsk to attack from the rear, force the evacuation of Eastern Galicia by the Russians, to avoid their being cut off from Kiev, the base of operations of all Russian armies south of the Kiev-Kovel line.

While consequently the operations against the Southern Russian flanking position are threatening two entirely different groups of armies alike, all movements against the Russian northern flank, extending from Ossowetz, or in case of the abandonment of that fortress, from Grodno, along the Niemen to Kovno, and from there through the region southeast of Ponevyezh to that west of Jacobstadt toward the Dwina, are simply directed against the one main breadline supplying the new Russian defensive line —the Wilna-Dunaburg-Petrograd railroad. If the Teutons here can break the wall protecting it, the Grodno-Brest-Litovsk line will become untenable.

It is in realization of this fact that the Russians have lately made the most desperate efforts to resume the offensive in this northeastern seat of war in order to drive back the menacing projection of the northern Germanic flank. The latter on its part is protected in its extreme left by a flanking army advancing on Riga parallel to the Aa River front as far south as the region southwest of Friedrichstadt. It is against this army that the Russians have launched their main attack. On the 11th of August they succeeded in driving it back over the Aa River, southwest of Mitau. A further advance would have brought the attacking forces into the rear of the German Kovno-Dunaburg front, and would have placed it in a precarious position. Simultaneously with their attack south of Riga the Russians began to press back the German front in the section west of Jacobstadt and southwest of Ponevyezh. But already on the 14th the Russian advance was everywhere checked, and on the 15th Berlin reported the "developments of new battles," (the German term indicating the coming of a vigorous offensive movement) on the entire Dunaburg-Kovno front, and progress at the latter fortress, commanding the most direct and easiest approach to the Bialystok-Petrograd railroad at Vilna.

At the same time come reports of the evacuation of Bialystok and Vilna by their civil population and of Riga by the British authorities there. They are boding ill for the Czar's cause.

While this gigantic struggle has been going on, little, if any, fighting of importance has taken place in France and West Flanders during the last four weeks. Worthy of note are only the following three actions: The third week of July found the French launching an energetic offensive in the Vosges, where they succeeded in pushing their lines about half a mile further west and northwest along the valley of the Fecht. In the region

of Münster, however, by the end of July they were definitely checked in their attempt to extend their foothold in Alsace.

The second action, taking place in the Argonne, was begun early in August on German initiative, the Crown Prince forcing his front between Four de Paris and Varennes forward a little less than a mile, and in co-operation with this offensive pressing the French by a sharp attack southeast of Verdun from the region of Les Eparges, the object of both movements being to draw tighter the semicircle around Verdun, closing in on the fortress from the northwest and the southeast. The movement in this seat of war may possibly be regarded as preparing for a more vigorous campaign here after that in Russia has been brought to a close, and it may also be of moral influence, giving evidence of the great German strength, making possible the carrying on of an offensive on two fronts simultaneously, but the actual results attained around Verdun in the last four weeks are negligible.

The third scene of hard fighting was in West Flanders in the region of Hooge, (due west of Ypres,) where the Germans in the first days of August delivered a vigorous surprise attack, driving the British from the village and taking several of their trenches. But already on Aug. 10 the British launched their counterattack, which regained Hooge and their trenches with the exception of those south of the village.

Since Aug. 10 the situation here, too, has again been deadlocked, as all along the rest of the western front.

On the Austro-Italian front the first general Italian offensive on the Austrian positions during June had had for its object Garizia, the key to Trieste. The principal attacks had been directed against the Austrian position at Plava dominating the approach to the city from the north, and that at Doberdo, flanking Gorizia to the south. Simultaneously vigorous frontal attacks also had been launched against the bridgehead at Gorizia. By the end of June all these assaults had seemed insufficient. A reorganization of the Italian attacking forces took place and July 15 marked the beginning of the second big offensive. This time the main onslaught to break the Austrian Isonzo front was apparently directed further north toward the region of Marlborghetto and Tolmino, its object being the valleys of the Drave and Save, east and southeast of Tarvis, the possession of which would cut the entire Austrian Isonzo front off from all direct communication with Vienna and the northeast generally. The attacks on the Plateau of Doberdo and the position near Canale during the first week of August are therefore more in the nature of feint offensives.

On Aug. 14 came the report from the Italian General Staff that " pending consolidation of positions taken " no new attacks would be made. In view of the fact that the Austrian front was then nowhere broken, this report can but mean an admission that the second big Italian offensive on the Isonzo front has suffered the fate of the first.

The Italian operations on the Tyrolese frontier, where the early part of August has witnessed fighting principally in the region of Condino, to the southeast of Roverto, and in the Cadore Mountains, are merely of a defensive character, aiming purely at frustrating Austrian counterattacks from the north, menacing the rear of the Italian operations on the Isonzo.

Thus, as in France, the middle of August finds the situation on the Austro-Italian front temporarily deadlocked.

In the Dardanelles and on the Serbian frontier the situation is likewise unchanged since July 15. In the former field of operations the Allies have landed additional troops, and have again assumed a vigorous offensive, but the results have yet to be reported. It would appear, of course, that the recent allied activity on Gallipoli is a political move—a bid for support from the Balkan States, on whose possible help the allied powers seem to have high hopes.

A Crisis in the Balkans

Allied Powers' Attempt to Reorganize the Balkan League

In an Associated Press dispatch from London dated Aug. 14, 1915, *appeared the following summary account of the efforts made by the Quadruple Entente to bring to its side in the war the united force of the Balkan peoples:*

AFFAIRS in the Balkans are approaching a crisis. While diplomatic negotiations are proceeding in an effort to induce States still neutral to cast their lot with one side or the other, the troops of the central powers massed on the Balkan frontiers are planning, it is believed, to force a way through to relieve Turkey, who is believed to be badly in need of shells.

The concentration of these troops, which has been followed by an artillery attack on Serbian positions, is equally a menace to Rumania, which again has refused to permit shells to pass through her territory to Turkey. The Rumanian Army is already partly mobilized, and four new divisions of reserves have been called out.

Bulgaria has as yet made no move while awaiting the reply of the Quadruple Entente to her demand that Serbia and Greece concede Macedonia to her in return for her military support. This answer probably will be forthcoming after the meeting of the Greek and Serbian Parliaments next week.

While the Serbians point out what they consider the unfairness of the Bulgarian demand, they show an inclination to make some concessions to obtain the support of their former ally.

Greece is more firm in her refusal, but it is believed here that there may be a change in her policy when former Premier Venizelos returns to power, although he has a strong pro-German party opposed to him, and, according to a telegram from Berlin tonight, King Constantine will offer him the Premiership only on the understanding that strict neutrality shall be maintained. This was the point upon which the King and M. Venizelos disagreed when a new Cabinet was appointed and Parliament was dissolved.

Inasmuch as M. Venizelos was supported by the people at a general election, it was thought the King might fall into line, but the dispatch from Berlin indicates that he has not changed his views. Should Bulgaria attack Serbia, however, Greece is bound by treaty obligations to support Serbia as her ally.

Will the Attempt Succeed?

By Adamantios Th. Polyzoides

Editor of The New York Daily Greek Atlantis.

Europe, and especially the powers constituting today the Quadruple Entente, committed the most unpardonable blunder when at the close of the first Balkan war, in May, 1913, they tore asunder the Balkan League, which such men as Eleutherios Venizelos for Greece, Nicholas Pashitch for Serbia, and Ivan Gueshoff for Bulgaria took the pains of forming, with the aim of doing away with the Turk in Europe.

Today Germany, looking over the later failures of her diplomacy, cannot but give due credit to the men who succeeded in breaking the Balkan League, thus making it possible for Turkey to take once more the field at a time when, had things gone otherwise, she would already be dead and buried.

For Germany to keep the Balkan States neutral when the partition of the Ottoman Empire is well nigh at hand

Map of the Balkan States and Austria-Hungary.

means something more than a diplomatic success. It means her victory against Russia, and may mean more if the strait remains closed and Serbia open to a new invasion. And for this reason those who place the key to the solution of the European war in the Balkans are only too well on the right side.

This in large part explains the recent activity on the part of the Allies of the Entente in their efforts to reconstruct the Balkan League, and to throw its weight in the balance against the coalition of the three empires. But to form a Balkan alliance is more difficult than to destroy it, and the Entente powers have felt this difficulty since they first approached the Balkan statesmen with the object of reconciling the differences which arose after the disruption of the league in 1913. The obstacles to such an effort were, and are, still great; yet greater has been the activity of the German Foreign Office in the Balkan capitals, where every means was used in order to render any rapprochement between the Balkan peoples impossible. Mutual distrust has always been characteristic of these nationalities, and racial hatred is easily awakened when adroitly manipulated by ingenious outsiders. It must be said that the Balkan peoples have been too long under the influences of outsiders if they do not see their position in the light of their common interests. Germany, therefore, has a very fertile ground to work on when it comes to set up Bulgar against Greek and Rumanian against Serbian, and all three against Bulgar; while Germany may cite any time to the Balkan States the different cases in which the Entente powers have not been so pro-Balkan as to sacrifice an iota of their particular interests in favor of their so-called protégés.

To counterpoise the work of the Germans the Allies must act in such a way as to convince the Balkans that only by fighting in unison at the side of the Entente will they eventually get what they have been striving for during a long period of years. At the same time the Allies must live up to the standards

of liberty and righteousness as exemplified in their gallant defense of heroic Belgium. The principle of nationality once raised, the Allies are bound to uphold it and to apply it wherever possible. A war that is giving Poland a new birth of freedom should not subjugate other small peoples to objectionable masters. If this is a war for liberation, then let it be a sincere effort for that purpose. The Balkan peoples are not afraid to join in this struggle on the side of the champions of the liberties of the small peoples. But of one thing they want to be sure beforehand, and this is that in case of victory their aspirations will be materialized. Let us see now what the Balkans want in order to throw in their lot with the Allies.

In the first place, they do not want to see Russia in Constantinople. On this score Greeks and Bulgars and Rumanians, and even Serbs, agree. With Russia once established on the Bosporus, the Balkan peoples fear a dominion that will overwhelm one day their national existence. This fear is openly expressed all over the Balkans, and finds the most eloquent echo in the utterances of the powerful nationalist parties of Rumania, Bulgaria, and Greece, and in the majority of the press of these countries. With the strait in the hands of Russia, Rumania would feel as if bottled up in the Black Sea, with her huge grain exports at the mercy of such a formidable concurrent as the Russian Empire. Bulgaria fears Russian occupation of Constantinople more than any one of her neighbors. It seems that there is not enough room for two Czars in the Balkans, and it is most likely that with the advent of the one the other must go. As for Greece, her claims on Byzantium are too well known to allow any doubt as to her sentiments with regard to an eventual occupation of Constantinople by the Russians. Serbia at the same time devoted as she is to Russia, would see with some uneasiness the master of all the Slavs established on the Balkan peninsula.

In order to allay these apprehensions of the Balkan States, the Allies must find a way, or rather a formula, by which to convince them that their fears are groundless, and that the giving of Constantinople to Russia will not in the least endanger their national individuality, and their various interests. This the Entente Powers can do. By taking the sting off the Russian occupation of Constantinople, a way for further negotiations with the Balkan States is opened. Let us examine now the other points of the question covering the possibilities of Balkan co-operation with the Entente powers.

As I previously said, the Allies want all the Balkan States with them. What they are looking for is not the separate assistance that each of these States can offer to the Allies in the case of entering the war. The co-operation of all the Balkans with the Entente is wanted, and to that end the reconstruction of the Balkan League is imperative. It is to this purpose that the Allies have been sounding lately the Balkan Governments in the effort to find a common ground where their views and aspirations could meet. They began with Athens, where they found, in the person of E. K. Venizelos, a statesman who was willing to compromise the Greco-Bulgarian differences in view of the brilliant future that opened for Greece in Asia Minor in case of her co-operation with the Entente. The promises of the Allies, however, not being well defined, King Constantine thought it better to dismiss his Premier and to ask the opinion of the country on the matter. The question of going to war or not going to war with the Allies was not put to the electorate; nevertheless Mr. Venizelos came out victorious at the election, simply because the Hellenic people wants him and no other at the head of the Government. Notwithstanding this there is a strong movement in Greece against the idea of any territorial concession to Bulgaria, no matter what compensations are offered elsewhere by the Allies. The Greek non-concessionists are strengthened in their stand by the attitude of the Allies themselves, which persist in making vague promises wholly unsuitable to the Greek mind.

With Bulgaria the case is different.

GENERAL ZUPELLI
Italy's Minister of War
(Photo from Medem Photo Service)

RIGHT HON. VISCOUNT BUXTON

Governor-General of the Union of South Africa, Which Has Added by Conquest German South Africa to the British Crown

(Photo from Bain News Service)

She wants Andrianople and the Enos-Midia of Eastern Thrace, which territory was won by her in the Balkan war and allotted to her both by her allies and the Peace Congress of London. She wants the Bulgarian territory of Dobrudja, which was taken from her by Rumania at the close of the second Balkan war. Then she wants Serbian Macedonia, and finally a portion of Greek Macedonia. Giving Bulgaria what she wants, she becomes the predominant Balkan power unless her neighbors increase their territories correspondingly. It goes without saying that the principle of nationality claimed by Bulgaria in support of her aspirations is not strictly applied either in Thrace or in the whole of Serbian Macedonia, to say nothing of the Greek Macedonia. Bulgaria wants too much, but may be induced to accept less. But even supposing that the Allies are bent on satisfying all of her demands, let us examine how this will be done.

It has been said that Russia, once master of Constantinople, will not agree to the giving up to Bulgaria of the Enos-Midia line because she may want that territory as an additional hinterland to Byzantium. How much of this is true we do not know, but the story has appeared in the foremost Slav review of Petrograd, duly passed by the censor. Rumania, in order to return Dobrudja to Bulgaria, wants all of the seven Rumanian Provinces of Austria, but, then, Russia wants Transylvania for herself, therefore Rumania gives nothing to Bulgaria.

Serbia is not willing to cede her Macedonia unless she gets a part of the Albanian littoral on the Adriatic, or, if not that, at least Dalmatia. Italy wants both places for herself. Greece wants those territories of Asia Minor where the overwhelming majority is Greek; this territory ought to be substantial, inasmuch as Greece loses valuable ground in Macedonia. It seems that the Entente powers want the best part of Asia Minor for themselves, while Italy and England keep the islands of the Archipelago, which never ceased to be Greek in population, in spirit, and in history.

In view of the eventual reconstruction of the Balkan Alliance, the above-mentioned factors must not be underestimated. Of course, a Balkan league with two million splendid soldiers can do away with the Turk, can open the strait, and permit Russia to get all the ammunition she needs; can strike at Austria, and end the war in a magnificent victory for the allied cause, which is the cause of humanity. But in order to have the Balkans fight for justice and liberty justice must be done to them and liberty given them.

Hellas

By WALTER SICHEL.

[From The Westminster Gazette.]

She looks from out the centuries
  Across her own Aegean main.
As deep, as violet, throb her eyes
  Lit up for Freedom once again:—
The Muse for whom her poets bled,
  Whom passionate Byron crowned anew,
On whose loved shores the undying dead
  Received him—ere the sword he drew.

Ah! Can she stay on such a day
  When classic echoes, like a bell,
Peal o'er the mountains, past the bay,
  Up to the field where Hector fell?
Pallas Athene leads unseen.
  Olive and laurel bind her brow—
The favorite child of Wisdom's queen,
  Will scarcely prove a laggard now.

After Warsaw's Fall

Prosecution of the Teutonic Campaign in Russia

Reported Overtures by the Germans Seeking a Separate Peace with Russia and Other Powers

ALMOST simultaneously from Petrograd and from Milan announcements that, after the capture of Warsaw, Germany was seriously engaged in preliminary negotiations for the establishment of a peace were published. That the Dardanelles and Galicia had been offered by Berlin to Petrograd; that Egypt was asked for Turkey, and that the mediation of the Pope was desired on the basis of the restitution of Belgium, were some of the reports which gained currency between Aug. 5, the date of the fall of Warsaw, and Aug. 12, when the Novoe Vremya of Petrograd confirmed the rumors of German overtures for a separate peace with Russia.

Besides Galicia and the Dardanelles, the Novoe Vremya said, Germany would guarantee the integrity of the Russian frontiers, at the same time stipulating for Egypt on the pretext of ceding that country to Turkey, and for a free hand to deal with Russia's allies. The report declared that these offers were rejected by the Czar's Government.

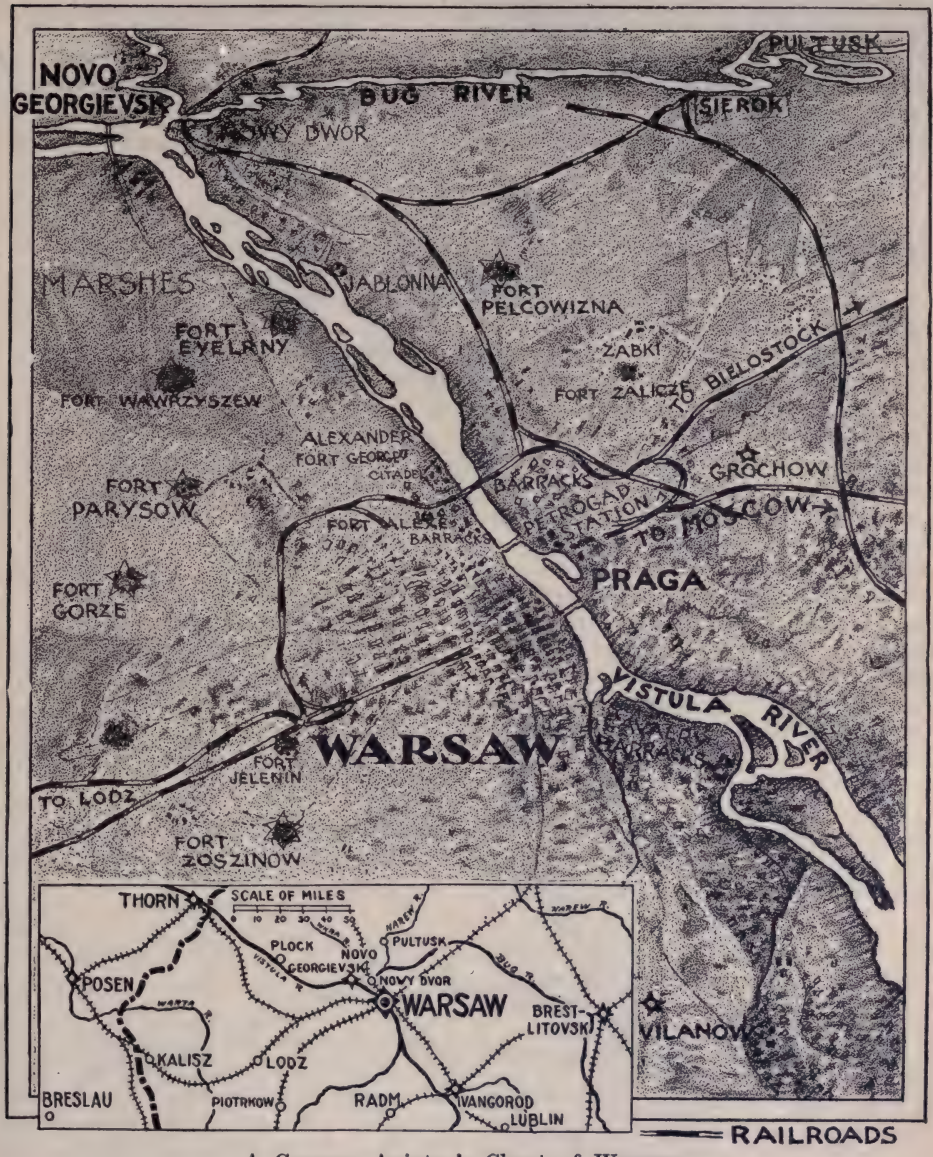
These reports followed the announcement of Germany's greatest victory in the war—the occupation of Warsaw on Aug. 5. The campaign had been fought along a front of 1,000 miles, extending from the Baltic to the frontier of Rumania. According to the most authoritative figures, there have been between 6,000,000 and 7,000,000 men engaged in almost daily conflict. Since the last week in May the attacks upon the sides of the inclosing lines—600 miles—of Warsaw have been the most furious in modern warfare, and only equaled by the vain counterattacks which have been more or less successfully launched by the Russians.

Up to July 29 hope was entertained in military quarters in London and Paris that the Russians had some tremendous coup in reserve, that they would stand a siege in their principal fortresses along the Warsaw salient, and then, with a free army still in the field, would attempt to turn the Teutonic flanks, either in the north between Libau and Riga or in the south on the Bukowinian-Rumanian frontier, or suddenly issue from the lines northeast and southeast of Warsaw and attempt to envelop the armies in the west.

But on July 29 came advices from Petrograd that in order to save the Russian armies a retreat—the greatest in history, even greater than the retreat of the Russians through Galicia from April 28 to May 25—must be made and the fortresses of the Warsaw salient abandoned. It was the same story of the Galician retreat—lack of ammunition. The armies would retire to prepared and selected ground forming a similar angle, 130 miles east of the Warsaw salient, and there await on the defensive the munitions necessary for a new and formidable offensive.

Notwithstanding the feints in the north, in the direction of Riga, the aim of the German General Staff has been obvious since the beginning of June. It was to reach the railways on which the Russian armies of the salient depended for their supplies and by which they might make their retreat.

To do this, seven huge armies were employed. The German northern army operating against the double-track line which runs from Warsaw to Petrograd, 1,000 miles in the northeast, via Bielostok and Grodno; the army operating in the Suwalki district, threatening the same line further west; the army fight-



A German Aviator's Chart of Warsaw.

ing as a support of the latter on the Narew; the army directly aimed at Warsaw, north of the Vistula; the army directly aimed at Warsaw, south of the Vistula; ten or twelve Austrian army corps, attempting to reach the single and double-track railway from Ivangorod to Brest-Litowsk and Moscow, and the line from Warsaw to Kiev via Lublin and Chelm, which is for the most part a single track, and, finally, the army of von Linsingen, made up of Austria's "new" army of 700,000 or 800,000 men, operating on the Lipa east of Lemberg.

On July 29, in a special cable to THE NEW YORK TIMES, it was announced that the fate of Europe hung on the decision that Russia might make, the question being: Shall Russia settle down to a war of position in her vast fortifications

around Warsaw, or shall she "continue to barter space against time, withdrawing from the line of the Vistula and points on it of both strategic and political importance in order to gain the time which Germany has already stored in the form of inexhaustible gun munitions?"

The reply to this question was the evacuation of Warsaw, and a retreat like that of General Kuropatkin from Liao-Yang, with the attempt to inflict on the pursuers losses greater than those suffered by the retreating army.

Encircling movements from the north and pressure from the west by the Austro-Germans, together with attacks on the fortresses of Warsaw, Lomza, and Ostrolenka to the northeast, and Ivangorod to the southeast, enabled the four Teuton armies to press the Grand Duke Nicholas's forces beyond the gates of Warsaw. The Russians abandoned Lublin on July 31; the Austro-Germans on Aug. 3 had occupied Mitau on the north and progressed beyond Chelm in Southeast Poland, and the Russians on Aug. 5 retired to the outer works of Lomza and Ostrolenka, while an Austrian wedge in the south was endeavoring to separate the Czar's armies in Poland and lower Russia. The Russian rearguard action was successful in delaying the capture of Warsaw at midnight of that day, the army of the Bavarian Prince Leopold leading, until the evacuation of the Polish capital was completed.

But on Aug. 7, with the exception of the great intrenched camp of Novo Georgievsk, the Russians had evacuated the whole line of the Vistula River, Ivangorod, the southern fortress, having fallen into the hands of the Austro-German Army. Reports that Kovno was being evacuated reached London on that day; on Aug. 12 the German official report announced that the Warsaw-Petrograd Railroad had been reached at the junction southeast of Ostrov, and the invaders were in the Benjaminov forts, east of Novo Georgievsk.

Further north, between Poniowitz and Dvinsk, where General von Bülow was advancing rapidly, the Germans were reported on Aug. 14 to be severely checked, and to have fallen into a trap set by the Grand Duke Nicholas. On Aug. 16 the German drive at Dvinsk was renewed, General von Bülow again taking the offensive with Field Marshal von Hindenburg. General von Hindenburg on Aug. 17 reported that his army had been successful in cutting the Russian line between the Narew and Bug Rivers, and the outer works of Kovno were taken. Field Marshal von Mackensen was also reported to be pushing back the Russians along the Bug.

Taking of Kovno.

Kovno, one of the crucial points in the Russian defensive in the north, was captured by the Germans on the night of Aug. 19, and the road to the Vilna, Warsaw, and Petrograd railway, as reported by the German War Office, was laid open to the troops of Emperor William.

A dispatch to Reuter's Telegram Company from Amsterdam reported a dispatch received there from Berlin announcing that Emperor William sent telegrams of congratulations to Field Marshal von Hindenburg and Generals von Eichhorn and Litsmann. That to von Hindenburg said:

"With Kovno the first and strongest bulwark of the inner line of the Russian defenses has fallen into German hands. For this brilliant feat of arms the Fatherland is indebted, as well as for the incomparable bravery of its sons and your conspicuous initiative. I express to your Excellency my warmest appreciation.

"Upon Col. Gen. von Eichhorn, who guided the movements of the army with such prudence, I confer the Order Pour le Mérite, and upon General Litsmann, whose arrangement along the attacking front secured a victory, the Oak Leaves of Merit."

Germanic War Area in the East, Showing the Battle Line on August 15, 1915.

The Invasion of Courland

Operations of Field Marshal von Hindenburg Officially Reported

The first detailed official German account of the operations of Field Marshal von Hindenburg in Courland, which played their part in the taking of Warsaw, appears below as translated from the German newspapers that published the official dispatches.

OPPOSITE KOVNO.

The following was reported from the German Great Headquarters, and printed in the Nord-Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung of June 20:

WHILE the German and Austro-Hungarian troops under the command of General von Mackensen prepared and successfully carried through the great drive in Galicia the armies of Field Marshal von Hindenburg had the task to maintain and enlarge the great successes won in the northern part of the mighty battlefield. By the direct threat toward Warsaw his troops have prevented any great offensive by the Russians, and in the Winter battles of the Masurian Lakes have with the utmost exertion of their forces swept German lands clean of the enemy. One must have driven in the beautiful days of early Summer through the East Prussian border counties, must have seen the waving fields of grain round about the sad mementos of the Russians' mania for destruction, fully to appreciate the significance of those great liberating actions.

But the troops of the Field Marshal could not and did not wish to rest upon their laurels. Not easily would the tough Russians give up their hunger for East Prussia, although they attempted no general offensive with the utilization of their wealth of human material, but continually made new single thrusts from their defensive positions. They held the fortress line on the Narew, the Bobr, and the Niemen, and sent attacking columns forward, especially from Grodno and Kovno. For this they have now lost their enthusiasm. Not only have German troops bloodily repelled all their advances and taken firm footing on the lines northward, Prasznyz, Augustowo, Suwalki, Kalwarja, Mariampol, to Sapiezyszki, up along the Niemen, but north of the Niemen they have penetrated with a surprising offensive far into the enemy's lines. The brief Russian raid to Memel was followed by the invasion of Courland by our troops. It was as though Field Marshal von Hindenburg desired to show to the world by examples of both sorts how the Russians and how the Germans undertake and carry out such ventures. Concerning the final aim of these far-sweeping operations to the north of the Niemen as well as other movements of larger scope still under way, naturally nothing specific can be said before their conclusion. However, attention may be directed to the peculiar sort of warfare which occupied the leaders and their troops in the northeast, even in times of comparative quiet. The great distances, the comparatively broad extensions of the fronts of all units of both friend and enemy, and, not least, also the peculiar characteristics of our Russian opponents, make possible up there independent operations of small bodies of troops which would be quite unthinkable in other areas of the war.

On the Narew, the Bobr, and Niemen front such individual operations have occurred during the last months in large numbers. Naturally, as compared with the great battles in other places, they fell into the background; they are, however, when closely observed, of high military interest. They demand in a high degree independence and readiness of resolve on the part of the leaders and make very great demands on the troops. The superior training of German officers and

soldiers, which has shown itself in the long-drawn war of positions on the west front, shows itself also effectively on the east front in a war of movements of smaller scale. Most of these individual undertakings would have been possible only to German leaders and troops, many of them only when carried on against an enemy such as the Russians.

Especially successful examples of the way in which Field Marshal von Hindenburg's Russian strategy may be transferred to a smaller scale have recently been furnished by General of Infantry Litzmann with the troops under him. In accordance with the immediate orders of General von Eichhorn, he holds the watch south of the Niemen, opposite the great Russian fortress Kovno and the fortified place Olita. The Russians believed they could break through the line of his troops. From the great forest west of Kovno they sent attacking columns against the German left wing. General Litzmann, however, quickly gathered all the men whom he could spare from other points, and with these troops just as they came—forming many of the units upon the very battlefield itself—struck the Russians at Szaki so powerfully that they flowed back into the forest. But the German General did not wish to have them before his front in this territory so difficult of observation. He decided to clear this whole forest to its eastern edge, which is reached by the guns of the fortress Kovno of the enemy. To do this he brought up as many troops as possible on his left wing and started an encircling attack of wide scope. A strong column from Mariampol and from the Szeczupa line broke through the built-up defensive position of the Russians and advanced toward the southern corner of the great forest, where at Dembowa Buda it came upon strong resistance.

At the same time a strong body of troops entered the northern part of the forest and, swinging to the right, marched on several parallel roads in a southern direction. To carry out a frontal attack the cavalry went forward from west toward the east and then to the southeast, here accomplishing a genuine infantry task, while a second body of cavalry did not find it necessary to leave its horses, and received orders to ride forward on the outermost left flank, along the Niemen, and if possible to bar the roads for the enemy's retreat toward Kovno. These were the glowing hot days of the second week in June, and in the pine forests stretching for miles there reigned an intense heat with complete absence of any breeze. But the German will to victory knew no weakening. Three Russian positions which had been established in the river valleys of the forest were one after another encircled from the north, and had to be given up. The Russians recognized the danger of the great concentric attack, and defended themselves bravely. Most of all, they were concerned to keep open as long as possible the road for the retreat to Kovno. Both to our southern column at Dembowa Buda, which was now pushing forward further on the Kovno road, and to our encircling cavalry from the Niemen they opposed obstinate resistance, and in the meantime hastened the retreat toward Kovno of all such forces as could still escape. However, the ring of the German troops closed too swiftly.

When our tireless warriors in the night pushed forward to the railroad station at Koslowa Buda, in the southern part of the forest, they found there a sleeping army. Something like 3,000 Russians had lain down there exhausted in order the next day to seek an opening to escape. Now they were saved the trouble; they were carried away into captivity. The great forest was free of the enemy.

This was a well-deserved triumph, for undertakings of this sort are by no means easy. The moving backward and forward of troop units demands the greatest amount of attention and adaptability of the leaders. The maintenance of connections to the rear is made extremely difficult, and, above all, the troops must accomplish extraordinary things in marching, enduring, and fighting against an enemy full of wiles, skilled in digging himself in and in the fighting of re-

treat. It is a joy to see with what inexhaustible freshness and enthusiasm officers and men—frequently reserve and Landwehr formations—carry on this changeable but very exhausting sort of warfare and in what good condition they as well as their horses still are at the end of ten months of war. Rest here there is seldom. Hardly is there sufficient time given for the rearrangement of organizations when a new operation has to begin. But the men remain fresh when they see results. For several successful individual operations, when they have a common final aim, may have a common result which equals in value a great victory.

The battles north of the Niemen, which likewise were highly interesting, but differed in their characteristics from those here described, are sketched in a second description.

NORTH OF THE NIEMEN.

The following is reported to the Hamburger Fremdenblatt of July 9, 1915, from the German Great Headquarters:

North of the Niemen the troops falling within the district under the command of Field Marshal von Hindenburg hold firmly in their possession a large piece of beautiful Courland. One can ride more than 100 kilometers from the East Prussian border before striking the German infantry positions, which stretch for a distance of roughly 250 kilometers down to the Niemen River and up to the shore of the Baltic beyond Libau. As yet the operations there are not concluded, and the Russians may frequently puzzle their heads as to what may still be meted out to them there.

In the beginning the enemy, as we know from captured officers, was completely mistaken as to the significance of the German invasion of Courland. He belieevd that he had to do only with He believed that he had to do only with might possibly be supported by small infantry detachments brought along on automobiles. Only the powerful resistance of our troops to the continually increasing Russian reinforcements and our successful counterthrusts showed the true condition of affairs.

But the error of the Russians was excusable. For the rapidity of this advance was indeed astonishing—a brilliant achievement for the German troops and their leaders. Within a few days General von Lauenstein, who had been intrusted with the leadership of the enterprise, had made his preparations, in which was included an understanding with sections of the navy operating in the Baltic.

Early on the 27th of April the march of invasion began from the outermost flanking positions. One column crossed the Niemen at Schmalleningken, and to the north another, from 100 to 125 kilometers distant, moved forward from the northernmost tip of East Prussia in an easterly direction. The former on the first day penetrated Courland nearly fifty kilometers with its infantry and with its cavalry to Rossienie and beyond the Dubissa. The other encountered resistance at Koreiany and had to force the crossing over the Minna sector under the fire of the Russian heavy artillery, but also went forward a considerable distance. A third column moved forward more slowly in the middle. The boldness of this undertaking, so far extended, is the more apparent when it is considered that reports concerning the numbers and arms of the enemy had a very uncertain sound and that toward the end of April the country was still, on the whole, in a condition that permitted of forward movement practically only on the highways.

On the morning of the second day it was learned that the enemy who had stood on the main road from Tilsit to Mitau, near Staudwile, had hurriedly withdrawn to avoid the threatened encircling of his left flank, and had marched off toward Kielmy and Szawle, (Shavli.) Immediately the right column was sent after him. This, still on the same evening, took Kielmy, thus having moved forward in two days seventy-five kilometers. The left column was called upon to make especially heavy exertions in the very difficult, mostly marshy country. It was therefore supported by the middle column by a march half to the left, but yet its cavalry reached

Worny, on the line of lakes to the west of Kielmy.

The third day carried the right column across the Windawski Canal, which was defended by the enemy; the left to Worny and Telsze, and its cavalry to Trischki, northwest of Szawle. Nearly 100 kilometers still further forward have been won. The Russians, who had probably had in Courland only cavalry and home-defense troops, now quickly bring up reinforcements by railroad and unload them between Szawle and Szadow. But the leaders of the German troops are not to be confused by this; the cavalry receives orders to encircle Szawle, and the march goes on.

On the afternoon of the 30th of April, the fourth day, the right column enters Szawle, which the Russians have set afire, and continues the pursuit some distance beyond. The cavalry on the road to Janischki and Mitau captures machine guns, ammunition wagons, and baggage. It destroys the railroad tracks southwest and northwest of Szawle. The next day brings reports according to which the enemy is sending troops from Kovno to threaten our right flank. The infantry therefore is halted and pushed off to the right with instructions to hold the Dubissa line; the cavalry, however, continually reaches out further and further forward. After skirmishes it occupies Janischki and Shagory, which are only six miles distant from Mitau, and takes prisoners, machine guns, and baggage from the enemy's troops, which are fleeing in complete disruption to Mitau. On the 2d of May it encircles those Russians that have remained standing in the intervening territory at Skaisgiry and takes 1,000 prisoners. Extensive destruction of railway tracks on all lines that can be reached succeeds according to our desires.

Thereupon the cavalry of the right column is taken back to support the counterthrust on the Dubissa, but that of the left, although the arrival in Mitau of Russian reinforcements is already reported, pushes forward by way of Grünhof, takes prisoner an additional 2,000 Russians, and on the 3d of May stands two kilometers in front of Mitau.

The extraordinary achievements in marching of both our infantry and our cavalry are the more to be highly rated as the roads were in the worst imaginable condition and the bridges mostly destroyed. Now the fending off of the Russian thrust against our left flank made new heavy demands on the endurance of our troops. An encircling counteroffensive on the Dubissa proved to the enemy how greatly he had underestimated the strength of the German troops. He recovered but slowly from his surprise and brought up fresh masses of infantry, cavalry, and artillery. At the same time the Russians suffered still another surprise, a move which they apparently had not at all considered—the advance on Libau. While our main columns were striving by forced marches to reach the upper Dubissa, a supplementary column went forward somewhat more slowly from Memel northward. One section marched by way of Schkndy, another close to the seashore from the south toward Libau.

Of the enemy little was to be seen. The navy had already, on the 29th of April, shaken his nerve by the bombardment of Libau. On the 6th of May he himself blew up the east forts, and then our warships silenced the shore batteries. Our land troops, which found it difficult to believe in such a weak defense of the great port, and were always holding themselves in readiness for an ambush, took the south forts after a short fight and attacked from the land side. But the Russians literally had not been prepared for this stroke. All they could do was still to unload increased numbers of troops in Mitau and send them forward in a southwesterly direction. But they were unable to break our slowly retiring line. On the 8th of May, at 6 o'clock in the morning, the German soldiers marched into Libau. Some 1,500 prisoners, twelve guns, and a number of machine guns constituted the booty. Daring enterprise had won its reward. Detachments were quickly sent forward some fifty kilometers through Prekuln and Hasenpot and along the shore to safeguard the place. They have thus far repulsed all attacks of the enemy,

who is slowly gathering his forces, and will continue to do so.

The significance of this whole invasion of Courland and the development of the further battles in the Dubissa sector are dealt with separately.

LIBAU—THE BATTLES ON THE DUBISSA.

The following is supplied to the Wolff Telegraphic Bureau by the German Great Headquarters and published in the Frankfurter Zeitung of July 10:

The immediate aim of the invasion of Courland was to occupy the Dubissa line and to seize Libau. This success has been achieved and can doubtless be maintained. We have built up very strong positions there. Our further intentions must for the present remain unrevealed. We can be well content with the results thus far attained. Not only have the German troops distinguished themselves in marching and in battle against an enemy who at times was far superior in numbers, but they have also occupied a beautiful and valuable portion of Russian soil.

Southern Courland presents a landscape of much charm. Much as the well-marked chains of hills, the tall forests, abundantly scattered clumps of shrubbery, and innumerable waters, lakes, and swamps render difficult the life of the soldier, they are a delight to the peaceful observer. Yet withal they do not rob the country of the magic of vast distances. It is only necessary to ascend a moderate hill to enjoy a view for miles round about. One can readily understand that once Germans settled here. Unfortunately, our troops find little or no sign of this here now. The thin German surface layer mostly disappeared when the war came into the neighborhood, and the inhabitants of the country by no means show themselves friendly to the Germans. Our men complain especially of the hostility and spying of the Letts, who in times past were worked up against the Germans by the Russians. Further south, among the Lithuanians, however, it is not much better. Life for the troops of the army of occupation in these districts, which, aside from the few large estates, can show hardly a decent house, according to German standards, and even in the large villages no proper inn, is anything but pleasant. The Russian Government has played the part of but a niggardly stepmother toward this originally rich region and has but very sparingly supplied it with roads and railways. Yet the country had not been so impoverished that considerable stores could not be utilized for us of subsistence for man and beast, of cattle, leather, and alcohol.

Of particular value, of course, was the seizure of the big commercial port of Libau. In the warehouses there we found considerable quantities of export goods which proved very valuable to us and which in spite of attempts at interruption on the part of minor Russian naval forces, are steadily being transported to Germany. Of intrenching and other military tools there was a sufficient supply for a whole army. The factory in which they are made is now being carried on by the German Government. In Libau are now also being manufactured for our army chains, barbed wire, and other ironwork. A saddlery and a tannery are also at work. Finally, there is a big dairy for supplying the poorer part of the population with milk. Thus the Germans are accomplishing here a valuable task of organization, which it has been found necessary to extend even to the financial system, which, on account of a lack of care on the part of the Russian Government, was approaching a complete breakdown. The City of Libau has issued assignats which serve as currency; the Bank of Libau honors the requisition certificates at a discount of 10 per cent. No levy has been laid upon the city; it is required only to assist in the maintenance of the troops quartered there. Libau is a city of attractive appearance and a bathing resort with streets of fashionable villas, pretty lawns, and a splendid beach. The Russians, especially the officials, for the most part have fled.

However, the invasion of Courland has not only brought us economic advantages and a valuable piece of Russia, but has achieved important results from

a military standpoint in that it has caused the enemy to throw strong forces into this quarter and thereby to weaken his line at other points.

The encounters on the Dubissa line have been marked by many bloody fights. In their course our troops have gradually gone from the defensive, which was carried on with powerful counter-thrusts, to the offensive.

From the first period an engagement may be selected here which is typical of the battles of that time on the Dubissa and which affords a model picture of the co-operation of the three principal arms. The Russians put great value on the possession of the Dubissa line, and especially of Rossieny, which dominates it as the point of junction of the highways. On the 22d of May they brought up a fresh body of élite troops, the First Caucasian Rifle Brigade, consisting of four infantry regiments and the artillery belonging thereto. This, supported by the Fifteenth Cavalry Division, began to move toward Rossieny, but was held for a whole day by the outposts of our cavalry on the other side of the Dubissa. The time was sufficient to permit of the bringing up of enough German reinforcements and to prepare a counterattack. On the 23d of May we let the enemy come over the river and approach Rossieny from the north. During the night, however, the greater part of our troops was led around the western wing of the enemy and placed in readiness to attack.

When it grew light their fate was let loose upon the Russians. Strong artillery fire from our position to the north of Rossieny was poured upon the Russian trenches. At the same time our infantry therw itself upon the flank of the Russian position and rolled it up. Without offering any serious resistance, the Russians fled across the Dubissa to escape the effect of our artillery. Not until they had reached the forest on the west bank of the river did they again settle down to make a stand. But now the pressure of our troops approaching from the south made itself felt. At the same time portions of our cavalry entered into the fight from the north, taking the Russians in the rear. Under these circumstances the Russians did not further continue the battle. Neither were they able to hold their position, strongly constructed as a bridgehead on the west bank. With a bold dash our troops rushed the wire entanglements, and now the Russian masses flooded backward through the valley of the Dubissa under a most effective fire, suffering most serious losses. But even on the heights opposite they found no shelter. Here they had to continue their retreat under the flanking fire of our cavalry, which in the meantime had crossed the river and was advancing against the road of the retreat. Again the losses piled up.

It will be readily comprehended that under these circumstances only fragments of the Caucasian infantry were able to save themselves. Twenty-five hundred prisoners and fifteen machine guns remained in our hands. Counting their sanguinary sacrifices, the Caucasians lost fully one-half of their strength. The brigade for a long time was incapable of giving battle, and even later, when filled up with new complements of men, no longer showed any real fighting spirit. Our troops, on the other hand, which had suffered comparatively small losses, marched gayly singing into their positions.

Similar successful thrusts were made by our troops repeatedly on the Wenta against the enemy, who ever again kept pressing forward. Then, on the 5th of June, a general offensive, ordered by the superior command of the army along the whole line, set in, which brought our lines a considerable distance forward. We crossed beyond the Dubissa, in obstinate, hard-fought battles won the crossing of the Windawski Canal; occupied Height 145, near Bubie, which had been drenched with the blood of many conflicts; pushed so close to Szawle that our heavy guns could reach the city, and took Kane, twelve kilometers northwest of Szawle. On the 14th of June this operation came to a temporary stop.

The Russians in all these battles suffered enormous losses in dead, wounded, and prisoners. On the other hand, they had become very careful in the use of

their heavy artillery and very short of officers. It is significant that among 1,400 prisoners there were only a few officers and that no guns were taken with these. There seemed to be signs of the disintegration of the Russian Army in this region also. They are to be observed and utilized.

Warsaw

By Charles Johnston

COMING from Petrograd, you arrive at your terminus in the Praga suburb, which covers the low plain on the right bank of the Vistula. There you take a carriage, or, in these more modern days, a motor, and wend your way through streets indescribably dirty, as dirty and strong smelling as the streets of Naples, and as picturesque; yet with a totally different cast of countenance, for here the color is of the Jews, with its intensity, its poignancy, its tremendous possibilities of suffering and romance. For Warsaw, with its suburb, is one of the great Jewish cities of the world, having within its boundaries not less than five times as many Jews as inhabit Jerusalem.

From Praga, through these dingy, tortuous streets, unrelieved by any conspicuous monument or building, save one Russian church, you drive, or, as before, you motor, to the eastern end of the great Vistula bridge of Alexander II., which takes off from a very dainty little park, the only beautiful thing in the whole suburb. As soon as you are on the bridge, you are certain to be struck, first, by the width of the silver-white, swift-flowing river, and then by the exceedingly picturesque sky-line of the city on its western bank, very conspicuous, because it rises on a terrace some 120 feet high above the river. And, on your right hand, as you reach the western bank, rises the building that is the very heart of old Warsaw's history, the ancient royal palace, founded by the old Dukes of Mazovia, before the wild Hapsburgs had descended from their Hawk's Rock in Switzerland, for that is the meaning of the name, which is, in full, Habichtsburg, "the fort of the hawk."

If your eyes have been distorted by the skyscrapers of New York, you will find the old royal palace of Poland rather low, stunted, unimposing; and you will quickly realize that nothing at all of the twelfth century building remains, unless it be the big vaults; yet there is dignity and charm and pathos in the not very lofty walls with their columns and oblong windows, with the spire-topped tower in the centre of the front. Within, though there are fine halls, rich in many-colored marbles, yet they have been long stripped and desolate, and one's footsteps ring mournfully on the uncovered flags. The palace opens on the Square of King Sigismund, and from it one gets a good general view of the city, with its fourscore church towers, where, so recently, the bells rang melodiously for matins and vespers.

The practical thing to do, then, if you wish to see the city, is to follow one after another of the big avenues that radiate southward, westward, northward from Sigismund Square, beginning, let us say, with the south, which will take you along the direction of the old road to Cracow. This is the elegant quarter of the city, and there is a genuine Parisian charm in the finely built streets, with their very tastefully adorned shops, their gardens, their palaces. When you come to the Saxon Garden, named for one of the Kings of the Saxon dynasty who once ruled over Poland, stop, look, and listen; try to catch something of the spirit of the Polish people, who here show themselves to the very best advantage; for the Saxon Garden is to Warsaw what the Garden of the Tuileries is to Paris. And, as you watch, as you notice the distinction of the men, so many of whom are admirably dressed, as you become conscious of the personal note, the charm of the women,

for whom, perhaps, distinguished is a more fitting word than beautiful, though they are that also, and, if you are a lover of children, as the fineness and grace of the children impresses itself on your grateful soul, you will become profoundly convinced that, for all their tremendous errors, the Polish people have a genius, a message, so distinctive, so individual, that, for the sake of mankind as well as for themselves, their national spirit should have free and unimpeded scope. Without question, Poland should be once more a nation; if not the enormously extended empire it was in its greatest days, much larger than either France or Germany today, yet a nation large enough and strong enough to establish and hold its own type, its own genius, its own civilization absolutely unimpaired. Such a restored Poland will be doubly valuable: not only will it bear sound and excellent fruit of itself, but it will mediate and interpret between the vast Slav empire on the east and the diverse nations on the west; just as, in greater degree, semi-Oriental Russia will interpret and mediate between Europe and revived and vigorous Asia. Without doubt, it seems, such national restoration lies before Poland. And one is confident that, once it is achieved, the national note of Poland will declare itself to be, not pathetic and melancholy, but gay, blithe, joyous, full of rejoicing.

Then, if you think a little, brooding over the names, the Saxon Garden, the Saxon Palace overlooking it, you will ask yourself. Why these foreign Kings, these foreign dynasties, even while Poland was still a nation, unpartitioned? And the answer is, the fatal folly of the Polish nobles, who, more arrogant than the old noblesse of France, tore the kingdom to pieces in their haughty efforts to crush and outdo each other; who enrolled armies larger than the national armies, to make war upon each other, and who lost sight altogether of national aims, of national existence even, in their own insensate and vaulting ambitions. This perpetual discord, with the elective kingship which was the expression of it, was the ruin of a nation that deserves a better fate. Without that fatal weakening, Poland would never have been "divided and given to the Medes and Persians." Along the Ujazdowska Avenue, one comes to the most charming building in all Warsaw, the Lazienki Palace, in its altogether delicious gardens, mirrored in a lovely little lake, as essential to its beauty as are the marble reservoirs of the Taj Mahal, in which the loveliest of all buildings mirrors itself. But even here you do not get a single note of national Polish architecture. As a basis of comparison, think of Moscow with its Kremlin, its Scarlet Square, its startlingly vivid Church of Basil the Blessed. Moscow is the most individual city in the world. Warsaw, in its architecture, and especially in the forms of its many palaces, is not national, not Polish at all, but Italian, of the Renaissance, with just the same pillars and pilasters that one sees in every recent building in Western Europe, or, even more out of place, among the icicles of Petrograd, whose cathedrals and palaces, St. Isaac's, the Hermitage, the Winter Palace, even the very national Kazan Cathedral, are every one in the Italian style.

The Lazienki Palace was built at the end of the eighteenth century by King Stanislas Poniatowski, one of Poland's fatal rulers, and, in later years, it was the scene of one of the many tragic passages of Polish history, but this time not a tragedy of the Poles. For it was in the lovely little park of the Lazienki Palace that the Grand Duke Constantine bade a heavy-hearted farewell to Poland, and, after trying, in all sincerity, year after year, to win the affections, the trust, the confidence of the Poles, and trying altogether in vain. He was a son of the Emperor Nicholas I., and therefore a brother of Alexander II., liberator of the serfs and of the Balkan nations; a brother also of the Grand Duke Nicholas the elder, father of the present Commander in Chief, and himself Chief Commander of the Russian armies in the Turkish wars of 1877-78, which gave an assured national existence to Serbia, Bulgaria, and Rumania. Grand Duke Constantine, whose son, the royal poet, died only a few weeks ago, made the sincerest, the most loyal effort to make friends

with Poland; but all to no purpose. So this historic picture, too, comes to memory, as we turn back from the southern limit of the city, and return to our starting point, in the Sigismund Square.

Drive now to the north, along the narrowing avenue that takes you ultimately to the fort called the Citadel, on the outer fringe of the town. Nowhere will you get a more complete, more drastic contrast, for a few minutes takes you into the very heart of the old Jewish settlement, with its dark, gloomy, forbidding yet romantic, and romantically dirty streets. Here, in every face, keen, sallow, tragical, you will see the intensity, the fiery energy, that made St. Paul —and that, in so many cities, stoned St. Paul, on the accusation of treachery to the ancient ideals of the nation. The long, dark, seedy overcoat, which one imagines to be the Jewish gabardine of Shylock, the black, peaked cap, the high, rusty boots are universal, even on boys of 3 or 4, who are, but for the lack of straggling beards, adults in miniature; the keen, dark eyes of the younger girls, as intent as the eyes of Rebekah or Rachel; the shrewd, often shrewish faces of the elder women, all make a memorable, striking, poignant picture. It was a Jew, and one of the greatest of them, that said, " the glory of a woman is her hair "; yet, in obedience to some Talmudic injunction, these keen-eyed Jewish girls, as soon as they are married, have their heads shaved, and thereafter wear a wig, made of hair, or a mere skullcap of black silk; and this, too, adds its note, not an attractive one, to the vivid picture. Curiously enough, in the very heart of this northern part of the city is the Roman Catholic Cathedral of St. John, in which is kept a banner taken by John Sobieski in 1683, when he save Vienna from the all-conquering Turks. But even when one comes to study the Warsaw churches, and there are four score of them, of the Western rite, one finds them as little national as the palaces of the old nobles and Kings.

Coming back once more to the centre of the city, and going to the northwest, one finds two more beautiful buildings: the charming Krasniwski Palace, built, of course by an Italian architect, at the end of the seventeenth century, and restored after the great fire of 1783; and the Russian Cathedral, rebuilt in 1857—in the style, not of the genuinely Russian Kremlin and its churches, but of the Italian Renaissance.

Finally, to the southwest, a wide avenue, called, first, Senatorial Street and then Electoral Street, leads to the Wola Gate, beyond which is the fatal field on which were held the internecine elections of the Polish Kings—the cause, above all things, of the national downfall. On the way thither, one passes the Town Hall, a quite modern building, the Bank of Poland, the Zamoyski Palace, and the Church of St. Charles Borromeo.

And now Warsaw has once more fallen into the hands of an invader; once again, after many like calamities. In spite of its fortifications, built in 1339, it was captured, in 1596, from the Mazovians by the Poles, who had hitherto reigned at Cracow—a city that has all the Polish nationalism that Warsaw lacks; in 1655 was conquered by Charles Gustavus, to be won back again within the year by John Casimir, who once more lost it a month later. Throughout the second part of the seventeenth century, Saxon Kings reigned there; from 1735 to 1738 it was the scene of fierce fighting between Augustus II. and Stanislas Leszczynski; and 1764 to 1774, and again in 1793, it was occupied by the Russians, who never forgot the griefs that Moscow had suffered from the Poles, in the days when Poland was the stronger nation. In 1809 Warsaw was occupied by the armies of Austria, it being then, through Napoleon's ruling, the capital of the Grand Duchy of Warsaw; in 1813, it was once again occupied by Russia, which has dominated it now for over a century.

Let us hope that now, amid the clash of armies, Destiny may have in store for Poland a renewal of national life, in which the ancient dangers and evils will be conquered, the ancient genius once more shine out resplendent. The novels, the music, the singers, the actors of Poland are but a pledge of far greater riches in the days to come.

The Brave and Cheerful Briton

By Maximilian Harden

"An enforced holiday of indefinite duration" has been imposed upon Mr. Harden, the editor of Die Zukunft, and recognized as one of the ablest newspaper men in Europe, according to a cable dispatch from Copenhagen on Aug. 1, the dispatch stating that his recent articles had displeased the Berlin authorities. While his exile from Germany has not been confirmed, and while Die Zukunft still bears Mr. Harden's name as its editor, the issue of July 17 omits his leading article. The following article, yielding trbute to the British character and genius, was published by the German editor in the issue of May 22.

WHY berate the Britons? They are but doing what they must do. Why tell them, day in and day out, that we are the better, the superior ones, the only perfectly unselfish human beings on earth? It makes them only smile.

Nor should we ever have talked idiotically about blood relationship and Christian duty that commands pious brotherhood. We should have always borne in mind what Palmerston said in the House of Commons after the February revolution in Paris: "Only dreamers can labor under the romantic delusion that relations between nations, between Governments, are essentially, or even permanently, governed by friendship or similar emotions."

Germany had no reason to be thankful to Britain, but she had a hundred reasons to fear her—fear that is based upon respect. Great Britain is wonderfully strong, the biggest world empire that history has known; in three-fourths of the inhabited earth today the English language is spoken.

Germans who on the Rigi have once sat beside a Liverpool tailor disguised as a lord, Germans who gather their wisdom from the comic sheets, think they know Britain and the British. And this is their idea of Englishmen: Sneaking and cowardly; stiff, grouchy or spleenish; without a longing for Kultur; only a craze for sports and greed in their heads—that, roughly, is the popular picture.

That the most convincing new theories which taught us to learn nature and the mind; that Shakespeare's country had, even in the nineteenth century, the most productive literature (not poetry)—these things are overlooked. Because the Briton loves sport and spends almost as much time playing golf or football as the German does in drinking beer, he is ridiculed. Is the Englishman silly because he is anxious that his county should win in the cricket match? Does not his play, which steels the body, serve his fatherland?

Did you ever go into Hyde Park and there see the hundreds of sturdy, white-haired old men riding briskly on horseback? And the young girls and old ladies in the West End; the workmen with their children on the playgrounds? Look at them and compare them with the thin-blooded, prematurely withered, overfattened and wabbling figures you meet at every step in the Continental cities!

The Briton, cheerful, healthy, and brave, was quick to realize that only the strong can conquer the world, and he procured for himself the hygiene which is necessary to a nation confined most of the time to factories and offices, lest it die away. The Briton's mode of living and his actions are sensible; he can obey without humiliation and force and give obedience without arbitrary tyranny.

In India a Commissioner with only a handful of whites at his disposal commands millions of the brown race who do not dare wrinkle their brows before his glance. In London, if an uprising is feared, Dukes join hands with cellar tenants to do constable duty. Everybody, whether he possess fortune or have only a few pounds to lose, takes the oath, joins the ranks, and marches against the foes of society. And it is because this real-

ization of an ever-ready, defensive strength governs all minds that full freedom is given to speech, to criticism, to satire; that the most brazen things may be said with impunity about the King and his Ministers, about the institutions, officials, and about the national character. Not before the highest officer of the empire would the Briton bow the knee.

Young men and women associate in the closest friendship, pass whole days together on the river, without their aunts as chaperons, and not one rough or immodest word disturbs the harmless hilarity; any one who would dare offend the ears of decent women by indecent remarks would thereupon become impossible in that company.

We are only praising what deserves praise. Have the Britons peddler souls? They didn't think of their wares, but exposed them to the gravest possible danger and sacrificed billions in order to destroy Bonaparte, to whose hypnotic will and power they alone—in all Europe, they alone—did not succumb!

There are some in Germany who used to praise all these good qualities of the English. They knew that England has hardy human material, a moral sturdiness which of all nobilities is the most useful for battle, and that she has able women; that England was wise enough to guard against the endemic evils of all democracies and has remained in the twentieth century, as in the Wars of the Roses, an oiligarchy. Those Germans went mad when they read in the newspapers vilification of England, Germans who early and late had admired the noblesse in the lion's eye.

Those were the Germans who could not comprehend how a poor word could be said in behalf of the British Empire and its people, for to them the paramount, natural issue was: Germany must go hand and hand with Britain, must be Britain's friend—always only Britain's. They were not so dangerous as the Briton haters, who, during the Boer war, saw already the empire of the Angles crushed and crumbled, and who glowed with love for the Boers.

Never would England have become what she is today if all classes had not felt, as Palmerston said, that emotions do not determine the relations between nations.

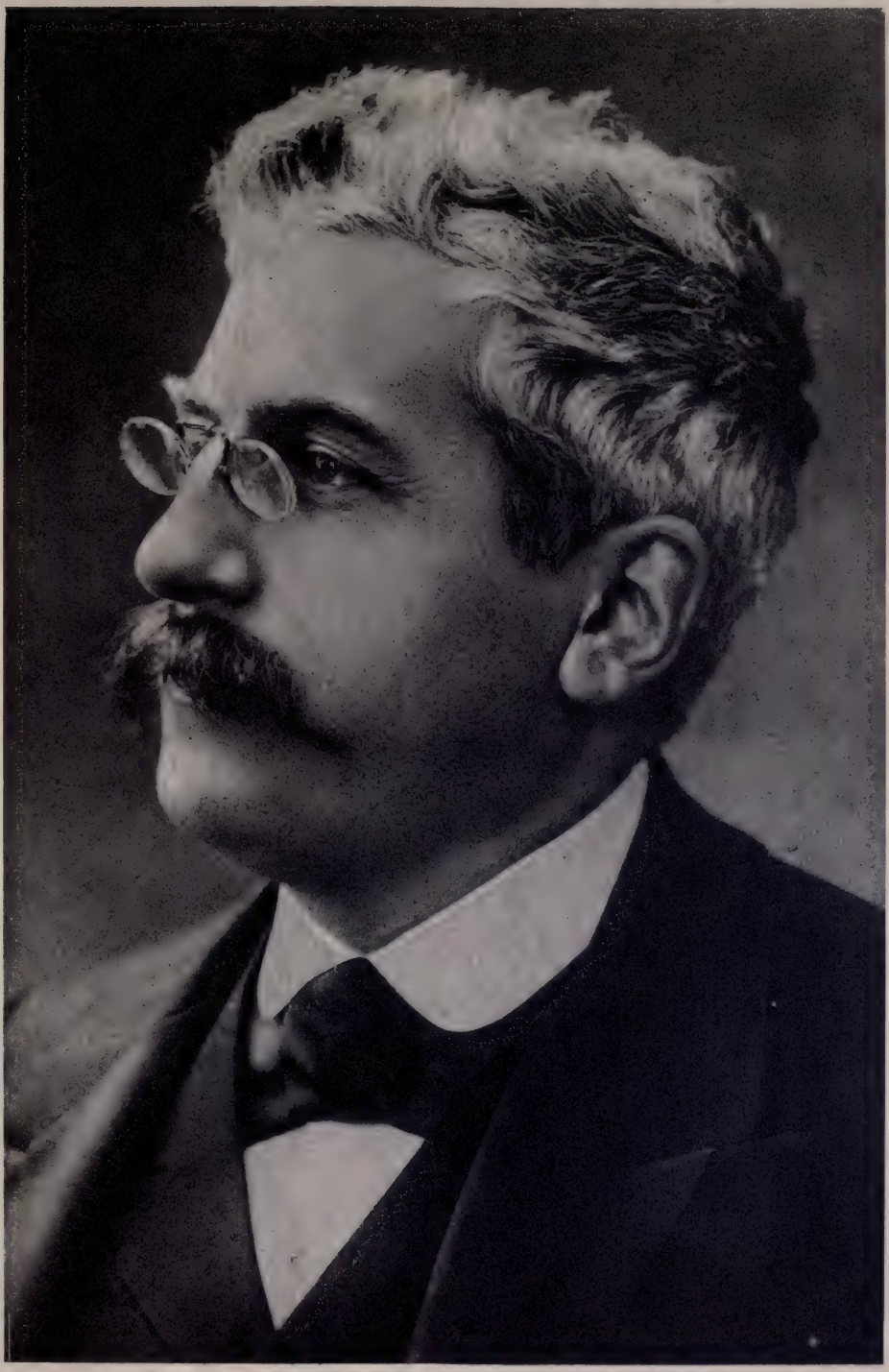
The individual Briton would be filled with disgust at seeing one of the yellow race at his table. The British Nation jubilated and cheered the Japanese because Japan rendered such good services as an instrument against Russia. And the British Nation cajoles the disgusting Hottentots when the Hottentots can be used to frustrate German plans of colonization.

Shall we Germans never learn the principles of practical politics? Shall we always despise the English because they let others fight their battles for them as long as it is possible; and because they pay for their wars only with gold, not with blood, the noblest treasure of all nations? Shall we always fumble along with abstract legal conceptions and emotions instead of considering only the advantage of our nation?

Whether we love the Russian or despise the Czar along with his whole miserable tribe, we do desire Russia to be our customer and ally. And whether we admire the free and sturdy Briton or sneer at him at times as a Quaker, hypocrite, and cant worshipper, we had to arm ourselves against England's aggressive power.

Germany long looked to England like a blown frog that soon must lose his breath. The German immigrant offered cheaper work than the British engineer, agent, clerk, or waiter. The German immigrant endured worse treatment than the Briton; he hastened on the market to divest himself of his national garb and to adapt himself to Anglo-Saxon ways; wore woolen shirts and could live without a bathtub; reason enough to despise him.

With these creatures, who do not train their bodies, who can't be happy without beer and who as thirty-year-olds sport an embonpoint—with them, so it was thought, Germany will not conquer the world. "A nice country—very nice. Dresden, Nuremberg, Freiburg, Heidelberg, Rothenburg; old churches and ancient ruins; and everywhere music, sausage and Munich beer; a nice country in-



M. MILLERAND
Minister of War of France
(Photo from Bain News Service)

TALAT BEY
Turkey's Acting Minister of Marine
(Photo from Paul Thompson)

deed, quite appropriate for a Spring journey! Also a very nice and striving industry which we may well help along with good profit, because they can't compete with us." So thought the Britons.

Long ago the German was not welcome in England, but he came to be respected. And no Englishman thinks of underestimating or even looking down upon Germany. Our industrials and merchants have become dangerous to the British captains of industry. England sometimes had the stronger personalities; Germany always had the stronger organization.

The Prussian lieutenant, the Deutsche Bank, the Allgemeine Elektrizitaets-Gesellschaft, the Badische Anilinfabrik and the German Socialists; these most visible fruits of German culture do not grow in Albion's sea climate. The competition soon became worse in that the German worker was content with lower pay, the technician more thoroughly trained, the German salesman more far-sighted.

With the desire of the statesmen to keep this young Continental power in check came the fury of those menaces commercially. The zone of friction had become greater; political intercourse more difficult.

Yet the possibility of a serious conflict seemed far distant. Bismarck, with his dead sure calculation and his majestic common sense, always knew just what he had to hope and what he had to fear from England. If he had had his way England and Germany would have long continued courteously to tolerate one another. The German Empire, he figured, needed a half century to strengthen itself domestically, to secure the new borders in the east and west, and meanwhile it might well play the part of the satiated State; the rest remained to be seen.

The situation was tolerable because the eyesight of Bismarck, who knew the traditions of English policy, was not blinded by illusions and because across the Channel the Whigs and the Tories knew that this Minister would never serve British desires, would never become their pawn.

Britannia quickly learned to hope again when Bismarck had been sent away. Victoria's son, the son of the Coburger Albert, when a young Prince had scolded his sister, who called herself "half English," and when he had cut his finger in a garrison yard, loudly declared that he hoped upon that occasion to get rid of his last drop of English blood.

But a young gentleman changes his mind sometimes. Also he can be humbugged. After the uncomfortable days of Narwa the Emperor went to London, and the consequence of this trip was the Zanzibar treaty which procured us Heligoland, but threw the chief key to East Africa into England's lap.

Blood is thicker than water. Much was talked of the German-British brotherhood in arms. The aged Empress was caressingly cajoled, and the young Emperor was decorated daily with new wooden wreaths by the English press. For had he not celebrated the British national heroes, Wellington and Kipling? Had not the friendship with Russia already become chilly? On many a holiday the Kaiser put on the English uniform. Never had the union jack waved in a brighter sun.

Nothing to fear in Asia, nothing in Africa. Zanzibar, Witu, Sudau, the Transvaal and Orangeland had been conquered. Blood is thicker than water. Hope shown brightly. "This German Emperor does not forget that he was born of an English woman."

If he only wouldn't talk so much of the value of sea power! "Our future lies upon the water." "Imperial power is sea power." "We need sorely a powerful fleet."

For what is all that necessary? To protect the export trade? No Briton believed that. Only for a war against England does the German Empire need a great war fleet. Is that war being planned? Is that why the Islam world is being so tenderly wooed? Is that why a German Prince is sent to Holland as coast guard? Is that why every imaginable courtesy is being paid to America and to France?

"Without the sanction of the German Emperor no great decision must be made in the future."

None? Not in Asia, either? That, then, was the intention of the treaty?

From the Thames to the Tweed suspicion gnawed along its way. When the Kaiser came to London or to Cowes and donned the tennis coat or the Admiral's gala dress and associated with English naval officers like a good fellow, everything again seemed in good order. But the joy never lasted long. Softly at first, then more audibly, the question was asked whether the British could afford to wait until Germany would be strong enough to pierce their vitals.

That would be the height of stupidity, answered experts like Lee and Fitzgerald. And thus answered with them the entire nation, whose political instinct is imperturable.

And then? Listen!

The Franco-British treaty was made contrary to all traditions; prestige was created in Morocco for a foreign power; the heavyweight point for the development of maritime power in the North Sea was transferred; a first installment of $30,000,000 was asked for new naval bases; the French fleet was invited to a coast visit, and the reinforced canal squadron was assigned to the Baltic for manoeuvres.

With all these measures, England remained fully within the purview of her sovereign rights.

But even in the year 1905 the cajolers and bootlickers were told by wise and sensible admonishers:

"Between Germany and England there was never friendship, will never be friendship, until Germany has taught England fear or until she has proved unmistakably to Great Britain that she does not propose to conquer the territory, which her expansion necessitates, from British ground.

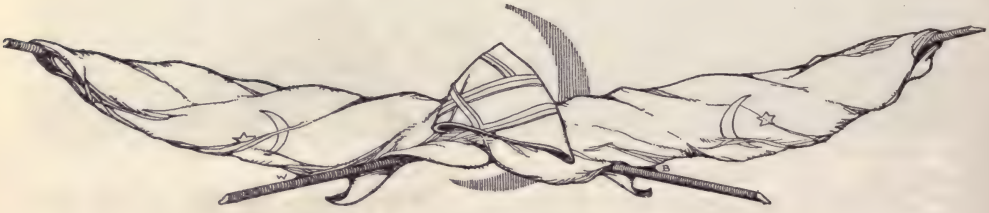
"Pacifist chatter has no effect upon the Britons. Nor has it the slightest effect upon them when we swear that our ships truly and honestly have not been built in order to contend with the island empire for the domination of the seas."

England has no Pitt, or Palmerston, or Disraeli today. England is not governed by the will of the masses, and, as fleets cannot be stamped out of the ground, she can calmly wait until she is still better prepared and has completely recovered from the consequences of the Boer war.

The idea that the English would be deterred by the fear of a Russian army, bravely marching toward India, or let themselves be overrun at the mouth of the Thames, while her Channel ships are manoeuvring in the Baltic, could find room only in the minds of ignoramuses.

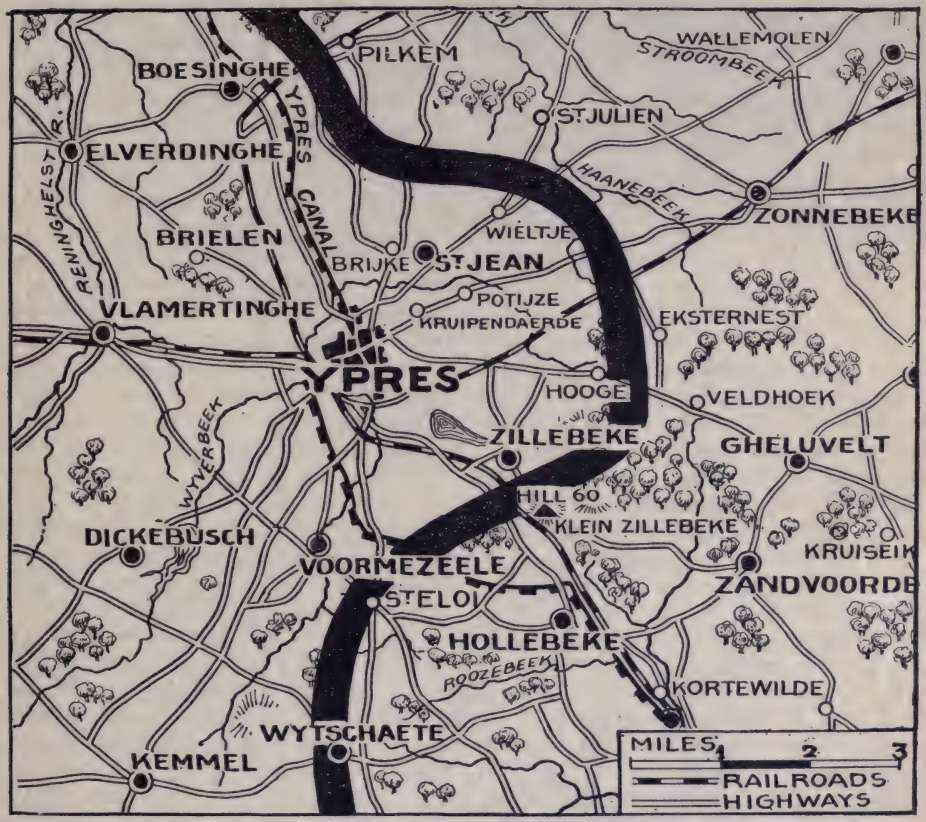
Any power that would quickly weaken the British world power would have had to dare the attempt before South Africa was conquered.

Then England was isolated and hated and confused by the difficulty of an undertaking which had been underestimated even by Chamberlain's commercial genius. Since then she has allied herself in Asia with Japan, in Europe with France, and had to expect from Belgium and from the Scandinavian countries at least a favorable neutrality.



The Western Front

Battles at Hooge, in the Argonne and Vosges—French, British, and German Reports of Fighting on Wavering Lines



Map Showing the Region Around Ypres and Recent English Operations, Recording Advance to Aug. 15, 1915.

ACCOUNTS of ground lost and re-won along lines that vary little in a war of attrition constitute the record of the past month at Hooge, the village east of Ypres, which has been the storm centre of the British-German engagements; in the Argonne region, where the German Crown Prince has been steadily winning and losing in his efforts to pierce the French line, and in the Vosges.

HOOGE.

The ground in the village of Hooge was won from the British troops by the Germans on July 30, the victors, as reported from the British front, using a new device for pouring "liquid fire" upon their enemy. Heavy fighting was again in progress on Aug. 3 on the British front near Hooge, and from that date until Aug. 9 the attacks for recapturing the trenches were continuous, when Field Marshal Sir John French issued this report:

> Since my communication of Aug. 1 the artillery on both sides has been active north and east of Ypres. In these exchanges the advantage has been with us.
>
> This morning, after a successful artillery

Scene of the German Crown Prince's Drive in the Argonne, and Westward to Rheims.

The British-French Battle Line, Showing Positions on Aug. 15, 1915.

bombardment, in which the French on our left co-operated effectively, we attacked the trenches at Hooge captured by the enemy on July 30. These were all retaken, and following up this success we made further progress north and west of Hooge, extending the front of the trenches captured 1,200 yards.

During this fighting our artillery shelled a German train at Langemarck, (five miles northeast of Ypres,) derailing and setting fire to five trucks.

The captures reported amounted to three officers and 124 men of other ranks and two machine guns.

On Aug. 10 Sir John French reported:

Northwest of Hooge and in the ruins of the village itself we have consolidated the ground gained yesterday, repulsing one weak infantry attack during the night. Yesterday afternoon there was no infantry fighting, but there was a violent artillery engagement, as a result of which all the trenches in the open ground south of Hooge became untenable by either side, and we have now slightly withdrawn the position of our line which lay south of the village.

This makes no material difference to our position.

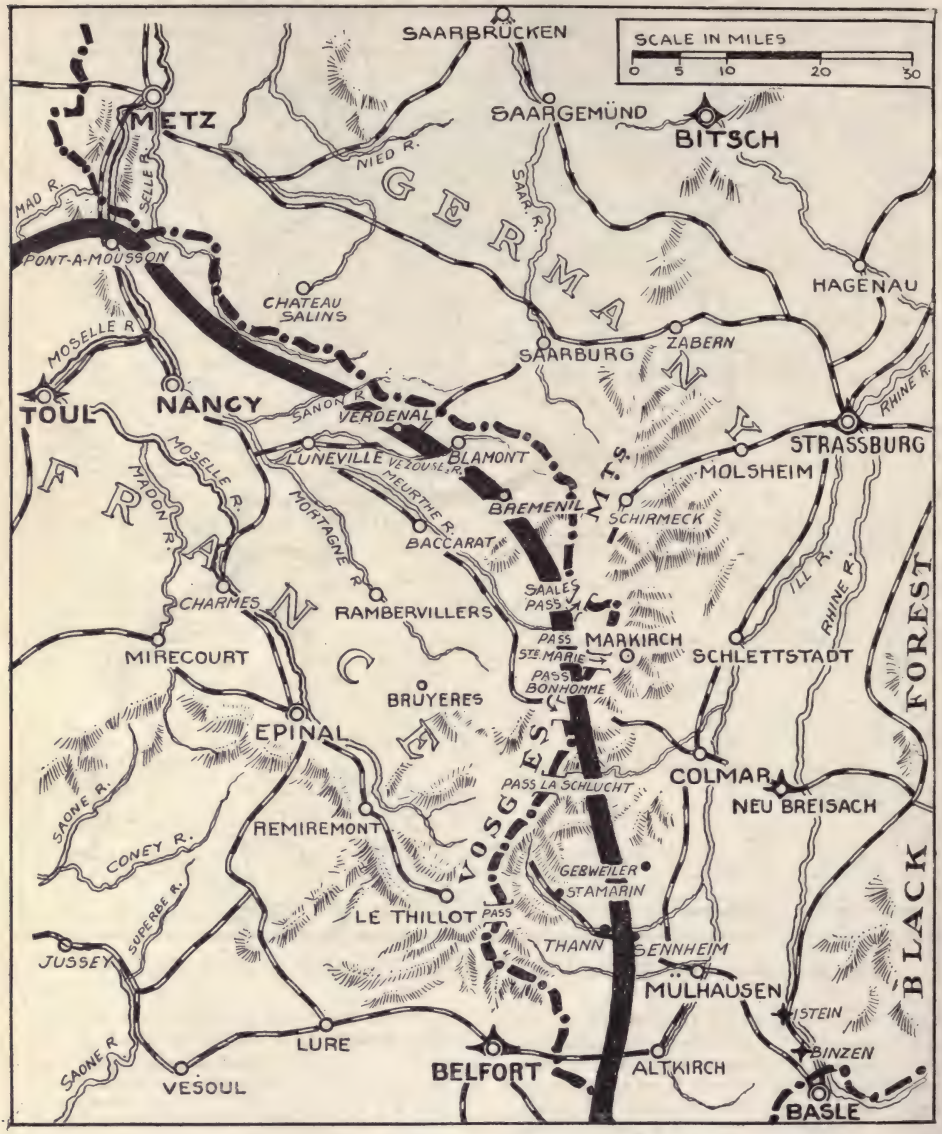
The total number of prisoners captured by us yesterday was 150.

Nothing further of consequence was reported in this area up to Aug. 17.

THE ARGONNE.

The official statement issued in Paris on Aug. 4 said:

In the Argonne the night was full of action. The Germans delivered two attacks, one between Hill No. 213 and the ravine at La Fontaine-aux-Charmes and



Military Operations in the Alsace Region, Showing Battle Line on Aug. 15, 1915.

the other in the region of Marie Thérèse. Our assailants were everywhere thrown back in their trenches by the fire of our infantry and artillery. At Four de Paris and in the direction of Haute Chevauchée there was last night incessant rifle firing between the trenches.

On Aug. 6 the attempts of the Germans to dash from their trenches were reported to be of a particularly violent character; on Aug. 7 the Crown Prince achieved slight successes, and on Aug. 11 the French night report admitted the piercing of the first line of French trenches in these words:

> In Artois artillery fighting is reported to have taken place in the sector north of Arras.
>
> In the Argonne the bombardment reported in the previous statement has increased in intensity. A great many asphyxiating shells were used. At daybreak the bombardment was followed by a violent German attack, made by at least three regi-

ments, against our positions between the road of Binarville-Vienne-le-Château and the Houyette Ravine.

In the centre of this sector the Germans succeeded in penetrating our positions, from which, however, they were driven out by our counterattack during the day. Only a portion of our first-line trenches remained in their hands. The prisoners captured by us belong to the Württemberg Corps.

The reports given out in Paris and Berlin on Aug. 12 said that trenches in the Argonne had been won and lost by the Germans in heavy fighting. The Paris report claimed the recapture of only a part of the ground lost, while Berlin contended that the French suffered heavily trying to hold the positions.

IN THE VOSGES.

The Paris official report of Aug. 7 said:

In the Vosges the enemy several times shelled our positions at Linge and Schratzmannele. Toward 2 P. M. they made an attack on the Pass of Schratzmannele, on the road from Honneck, which was stopped by our sweeping fire. At the end of the afternoon a new German attack was repulsed by means of a bayonet charge and grenades.

On Aug. 8 the following account of operations in the Vosges was published in Paris:

In the Vosges an attack delivered by the Germans at the end of the afternoon attained a character of extreme violence. It was directed against our positions at Lingekopf and Schratzmannele and the neck of land which separates these two heights. Our assailants were repulsed completely and suffered heavy losses. Before the portion of the front held by only one of our companies the corpses of more than one hundred Germans remained in the network of our entanglements.

In this district, as in the others, the engagements have been far from decisive, and apparently intended to prevent the defensive forces on both sides from being diverted to other fields of action rather than to assume an offensive in formidable degree.

German Reports From the West

Storming of Ban-de-Sapt., and Battles of Les Eparges

Reports from German Great Headquarters, describing in detail the campaign on the western front, are not so frequent as the official French and English reports. Therefore, the following official German accounts of military actions, which are deemed of first importance, possess unusual value.

BAN-DE-SAPT.

The following German Great Headquarters reports concerning the storming of the heights of Ban-de-Sapt in the Vosges appeared in the Hamburger Fremdenblatt of July 1, 1915:

BREAKING out from the line Chatas-Saales, our troops in the middle of September, last year, had stopped the advance of the French at Senones, Menil, and Ban-de-Sapt. On this line our brave Bavarians, together with their Prussian and Badensian comrades, have since then prevented any gains by the enemy. Yet in September our strength had not been sufficient to take from the French also the height dominating Ban-de-Sapt. It has been the centre of the fighting since then on this front.

The French continually strengthened their works on the top of the mountain and made a regular fortress of it. From it they were enabled to keep the country to a distance far behind our lines continually under infantry and machine gun fire, so that we could reach our forward lines only through approach trenches or at night. We lay half way up the slope of the mountain determined not to go back one step, but rather as soon as our forces were sufficient to seize the top. Thus there was begun an obstinate struggle which, since the end

Perspective Map of the Western Area of Fighting from the North Sea Coast Eastward, Showing the Flanders District.

of the year 1914, brought one piece after another of the French position into our possession.

Every means of fighting at close range was utilized. Day and night the struggle went on above and below the earth. Frequently the trenches ran within twenty meters and less of each other. Uncommonly strong wire obstacles, to the height of one and a half meters, surrounded the bulwarks of the French and thus divided friend from foe. Only through a maze of ditches formed by the slowly advancing infantry positions could one get to our forward lines. In accordance with their characteristic custom, the

Perspective Map of the Western Area of Fighting from the Meuse to Mülhausen.

tireless Bavarians had here given to practically every trench and every little piece of woods the name of one of their leaders of whom they had grown fond. A French point of support, in which, well built in and concealed behind sandbags, French sharpshooters lay in wait to bag any one who might carelessly expose himself, they had dubbed "Sepp." Opposite to it stood the Bavarian "Anti-Sepp" with its well-aimed rifles lying also in wait.

Finally, the preparations for the attack had advanced to such an extent that the height could definitely be snatched from the enemy. Long and thorough

preparations had been required for this result. Co-operation of artillery and infantry were prerequisite for a successful consummation of the plan. It was a brilliant success. On June 22, at 3 P. M. sharp, in accordance with watches exactly set right beforehand, the height of Ban-de-Sapt and the village of Fontenelle, lying behind it, in which French reserves were suspected to be stationed, were systematically taken under fire. In unison the "ultima ratio regis," from light field piece to heavy mortar, raised their iron voices, sending into the positions of the enemy their destruction-bringing missiles.

Prussian, Bavarian, Saxon, and Badensian artillery worked side by side. A terribly beautiful scene was here revealed to the observer. At times one could see a black column of smoke ascending house high; then again the shells as they struck sent up whirling through the air brown clouds of earth, mixed with boards and timbers; at other times the whole mountain was wrapped in smoke and dust. Not a living being was to be recognized.

To the French the attack had come so much as a surprise that it had been under way for more than half an hour before their artillery opened fire. According to reports made later by prisoners, everybody had fled to the dugouts at the beginning of the fire. All giving and transmission of orders had ceased. The surprise of the enemy artillery was such that it scattered its fire without plan over the country and in vain felt about for our fire-spouting guns, thundering from all directions. Thus a violent artillery fire was maintained for three and one-half hours. Sharply for 6:30 P. M. the storm was ordered. In an irresistible "forward" the brave Bavarian reserve troops, supported by Prussian infantry and chasseurs, stormed ahead. Prussian and Bavarian engineer troops and a few guns brought up to the immediate vicinity cleared the way for them where necessary. As soon as the enemy had recovered from the effects of our artillery fire he offered stubborn resistance with hand grenades, rifle and machine-gun fire. It availed him nothing.

The foremost storming sections overran four rows of the enemy's trenches, one after the other, and to hold the ground, which was drenched with the blood of their comrades, established themselves on the conquered space with rapid spade work. The sections which followed pulled out of the dugouts whatever was still alive. Most of the prisoners had been stunned and deafened by the bombardment. Many Frenchmen lay buried beneath the ruins of the wrecked dugouts. By 8 o'clock in the evening the dominating height of Ban-de-Sapt was in our possession. Soon thereafter the enemy took our new positions under a lively artillery fire which continued throughout the entire night and toward morning rose to the greatest intensity. In fact, the French succeeded in surprising those of our brave riflemen who had penetrated into a section of trench covered by their overwhelming artillery fire, but the dominant height itself in its full extent remained in our hands.

We had to count upon a counterattack. It was not to be expected that the enemy would leave to us without a considerable exertion of his strength a height which he had held for months at the cost of heavy sacrifices. On the 23d of June toward 9 o'clock in the forenoon, an extraordinarily heavy fire from numerous heavy guns set in against the newly won position. The bringing up of hostile reinforcements was reported. The intended counterattack was imminent. Whence it was to come was plain—the guns stood ready to receive the hostile lines. At 10 o'clock dense swarms of infantry attempted to rush forward from the village of Fontenelle and from the woods westward of the height toward our position, but were so showered with artillery fire even at the very start that the attack suffered a sanguinary collapse. Those that did not fall dead or wounded fled back into the woods or into the village of Fontenelle. The reserves visible there were scattered by our shells falling in their midst.

After this attempt, checked with heavy losses, the enemy ceased from further attacks. The capture of four machine guns alleged in the French official report is

a flat invention. Not a single one of our machine guns was lost.

BATTLES AT LES EPARGES.

The following report is made from the German Great Headquarters concerning the battles at Les Eparges, as printed in the Hamburger Nachrichten of June 30:

When at the end of April and in the early days of May we had succeeded in pushing forward for a considerable distance our positions on the Meuse heights between the village Les Eparges and the Grande Tranchée de Calonne leading from the ancient Summer residence of the Bishops of Verdun, Hattonchatel, to Verdun, we had to count on the fact that the French would endeavor to the best of their abilities to gain back the ground taken from them at this important point. However, at first things remained fairly quiet there. When, though, the Second French Army Corps, which some weeks before in its vain attacks on our brave troops between the Orne and Combres, especially at Maizeray and Marcheville, had suffered sanguinary reverses was again capable of giving battle, this army corps was placed in readiness for the recapture of our new positions on the Grande Tranchée. Since the middle of June the increasingly heavy French fire from guns of all calibres indicated an intended enterprise at this point. We had not deceived ourselves. When the enemy considered the effect of his artillery sufficient, on Sunday, June 20th, he set his fresh, well-rested troops in motion for the attack on our positions on both sides of the Tranchée.

The French here followed the method, which as a rule they prefer, of sending strong forces in succession against single selected points, often from several different directions. They succeeded finally in forcing their way into a section of our foremost trench, into some connecting trenches leading toward the rear, and even into a small part of our second line. During the same night, from Sunday to Monday, the regiment which had been struck by this forward thrust undertook a counterattack in which every one down to the last man took part. We succeeded, too, in taking back from the French the portion of the second line they had seized and the connecting trenches, and in doing so captured a number of prisoners. But the enemy did not let up. About noon of the 21st day of June he renewed his attack with fresh forces along the whole line. To the west of Tranchée he was continually, on the following days also, thrown back with heavy losses. To the east of the Tranchée, on the other hand, where the breach he had made still remained in his possession, he succeeded, pushing forward through this, in again winning ground inside our lines. Here, therefore, he had to be thrown out again.

For this task dawn of the 22d of June was fixed upon. The enemy, seemingly, was surprised. He vacated the trenches, leaving behind a considerable number of prisoners. Now, the French took our entire positions under heavy fire, lasting for whole days. For this purpose they had strengthened the numerous heavy artillery which they already had at this point by other batteries of heaviest calibre taken from other parts of the front. They used also in great quantities shells which, upon exploding, developed asphyxiating gases. The effect of such missiles is a double one. They act not only by means of the exploded fragments but also, by means of their gases, render men within a larger radius unfit for battle, at least for some time. To protect themselves against this action where shells of this sort have struck near their own infantry the French in the battles here described all wore smoke masks, [respirators.] * * * With such an enemy we had to contend in embittered hand-to-hand combats during the following days and nights.

The new means of close fighting with their terrible moral side-effects, here, too, again played an important rôle. Here belong especially the mine-throwers and hand grenades of varied construction, these, too, like the artillery shells, in the case of the French developing asphyxiating gases. Yet already on the 22d of June was shown the indisputable superiority of our infantry over the French. Whenever we undertook to attack we could overthrow even much stronger enemy

forces and especially in individual combat drive them out of their positions, however strongly built. Only against overwhelming artillery fire our brave troops had a most difficult task to stand. As soon as they had retaken a piece of trench the enemy's artillery directed against it a murderous fire which it is a physical impossibility to withstand.

In these embittered battles raging back and forth we could not deny our appreciation to the French infantry. Again and again they let themselves be sent forward to the attack, regardless of our very effective artillery and infantry fire, and regardless of the fire of their own artillery, which was laid without any consideration to where the French infantrymen had to carry out their attack. Inconsiderate, too, were the attacking troops, whose ranks were filled again and again from the rear, toward themselves. Again and again they stormed over the bodies of their comrades who had but just fallen, or had fallen in recent days of the battle, and lay in the blood-drenched thickets of the forest. Again and again they used heaps of these corpses as cover against the fire; indeed, even utilized the bodies of the brave fallen as regular breastworks where they were compelled quickly to establish themselves and dig themselves in. Many hundred corpses covered the narrow space between our and the enemy trenches. When, late in the evening of the 24th of June, we definitely secured possession of all the communicating trenches leading to our lost forward line these ditches were filled to the top with French bodies.

For days the French had held out here beside and on the bodies of their fallen comrades. Let it remain unsettled whether self-control or lack of feeling here played the greater part. For us, at any rate, this chamber of the dead was no fighting position. We filled in these trenches and made a common grave of them for the brave ones fallen there.

Nor shall mention be omitted in this connection of the fact that, according to the unvarying reports of all prisoners, the French infantry in the days from the 20th to the 25th of June received no warm food. Though this, like other testimony of prisoners, may not be absolutely accurate and be calculated to awaken pity, yet it should be borne in mind that experience shows that in the reports of prisoners there is usually some truth. The miserable condition of the prisoners confirmed this.

Our attack of the 25th of June came to a stop before that foremost part of our trenches which, to an extent of barely 300 meters, still remained in the enemy's possession. On the 26th of June we went forward to attack to the east of the obstinate battles just described, in the direction toward les Eparges. Not this village, lying in the valley, however, was the object aimed at in this undertaking, but the wooded mountain ridge sloping down toward it, on which the French had for a long time constructed strong defenses. These were to be taken. About noon, after careful preparation, our movement for the attack began. The enemy seemed not to have expected anything of this sort at this place. Without any extraordinary losses and in a comparatively short time, we succeeded in taking the first hostile positions by storm and in an uninterrupted further advance in conquering also the enemy's main position lying behind these. Such of the enemy as did not fall victims to our fire and our bayonets fled down the steep slopes toward Les Eparges, to reorganize themselves there.

Our attentive artillery did not neglect this opportunity to take this village under fire, as well as to block with well-directed shots, the roads leading to it, on which the enemy was bringing up his reinforcements. Shortly thereafter Les Eparges, with the war materials accumulated there, went up in flames. For us the task was now to hold the newly won advantageous position on the point of the projecting mountain southwest of Les Eparges, for we had to reckon with obstinate attempts of our enemy to retake what he had lost. On this very evening of the 26th of June the French counter-attacks began. They continued all night long to the 27th without any success. Here, too, as at both sides of the Tranchée, the French have suffered extraordinarily heavy losses.

However the situation may shape itself here further, the Second French Army Corps and the other French forces brought into action here have neither been able to force the intended break in one line at the Tranchée nor to maintain the dominating height to the southwest of Les Eparges against the surprise storming attack carried on with unparalleled courage by our battle-tried troops.

REPORT CONTINUED.

From the German Great Headquarters by the Wolff Telegraphic Bureau, the following appeared in the Frankfurter Zeitung of July 20:

Our last report of events on the heights of the Meuse closed with the comment that further undertakings of the French for the recapture of the important positions near Les Eparges, which had been taken from them were to be expected. The next day brought the confirmation. Since then the embittered battles there have continued. The terrible effect of the heavy artillery of both sides and of aerial and subterranean mines has converted the battleground at Les Eparges and Grande Tranchée de Calonne, as at Combres, into a chaos of stone heaps, rocks, tree stumps and scrub, interwoven with tangles of barbed wire, which had been shot through, and with destroyed fighting material of all sorts. In between were pits of explosions which had torn up the ground into veritable ravines. Here the task is a heavy one for the defender to find positions in trenches capable of defense, and for the attacker to work his way through this field of wreckage.

However monotonous the following description of the battles at Les Eparges may sound, yet for him who had to live through them they were fearfully exciting and a terribly wearing experience. These battles bear eloquent testimony to the mental and moral worth of our troops, who for days had to endure the hostile fire in their trenches and still hold themselves ready in positions filled in with earth and wreckage to make front against the enemy wherever he might dare to attempt to advance.

After a heavy artillery fire directed at our position from Les Eparges to beyond the Tranchée, two attacks occurred simultaneously on the 27th of June, at noon, one of them against our newly won positions southwest of Les Eparges, the other to the east of the Tranchée. Both were repulsed. In the evening the enemy again attacked, this time against the whole extent of our north front. This attack also was repulsed.

During the night preceding the 28th the French reinforced their artillery with additional guns of heavy calibre. These were emplaced for concentrated fire on our new position at Les Eparges, and the position at the Tranchée. Then on the 28th in the earliest dawn they opened a murderous fire against our entire forward and supporting lines. Shortly after 8 A. M. they undertook an attack from the Sonvaux ravine against our lines on the ridge at Les Eparges which we were able to repulse without difficulty. Four other attacks made in the course of the day against the same point met with similar lack of success. The day again had brought the enemy very heavy losses, but not the slightest gains. At the Tranchée no attacks were undertaken by either side on this day.

In the night preceding the 29th took place an extraordinarily heavy artillery surprise attack on our positions from Combres to beyond the Tranchée. A French storming operation seemed to be planned. Our fire, however, prevented its execution. Only to the east of the Tranchée the French in the night pushed forward on a narrow front. The attack broke down in our fire. All day long then our positions lay under heavy bombardment. At 12 o'clock noon the enemy then renewed his attacks at Les Eparges. For this he employed especially strong forces, apparently withdrawn from other places. But not even with their help did he succeed in breaking into our positions. This attack, as were three others made in the course of the afternoon, was again repulsed with heavy losses to the French. During the rest of the day and through the whole night the enemy covered our entire positions with an extraordinarily heavy fire. Also all roads leading into the Côtes Loraines, as well as the vil-

lages on these heights and those at their foot on the edge of the plain of Woevre, which, however, for a long time had not been inhabited by us, were again plentifully showered with fire.

Again on the 30th of June an attempt was made at an attack under continued strong bombardment. Then the enemy apparently saw the hopelessness of his ever repeated attacks. Perhaps, too, his heavy losses or want of ammunition was responsible for the fact that, from the evening of the last day of June onward, his efforts to retake the lost heights decreased. The first of July passed in comparative quiet. Any one, however, who should have approached our positions on the heights of the Meuse as a stranger to the conditions of this sort of fighting might well have believed that new battles were in progress for this much-fought-for point. For even when the fire here slackens down any one who is not accustomed to these uninterrupted battles at close range and to the echoing of the fire of all calibres in these ravines gets the impression of a regular large battle. Neither day nor night can there said to be quiet there. Even as the French in their desperate efforts make every sacrifice to secure gains, though ever so small, that shall in some measure make up for the failures they have suffered there, so we also do not cease to take under effective fire their ever repeated offensive efforts by timely bombardments of the villages in which they gather their troops for the attack, of their columns preparing to storm, and of their trenches of the front and the supporting lines, from which the forces for the attack are rushed forward.

Here the fliers have an especially valuable task. In these wooded hills, which make direct observation extremely difficult and in great part excludes it entirely, leaders and troops must depend on the reports which our brave airmen supply. For hours they circle over the sections assigned to them to be cleared up and report with signs agreed upon in advance every movement of the hostile batteries or of single guns. The enemy, for his part, knows the danger which the hostile fliers brings. He knows quite well that shortly he will be the object of attentions from the foe's artillery. The repulse of the airmen, therefore, is a task undertaken with zeal by both sides. In addition to the batteries specially assigned for this purpose and to the infantry and machine gun detachments, this task recently has fallen to special fighting aeroplanes.

We have already on another occasion pointed out that the German fliers, undoubtedly, have gained the ascendency over the enemy's air machines in aerial battles. Here, too, between the Meuse and the Moselle we can record similar success. Recently one of our fighting fliers succeeded in shooting down a French aeroplane in the neighborhood of Essey. Wherever German fighting aeroplanes appear the French fliers, since this and other successes, now without hesitation yield the air and in this admit their inferiority.

On the 2d of July we had opportunity to observe at length the activity of our own and French fliers. As the events of the next following day showed, the enemy had strengthened his artillery for combatting our positions on the Meuse heights, and employed the next day especially in obtaining the range for his new batteries, by firing test shots at our positions and roads of approach with the help of the fliers, in so far as our watchful battle aeroplanes permitted him. We therefore had to count on the continuation of the fighting in this section. During that night, in fact, the enemy increased his fire not only against the points which hitherto had been the main objects of attack, but also against the neighboring positions on the Combres Heights, and further to the northeast in the plain, as far as Marcheville and Maizeray.

The 3d of July brought renewed infantry attacks, introduced each time by heavy artillery fire, especially with bombs carrying asphyxiating gases, and accompanied by a hail of hand grenades, for the employment of which the Frenchmen latterly show a special fondness. Four times on this day the enemy violently attacked Les Eparges, and as many times was driven with bloody heads into flight.

It then seemed as if the impossibility of penetrating here had finally been realized and all further attempts given up, for the 4th and 5th of July brought only artillery fighting. But again on the evening of the 5th the increasing violence of the enemy's fire gave reason to expect the repetition of infantry attacks.

After two attempts late in the evening of the 5th to break into our positions had failed because of the watchfulness of our grenadiers, the 6th of July brought heavy fighting throughout the entire day.

Activity at the Dardanelles

British Reinforcements Made to Capture Gallipoli

IN THE ANZAC ZONE.

An Associated Press dispatch from London dated Aug. 11, 1915, *made this statement:*

WHILE the Russians are fighting desperately to extricate themselves from the cordon of Austro-German troops which is steadily pressing them more closely in Poland, their allies are working feverishly and with considerable success to open the Dardanelles, through which they hope to pour into Russia the much-needed munitions of war.

Since Saturday night, [Aug. 7,] when fresh British forces were landed on the Gallipoli Peninsula, there has been almost continuous fighting on the Krithia Road. In these operations Australians and New Zealanders in the "Anzac" region (a name taken from the initial letters of the words "Australia-New Zealand Army Corps") have co-operated with new forces to the north. Following up the successes of the troops on the Krithia Road and those to the north of the "Anzac" zone, the Australians and New Zealanders took the offensive yesterday and succeeded in trebling the area formerly held by them. Their comrades to the north, who assisted them, made no further progress, however.

These actions are believed here to be preliminary to a much more ambitious attempt which has been planned by the Anglo-French commanders to sweep the Turks before them. Very heavy losses, which already have been inflicted on the Turks, have had a discouraging effect upon the Ottoman troops, according to reports from Greece.

An official British statement given out on Aug. 11 *said:*

The latest report from Sir Ian Hamilton states that severe fighting continued yesterday in the Gallipoli Peninsula, mainly in the Anzac zone (on the western side of the peninsula) and in that to the north. The positions occupied were slightly varied in places, but the general result is that the area held at Anzac has been nearly trebled, owing chiefly to the gallantry and dash of the Australian and New Zealand Army Corps.

While to the north no further progress has yet been made, the troops have inflicted heavy losses on the enemy, and the French battleship St. Louis is reported to have put out of action five out of six guns in the Asiatic batteries.

A GERMAN REPORT.

In a Constantinople dispatch of Aug. 9 *by way of Berlin, transmitted by wireless to Sayville, L. I., on Aug.* 11, *appeared the following:*

Enver Pasha, the Turkish Minister of War, said today that, according to his information, the Entente Allies in their latest operations at the Dardanelles had landed three divisions of troops, comprising about 50,000 men. The losses among them, however, he asserted, had already been very heavy.

Enver Pasha's statement was made in an interview with a correspondent of

Perspective Map, Showing the Situation at the Dardanelles.

The Associated Press. The Turkish War Minister said:

"I am fully confident that we will be able to keep the Allies in check on the Gallipoli Peninsula, even if other large reinforcements are coming. We knew that the Allies' action of two days ago was due, and we prepared for it, with the result that we were not caught napping.

"According to my information, the Allies landed three divisions, about 50,000 men. No doubt part of them no longer

count, considering the heavy losses they sustained in attacks incident to the new offensive. The allied losses have been very heavy so far in this new attempt to force the Dardanelles."

Enver Pasha had just had a conference with his Chief of Staff at which the final report from the Gallipoli Peninsula operations was discussed. The War Minister seemed in the best of spirits, as he had just received news that a Turkish aeroplane had destroyed a submarine of the Entente Allies near Bulair. Reviewing the events at Sedd-el-Bahr during the last two days, he said:

"The Allies experienced dogged resistance in their attempts to force the Turkish positions at Sedd-el-Bahr. Two regiments attacking our centre there were annihilated with the exception of about sixty men, who were captured.

ALLIED FORCES JOINED.

A special cable from London to THE NEW YORK TIMES *reported on Aug.* 17:

Evidence of the improvement of the allied positions at the Dardanelles, both on land and sea, is found in a dispatch from Athens published in The Daily Chronicle this morning. The announcement that the fleet has been actively cooperating with the landing parties, particularly the latest, that at Suvla Bay, which has joined hands with the forces already in position on the heights of Sari Bair, gives ground for the belief that the allied naval commanders can now afford to disregard the menace of German submarines which sent them to cover for a considerable period.

The Chronicle's correspondent telegraphs:

"The new successful landing on the Gallipoli Peninsula at Suvla Bay and the manner in which it was effected cannot fail to exercise a moral effect on the enemy. The landing took place on the foreshore in front of Salt Lake. Only a small observation force of Turks was on the spot, the Turks having been led by recent activities and reports to concentrate their forces on the Asiatic side of the Dardanelles and at Smyrna, where they thought attacks probable.

"Our whole landing force, with its ammunition, baggage, and artillery, reached shore practically without opposition and with only very few casualties. The force immediately advanced and quickly seized the positions which it was planned should be taken. There strong intrenched positions were organized. The right wing was thrown out and a junction effected with the left wing of our forces established before Sari Bair. Our new positions threaten the Turks' communications by land with the extremity of the peninsula.

"The enemy eventually brought up forces to attack the newly landed troops, but these were easily repulsed with serious loss. This defeat of the enemy enabled our forces still further to consolidate their positions.

"The fleet during the last few days has been very active."

Stone Coffins Unearthed

[From The Sphere of London.]

A French officer, in a letter to his wife, mentions a diversion from shells, that of digging for Greek antiquities in the soil of the Gallipoli Peninsula. The following note will prove full of interest for students of Greek archaeology. "We are on a Greek necropolis of the highest antiquity," he writes, "some five or six centuries before our era. In digging trenches we come on enormous stones which resound. They are the lids of tombs. With great care (but not always) we remove the covering stone. Underneath is the interior of a stone coffin, which we empty little by little. Grain by grain for centuries the soil has gently intruded. Inside there is a skeleton more or less preserved.

Perspective Map of Austro-Italian Frontier, Showing Scene of the Recent Military Operations.

Italy's Attack on Gorizia

Positions Consolidated Preceding a Final Attempt on Austria's Fortress

WHILE the movements on the Italian fronts, as reported from official sources, have tended to confirm the objects of the campaign—the neutralization of the Trentino, the holding of the passes through the Carnic Alps, and a strong offensive along the Isonzo from Tarvis and Tolmino to the sea, including the capture of the heights around Gorizia in the centre and the investment of Trieste over the Carse Plateau in the south—little beyond incidentals has been achieved. These incidentals, however, are claimed to be of great potential value to the invaders.

In the Trentino, although the main artery which supplies the territory from Vienna has not been cut, it is announced that the railway from the north to Bolzano and Trent has been bombarded and on one occasion a troop train and its soldier passengers destroyed. In the south the lines around Rovereto and Riva, at the head of the Lago di Garda, have been contracted. The most prominent elevations captured in the vicinity of Gorizia have been Monte San Michele, from which the Austrians could bombard not only the approaches to the Carso but also the Italian positions at Gradisca and Monfalcone, and Monte dei Sei Busi on the southern ridge. On the Dalmatian coast a naval force has also captured the islands of Pelagosa (Grande and Piccola) and destroyed the wireless stations there and on the Island of Lagosta.

On Aug. 14 General Cadorna allowed the information to transpire at Udine that a general attack would shortly be made along the Isonzo front which would lead to the early fall of Gorizia and open the road over the Carzo Plateau to Trieste. It was added that the General Staff was hopeful that this campaign would be completed early in September.

This may be interpreted to mean that the commanding heights in the region were then in the possession of the Italians, but that a few days must elapse before placing the proper guns on the crests so that their occupation may be rendered effective for a general advance of the field armies below.

"The Glory Hole"

[From The London Daily Chronicle.]

The scene of Lieutenant Smyth's miraculous relief expedition with ten Sikh volunteers, across 250 yards of bullet-swept plain and through a river with a heavy box of bombs, which might have exploded at any moment.

"Praise to our Indian brother, and let the dark face have his due,"
Thanks for the loyal red blood that is flowing like water in France!
Life for a life they demanded, till all their munition was through.
Then—there was more in reserve. So was death, and they leaped at the chance!

British Lieutenant for leader, and ten swarthy Sikhs at his back,
Dragged the huge boxes of fireballs—was ever a deadlier freight?
Facing a fountain of bullets and under a sky shrapnel-black,
Threading a trenchful of corpses and crossing a river in spate.

Two of that noble Eleven won through with their perilous load,
One in the moment of triumph to fall in defending the Hole;
Only the British Lieutenant unscathed on the gun-riddled road!
Yet, has their angel recorded, "Eleven arrived at the goal."

A. W.

The Guarantees of a Lasting Peace

By Count Julius Andrassy

This article should be read in connection with the report that Germany has made overtures for peace with Russia, after her victorious Polish campaign.

Count Julius Andrássy, one of the foremost statesmen of the Dual Monarchy, is the son of a still more famous sire—that Count Julius Andrássy who, with Bismarck and Beaconsfield, engineered the Berlin Treaty of 1878, which contains all the seeds of the present war, beginning with the assignment of Bosnia-Herzegovina to the Austrian Empire, and the constriction of Bulgaria. The present Count Julius Andrássy has been Minister of the Interior for Hungary, and is a hereditary member of the Hungarian House of Lords. He was born on June 30, 1860. This article by him is taken from the Revue de Hongrie, of Budapest.

A PEACE is "good" when it gives to the belligerent State what it desires. It is easier to establish the goals of the aggressors than those of the attacked. Thus, it is clear that for France an advantageous peace would be one which gave her back at least Alsace-Lorraine, and for Serbia a peace that should give her at least Bosnia-Herzegovina and Dalmatia.

As for ourselves, it is harder to indicate the guarantees of a lasting peace. Before seeking them, we must make clear why we are at war.

It is not because we aim at universal domination; we can as boldly say that of ourselves as of Germany.

The exclusive domination of one nation, or of a group of nations, would mark a step backward for civilization as much as for the whole of humanity, and, besides, could not last, because, soon or late, everything is condemned to disappear which does not conform to the interests of progress, or which tends to make permanent the results of a momentary success.

In the war literature of today it is frequently maintained that it is to the interest of humanity and civilization that England and France should come out of the war victorious and mark with the seal of their genius the evolution of humanity; or that, on the contrary, the domination of Germany is rather to be desired, since Germany is the country of the highest civilization.

These are exaggerations which will not bear examination. It is impossible to say to which people humanity owes its finest progress in the past or which nation is called to render the greatest service in the future.

It is impossible to settle whether Shakespeare or Goethe, Helmholz or Pasteur, was greatest and has rendered the greatest services to humanity.

There is no "first nation," and even if there were one it would not be desirable that it should set the imprint of its particular genius on civilization. The qualities of any given people cannot take the place of those of others. The general interest demands that progress should be as varied as possible, that the greatest possible number of races should cooperate in the work of civilization, in freely unfolding their genius and their inborn qualities. Humanity needs not great nations only, but little nations also.

We must not forget that Homer and Phidias were the sons of a nation weak in numbers but independent, that the Michael Angelos and Raphaels were born and grew up on the soil of cities which had their separate life, that a Rembrandt and a Petöfi belonged to little nations. It is especially for us Magyars not to lose sight of this great truth, since we are members of a nation which is not willing to lose its identity in another, however great that other may be, and which is convinced that humanity has a stake in its preservation. * * *

I do not wish to enter into questions of detail; I have not in view to establish conditions which would be absolutely necessary for the conclusion of peace; I am not at all weighing the chances of the possible and the practicable. It even

seems to me that in the present war the changes and chances of which cannot be foreseen, public opinion would be wrong to express categorical desiderata and to wish to impose on the Governments stipulations fixed in advance. I shall therefore limit myself to looking at the question from a purely theoretical point of view, and to defining the conditions which, while safeguarding the interests of the Central European powers, would offer the guarantees of a lasting peace, but at the same time I wish to insist on the fact that in politics it is before all with possibility that one should count; it is in basing one's self on the calculation of real forces that one may see whether what one has proposed to one's self is practicable and bears a due proportion to the sacrifices imposed upon the country.

The present war has arisen from three powerful antagonisms—the Franco-German antagonism, the Anglo-German antagonism, and the antagonism between Muscovitism and its western neighbors.

To find the conditions of a "good" peace, we must therefore consider these antagonisms one by one and seek the solution which fits each of the problems which have provoked the conflict. * * *

The Franco-German antagonism goes back to a time when the French and German national consciousness, properly so called, was not yet in existence. * * * One of the goals of this war is to dissipate this ancient antagonism, which is a permanent danger to universal peace. This goal can be attained in two ways—either by an accord between the two countries or by the crushing of France.

The first solution is preferable. * * * If Germany does not profit by her victory to annex new territories, it will be difficult to make the French believe, as they have done in the past, that Germany has dreams of aggrandizing herself at the expense of France.

But if this hope should not be realized and the victories of Germany should only excite anew the hatred of the French for Germany, if they remain in the conviction that Germany is pursuing a policy of aggression toward their country, then Germany will see herself forced to put an end to this struggle of the two peoples by the final weakening of France.

Bismarck said, as early as 1887, that if Germany was forced once more to draw the sword against France, and came forth once more victorious from the conflict, she would have to knock France out for thirty years, and so act that at least one generation could not bear arms against Germany. "The war of 1870," he said, "would be child's play in comparison with the next war, when they would try to bleed each other white."

Today it is still possible for the French to avoid this fate for their country. The Germans have no hatred for them, and would be altogether rejoiced to remove, by an amicable arrangement, the sword of Damocles which the enmity of France suspends over Germany's head.

They will only swerve from this path, they will only put Bismarck's threat into execution, if France does not give guarantees of a radical change of policy: such would be the conclusion of a separate peace. May God grant that Germany may not be forced to have recourse to extreme measures! The general interest demands that France should submit to the decree of fate, in case her adversaries are victorious, in order to conserve her vital forces, so precious for humanity.

The Anglo-German antagonism has a quite different character. It is of quite recent origin and has no historic causes. * * * There is only one new fact: the economic rise of Germany and the growth of her fleet. These are the only grievances which England has against Germany. The growing prosperity of the commerce of Germany, the rapid growth of her population, and in the same proportion of her naval power—this is what provoked the anger of England, made her conclude the entente, and drove her to take part in this war.

But it is precisely for this reason that the pretentions of England are a peril for the whole world. It is for this reason that the cause of Germany has become that of the freedom of the seas. If England considers as a menace the economic prosperity of one of her neighbors, its export trade, and the creation

of the fleet necessary to assure its protection, this means that she wishes to dominate maritime conditions and bar the way to every nation which is developing.

Therefore, Germany is struggling to break England's guardianship, to force the recognition of her right to become a world power, to possess a war fleet, to spread abroad her colonial commerce. It is hoped that the English in their turn will recognize the legitimate character of these aspirations, and will realize that Germany is much too strong to subject the necessities of her economic growth to the good pleasure of England.

It would be desirable that, in delineating their spheres of influence, the negotiating powers should agree on conditions that would permit Germany to develop in perfect liberty. We hope that England will end by resigning herself to this, when she sees that Germany cannot be conquered, that the Continental Allies will run the risk of being ground to pieces, as in the epoch of Napoleon I., and that a prolongation of the struggle would impose so many sacrifices on her that they would make the war "bad business." But it is possible that England—which for centuries has not been decisively conquered—may persist in wishing to go to the end, "to conquer or die." In this case a durable peace can only be realized by crushing England completely. Europe and all humanity would suffer equally from such an eventuality, for it would be making permanent a sanguinary struggle which could profit none of the belligerents and would find its inspiration in hatred, thirst for revenge, rather than an inevitable conflict of really vital interests.

The third element of the general war is the antagonism which exists between the aspirations of the Russian Empire for universal domination and the vital interests of her western neighbors. The Franco-German and Anglo-German antagonisms did not at first concern Austria-Hungary, and we only became the enemies of France and England because they are the enemies of our friends, but the struggle with Russia is also our struggle; we are, indeed, most nearly touched by it. Therefore, while Germany will have a decisive rôle in the settlement of accounts with her neighbors to the west, it is we who must have the last word to say in the questions which touch Muscovitism. * * *

It is clear that if we wish for a durable peace we must block the expansion of Russia toward the west and force Serbia to resign herself to the fact that the provinces inhabited by Serbians which form a part of the Dual Monarchy should so remain to the end of time, and to recognize that to seek to make conquests from a power stronger than herself is to commit suicide. * * *

We are the more authorized to believe that, after a complete defeat, Russia will renounce, at least for a long time to come, her policy of expansion toward the west, for a disaster would probably create for her internal difficulties which would make all action in the domain of external politics impossible for her.

We must create in the Balkans a condition of things which will deprive Russian policy of the means of action which she has hitherto used in these countries. * * * At the conclusion of the peace, as well as by our future Eastern policy, every one must be made to perceive that he who is against Austria-Hungary loses thereby, while he who is for us will find this profitable to him.

If we pursue this course systematically and if we fortify our frontiers from the strategic point of view, if we succeed in coming into direct contact with the Balkan States which do not touch our frontiers, we shall be able finally to ruin Russia's dominant and aggressive influence in the Balkans, which will be an added reason for the Czars not to squander their forces in the execution of ambitious projects which are ever less and less realizable. * * *

Even with regard to Italy we should be wrong to allow ourselves to be fascinated by the beauties of nature or to respond to the memories of the past and the suggestions of our just anger. To wish to dismember or subjugate a country whose population burns with a patriotism as ardent as that of the Italian people would be for us a source of weakness. In reason, it can only be a ques-

tion of certain rectifications of frontier, and not of conquests. Italy will have to indemnify us in cash, not in territory. * * *

In creating in the Balkans an equilibrium of forces favorable to Austria-Hungary, in maintaining and strengthening Turkish domination at Constantinople and across the sea, we are working for the grandeur of Magyarism and enriching it. * * * In case of victory, the situation of the Hungarian Nation will be more advantageous than it has ever been in the past. * * *

The Quiet Harbor

By CAROLINE RUSSELL BISPHAM.

"No harbor is so sheltered but that the ship of death may sail in."
—Old Scotch Proverb.

Far, far away I just can see
A little boat sail toward the quay.
What does it bring—whose can it be?
It looks so small across the sea,
The cold north-sea that runs, ah, me,
Between my soldier-love and me!

I see it now beyond the lea,
Now near, now far, it seems to be—
Perhaps it brings my destiny;
Perchance it bears the mystic key
That unlocks pain or joy for me.
Oh, bring me joy, not pain—woe's me,
Nor man, nor maid e'er loved as we!
I could not bear his death—but, see,
They hail us—Jamie, where are ye?
And Jock, run quick, here's twice yer fee
If ye bring back good news to me—

Look, look! they wave—they call for me!
They stand with bared heads by the sea!
They've heard bad news—what can it be?
Oh, for wingèd feet that I might flee
As swift as sight across the lea
To see what they have brought to me!

They laid it at the feet of me
Upon the gray sands of the lea,
The long black box that came by sea,
And I cried in my agony—
"God, God, explain the mystery
Of Death!" * * * But silence answered me,
When they brought back my love to me—
Brought my dead soldier home to me!

Magazinists of the World on the War

Condensed from the Leading Reviews

The antagonisms between Germany and Russia are brought into sharp relief by the subjoined extracts from the review articles written by the exponents of the respective nations' causes, while the personal sketch of Russia's new War Minister, a translation of which leads the series of extracts from the reviews of the chief nations in the war, is one of the first presented to English-speaking readers.

General Polivanoff, the New Russian War Minister

[From the Petrograd Niva.]

THE Petrograd Niva ("The Field") gives one of the first Russian sketches of General A. A. Polivanoff, the new Russian Minister of War, who takes the place of General Sukhomlinoff:

The new War Minister, Infantry General A. A. Polivanoff, was born in 1855. He is full of life and energy. His biography shows him to be a profoundly instructed, hard-working man of action.

Completing his studies in the Classical Gymnasium (High School) and in the Nicholas College of Engineering, after a brief service as construction officer in the Second Battalion of Sappers, and in the Grenadier Regiment of the Life Guards, A. A. Polivanoff in 1876 entered the Nicholas Academy of Engineering. But the Russo-Turkish war, (which broke out in the following year,) led him to return voluntarily to his regiment, with which he fought gallantly in the valleys of Bulgaria and in the Balkans; he was gravely wounded under Gorny Dubnyak—a bullet through the chest—and for military excellence he received two decorations, the Cross of Saint Anne of the fourth degree, with the badge "for valor," and Saint Stanislav of the third degree, decorated with swords and with the ribbon. In the year 1878, A. A. Polivanoff returned to the Nicholas Academy of Engineering, and there completed his studies, in the first rank. Returning once more to the Grenadier Regiment of the Life Guards, he entered another military academy in 1885—the Nicholas General Staff—where he finished brilliantly in the year 1888, with the rank of Lieutenant Colonel on the General Staff.

Colonel Polivanoff was then 33. For the next eleven years he worked hard in inconspicuous posts, first as senior adjutant of the Kieff military circle, then as director of the Military Science Committee, and finally as head of a department of the General Staff. To this period of his activities belongs his important work of military research, "A Sketch of the Commissariat of the Russian Army in the Danubian Theatre of War in the Campaign of 1853-4 and in 1877," (Petrograd, 1894,) marked by the distinction and solidity of its method and the soundness of its deductions. In April, 1899, Colonel Polivanoff was appointed assistant editor, and in August of the same year editor in chief, of the official military organs, the journal, "The Russian Invalid," and the review, "The War Magazine"—and showed himself to be a gifted journalist.

He soon waked up the Russian war periodicals, and his editorial sway of the Russian Invalid and the War Magazine forms the most brilliant period of their history.

Completely changing the former character of these publications, notably broadening their scope, and attracting to their columns the younger literary talent of the army, Polivanoff gave his collaborators ample elbow room for the many-sided ventilation of scientific, departmental, and statistical military questions, and he succeeded in making the specialist military official gazette and magazine interesting to a wide circle of Russian society.

For five years he served the Russian Army and Russian society in the character of a man of letters; in the year 1904 he became a permanent member and director of works of the Grand Committee on Fortifications, in 1905 he was for a short time the Second Quartermaster General of the General Staff, and in the same year General Polivanoff was appointed Chief of the General Staff. In the year 1906 he was appointed to the recently created post of Assistant Minister of War, and at the same time was appointed a member of the Council of the Empire.

It would be of high interest and ad-

vantage to the whole civilized world should it fall to the lot of General Polivanoff to write the Russian history of the present war, as General Kuropatkin, one of his predecessors at the War Ministry, wrote the Russian history of the Campaigns of Plevna, Lovcha, and Shipka, in the Turkish war of 1877.

Does Russia Menace Sweden

By Nicholas Emilianoff

SVEN HEDIN'S attack on Russia has brought a forceful Russian reply. Sven Hedin bases his attack on the assertion that Russia, to get an open ice-free port, needs to expand toward the Atlantic. He did not look forward to the opening of the Dardanelles; he saw Russia's outlets toward the sea blocked in the direction of the Persian Gulf and the Pacific. The Baltic is also closed. For this immense suffocating empire, he exclaimed, the only possible issue to the sea is across the Scandinavian peninsula. "If I were a Russian," he adds, "I should myself recognize in this policy a vital necessity for my country." Sven Hedin was so possessed by this idea that one might think he wished to "suggest" it to Russia, so eager was he to put Sweden on her guard against this "inevitable danger."

It is easy to understand the effect that this passionate propaganda had on Swedish opinion, creating not so much an aggressive hatred of Russia as a profound apprehension of her aims.

Nicholas Emilianoff, who has given the answer to Sven Hedin in a Swedish pamphlet, is the constructor of the new railroad which Russia is now building between Petrograd and the Murman coast, situated on the Kola Peninsula, north of Finland, on the Arctic Ocean, to the northwest of the White Sea and Archangelsk, at the northwestern corner of Russia. Thus Emilianoff speaks of this region with authority.

He demonstrates that the Murman coast, thanks to the passage of the Gulf Stream, remains free from ice all Winter, and thus allows unbroken communication by sea with the rest of the world to be maintained all the year round. The natural harbors are excellent and easy to equip. The waters are full of fish, among the best in the world. These regions, hitherto wholly waste, only need a railroad to open them up to civilization and prosperity.

While the White Sea and the harbor of Archangelsk, although situated further south, are blocked by ice during the greater part of the year, the Murman coast enjoys a relatively mild climate, for the warm waters of the Gulf Stream permit no icebergs to approach. If Russia had built this railroad sooner, she would not now be short of munitions. The Murman coast, linked by the new railroad with Petrograd, will, therefore, have a high importance for Russia, strategically, in time of war; economically, in time of peace.

Emilianoff concludes that, given these circumstances, the fears of Russian aggression against Norway and Sweden are unjustified. The Murman coast once utilized, Russia needs no port on the coast of Norway. Then why should she menace the Scandinavian countries, and challenge a conflict with England, which might not look favorably on the creation of a Russian naval base opposite her coasts?

The construction of the new line was decided in part in the month of October, 1914, and in part in January of the present year. Before this date, therefore, there was justification for Sweden's uneasiness.

German War Literature

By a Russian Critic, "Eusis," in Sovremenny Mir

(The Contemporary World)

DURING the first five months of the war there were published in Germany 1,460 books, pamphlets, and reviews (counting their titles, but not separate issues) dedicated to the war. During the same period, according to the reckoning of a Munich professor, more than 3,000,000 patriotic poems were written. If to this we add the fact that the majority of general periodicals which existed before the war have now been transformed into special war journals we must admit that the Germans hold the record for the rapidity and extent of their mobilization of literature for war needs. The Germans themselves are proud of this record, especially in comparison with France, where the presses have not been able to print a tenth part of what is produced in Germany. To study this whole literary output is impossible; at best, one could only measure it by statistics, as so many hundredweight of spoiled paper and printer's ink, or express in square miles the extent of the pages consumed by this war literature. There is no doubt that in time German lovers of statistics will carry out this task, and we need only await that happy day, conscious that, taken as a whole, the German "Kriegs literature" deserves no more delicate characterization. This literature is, for the most part, apologetic and polemical. The subject of the apologetics is: Germany and her rulers; the method of apology is every distortion of thought and fact within the power of a man who is ready for anything and despairs of everything. The polemics are of the same kind: without measure or bounds, without the sense of responsibility, without sparing even their own honor. They say that Danton, in controversy with the Girondists, exclaimed: "I spit upon my honor, if only France may be saved!" Almost all Germany is now in the same mood. And to this mood one cannot apply ordinary human standards. The critic's problem may be, neither an estimate of this literature nor a controversy with it, but only the selection from it of that part which continues the normal work of thought, not yet quite distorted by delirious ideas, but which is trying to understand the situation created by the war, to show the nation its problems, to remove the difficulties of the war, to explain its causes, to try to divine its issue, and so forth. It stands to reason that, in its service to society, the war literature of Germany, as of every other country, is in many ways different from the literature of a time of peace. Even in the most tranquil people, the temperature and pulse do not remain normal at such a time. But precisely these perturbations in the normal development of thought have a special interest, making clearer the meaning of the more important complexes of the nation's life—of course up to the point where the writer goes completely crazy, when criticism must give place to psychiatric diagnosis.

The war literature consists chiefly of pamphlets. A book is a rarity. Only military statistics run to fat books. And this is natural. The time for scientific analysis has not yet come. And a nation which is carrying on a contest, not for life, but for death, does not need, and does not recognize, scientific analysis. It demands that thoughts should be pelted at it, like bombs, in rapid succession, in sufficient quantity, and sufficiently concentrated. What is now demanded of an idea is not its scientific soundness, but its ballistic quality, and the effectiveness of its impact. It is all one whether that idea is conservative or ultra-democratic; it must possess such qualities as will be significant in an atmosphere of bursting bombs. Defense and attack are carried out by the same

means, and raise equal quantities of dust. In their war literature the Germans have been true to their great benefactor organization. In Germany there are now fewer people who stand alone, or who walk alone, than in time of peace. There are hardly any critics, and this, if you wish, is the most characteristic trait of human thought in time of war; extraordinary credulity, a proneness to accept without criticsm any and every thought, if only it tends in the desired direction. War creates a mass of Utopias. The future will criticise them.

Another characteristic trait is the extraordinary contagiousness of ideas. People, crowding together more than usual, feel that they belong to the mass, and need each other's support. They crowd together, and, where the way is opener, where the road is wider, where there is more fight, whether natural or artificial, there the crowd takes its way.

War literature must be popular in form. War literature is a word of command. And in a word of command, the most desirable qualities are lucidity, brevity, and definiteness of direction. You cannot command like this: if such and such facts are so and so, then, if the remaining conditions are unchanged, and so on. A command of that sort is useless. For this reason, even the most moderate and undecided minds have now become firm and decided. For this reason, many who were leaders in time of peace have left the stage. They have yielded their places to others, perhaps less thoughtful, less talented, less conscientious, but at the same time more definite and decided—sometimes even impudent and shameless. This is seen in every region. Among the conservatives, the talented Delbrück has become almost silent, and the almost talented Schiemann has become altogether silent, but, in compensation, Baron von Zedlitz and the upstart Hetsch have suddenly become the leading minds of conservative politics. Among the liberal professors, most conspicuous are Franz Liszt and Sombart; on the other hand, Brentano and Schmoller have grown too old for such a stormy time, and in the strenuous activities of national economic science and practice their names are hardly heard. Among the Social Democrats, Kautzky has almost retired into the shade, while Heine, Schiemann and even a certain Lentsch have suddenly become the enlighteners of the multitude.

"Russia on the Way to Revolution"

By Dr. Theodor Schiemann,

Professor in Berlin University.

THIS very interesting and unusually well written pamphlet by Dr. Schiemann is an excellent example of the kind of literature Germany produces in such abundance, to mold German public opinion concerning the war. Dr. Schiemann, who is a personal friend of the Kaiser, holds that the work of revolutionary propaganda has been carried on in Russia by wounded men sent back from the front:

> All the thousands and other thousands who returned home, discharged as no longer fit for service, everywhere related the same thing in town and village, that they were badly treated and badly led, that the officers reveled and caroused, and refused to go into battle. The poor soldiers were knouted by the Cossacks, when they did not wish to go forward, and forced into action by machine guns and artillery. They described how they had to wait in the trenches without weapons, until rifles were available for them, because their comrades had been killed, and what a contrast there was in the camp of the Germans. How superbly they were treated, how well they were all taken care of, how the officers were at once brothers and fathers to their men,

and how fearful they were in battle. "To fight victoriously against the Germans is impossible!" That was the refrain.

Therefore they set themselves to foment a revolution. And the same thing was going on at the front, so that, by last Christmas, from a fifth to a quarter of the army was ready for the "uprising."

Since then this movement has made even more rapid progress—for the revolutionary propaganda has been pressed uninterruptedly—particularly since the best elements of the army, the German peasant sons of the colonists, perhaps 200,000 in number, aroused by learning that, in accordance with the Czar's law of February, 1915, their families had all been given over to annihilation, have been waiting in unspeakable bitterness, with eager malice expecting the dissolution, and determined to surrender at the first opportunity.

Dr. Schiemann thinks that, under these circumstances, Russia will be eager for peace, and that, should she succeed in obtaining peace from Germany

the whole blame for the miscarriage of the war will be laid at the door of France and England, and on the non-Russian races, the Jews, Germans, Esthonians, Letts, Lithuanians, and Poles; these will be expropriated, expelled, annihilated, and the Germans in Russia will suffer terribly.

For these reasons, Dr. Schiemann thinks an early peace with Russia is inexpedient, from the standpoint of Germany. Dr. Schiemann is also author of "How England Prevented an Understanding With Germany," and to the same series of pamphlets Dr. Richard Grasshoff has contributed "The Guilt of Belgium."

The Fight for Constantinople

A German View

By G. Ast

WRITING in the Socialistic Neue Zeit, (The New Time,) Herr Ast naturally tends to find economic explanations for events which appear to be purely political. In spite of this bias his views are both original and interesting, and at any rate suggest additional factors in what is, without doubt, a complex and very important question. Herr Ast begins by searching for the motives which led Italy, after many months' hesitation, finally to enter the war. The time did not seem propitious:

On both the western and the eastern front the state of affairs was such that there was no immediate inducement for Italy to depart from her previous policy of waiting. It was rather the contrary. So far as the inducements and motives which have brought about the intervention of Italy lie outside that country they should only be sought in the Turkish theatre of war and in the development of affairs in the Turkish Orient. The Dardanelles adventure of the Triple Entente powers, which involved the question of the partition of Turkey, thereby so raised the war fever of Italy that the elements which wished to spare Italy the horrors of war were defeated. On the other hand, from the Dardanelles adventure there has arisen in the Near East a decisive contest for power, which has compelled England and France to strain every nerve to win over Italy and the Balkan States, and in this way to save the situation for themselves. Therefore it was the inducements, terms, and threats of the Triple Entente that finally compelled Italy to go to war. The urging of the policy of expediency of the Italian commercial class and the proceedings of the Triple Entente powers set before Italy the question: Now or never.

How high was the price for which the ambitious Italian commercial class sold the peace of Italy and the lives and treasure of the Italian masses to the insatiable Moloch of war we do not know. That the promises and threats of the Triple Entente were not significant we may conclude from the fact that the great offer of Austria was not able to outweigh them. The case of Italy and the pressure on the Balkans are examples of the haggling, the tortuousness, the corruption, of the secret diplomacy of existent States.

So far as the Balkan States are concerned the chief obstacle which has prevented their intervention has been in gen-

eral the circumstance that no one of them could, or can, take the momentous step alone. For any of the Balkan States a separate entry into the war would be in the highest degree dangerous; for these States are so hostile to each other, because of the last Balkan war, that all attempts to bring them to a common understanding have, up to the present, failed. But here we must not overlook the main factor—as so often happens. The circumstances mentioned have kept the Balkan States from making a separate entry into the war and have made a previous mutual understanding among them an indispensable condition precedent, but the antagonisms between the Balkan States and the political developments in the Near East by no means preclude such an understanding in the future. Precisely the mutually outbidding offers of the warring powers, which have up to the present entered the Balkan region and Turkey, as if they were the authentic lords of these lands, may presently lead the Balkan States to a mutual understanding.

The Health of the Armies

[From The Lancet of London.]

A review entitled "A Year at War: The Health of the Armies," declares that in no previous war has such recognition been immediately extended to the value of medical assistance, and this "has been the attitude both with our enemies and with all the allied nations." Of the Germans it says:

> We have learned enough from various sources of the organization of the German Army to appreciate that the German treatment of their sick and wounded has been very thorough, even though on many occasions their prisoners have had a right to complain of the harshness of their captors. The German military medical service has been from the first helped by elaborate preparations, made, we presume, in expectation of the war which has eventuated. The possible wastage of men from untreated wounds and sickness or unprevented epidemics was carefully guarded against.

The Austro-Hungarian soldiers were not so well guarded against infection:

> Medical service in the Austro-Hungarian Army has apparently been much less satisfactory, and at various points here epidemic diseases—typhus, typhoid, and cholera—have made their appearance. The outbreaks, however, seem to have been met and cut short with promptitude, and considerable powers of strong and prudent administration have been displayed by the authorities at Vienna and Budapest. The comparative freedom of the Turks from epidemic illness has been remarkable, and we are inclined to think that with regard to Constantinople we do not know the true story.

Among the Allies, the condition of the Russian troops, at first a matter of great concern and menaced by the peculiar problems of living and transportation over vast distances, showed after all "a good bill of health throughout a terrible year." On this subject The Lancet says:

> The recruiting of the army, the transport of stores, the collection and dissemination of material for war, and so on, have all suffered in Russia from the immense distances which have to be traversed either by mobilized troops or dispatched goods, and for the time being Russia is suffering severely for what is not unpreparedness, and is certainly not inefficiency, but rather is an unmanageable geography. The medical men and the hospitals which they were destined to serve when not with the troops at the various fronts, being in those centres which possess a railway service, the medical side of the Russian military administration has been comparatively good, while from various correspondents we have heard of the unstinted attention paid to the wounded by the voluntary nurses and civilian medical men who have had charge of numerous cases.

The story of Serbia is a triumph of preventive medicine, and the United States and Great Britain between them may lay claim to the credit:

> There was a time when the Serbians, who had valiantly beaten off huge crowds of invaders, looked likely to perish en masse from disease, and the stories of the epidemics of typhus at the beginning of last Winter, terrible as they were, are now known to have by no means exaggerated the real plight. Serbia was largely without hospitals or doctors when epidemic disease became added in the horrors of war. American generosity, the British Red Cross Society, and the Order of St. John of Jerusalem, and private charity

alike came to the rescue; hospitals were run up, the sick were segregated and treated, crusades of cleanliness were inaugurated, and with something of the same rapidity with which disease got a grip upon the country that grip was made to relax.

The allied troops in France and Belgium have not been so free of epidemics that prompt and vigorous treatment could be dispensed with. On this subject The Lancet remarks:

> On the western front there have been several rather smart epidemics of typhoid fever, but neither in the French, British, nor Belgian lines was the disease ever allowed to make grave headway, the policy of preventive medicine and the expert advice of sanitarians combining to keep the outbreaks under. The French Army has throughout been practically free from this scourge. In common with the German Army there was much suffering in the lines of the Allies from exposure in the trenches during the Winter. The cold and wet did not, however, produce the amount of pneumonia or rheumatism that was anticipated, and among the British soldiers the principal cause of disability was "trench-foot," affecting those who had to spend long days and nights in trenches permanently filled with semi-freezing mud.

General Botha and the Kaiser

General Louis Botha, speaking in Cape Town at a banquet given in his honor by the citizens, said that one of the most interesting discoveries in German Southwest Africa was a map showing the redistribution of the world "after the Peace of Rome, 1916." It placed the whole of Africa south of the equator as a Greater German Empire. There was a small portion segregated as a Boer preserve.

This and other indications of the same character, said Botha, showed the German designs upon the Union of South Africa, and how much faith could be placed in their word. It was established that the Boer rebel, Maritz, had sent a delegate to German Southwest Africa as long ago as 1913, and had received an encouraging reply. Before the European war broke out the Boer rebellion was brewing, and, in the circumstances, Maritz sent a delegate to inquire how far the rebels would be able to obtain assistance in artillery, arms, and ammunition, and how far the independence of South Africa would be guaranteed.

Then correspondence took place between the Government of German Southwest Africa and the Kaiser. The Kaiser's answer was as follows:

"I will not only acknowledge the independence of South Africa, but I will even guarantee it, provided that the rebellion is started immediately." "When one hears such guarantees," said General Botha, "one feels inclined to say, 'Poor Belgium!' Thank God their designs have been frustrated, thanks to the people of this country. So long as the people of South Africa maintain their honor we need not fear the future."

The French Magazines

A LITERARY REVIVAL.

French critics believe that their country is on the threshold of a great literary revival that shall have a universal appeal, like that of the eighteenth century. Surely they must be right about the revival: the New France which has revealed herself on the battlefield, as well as in the Chamber of Deputies, the Cabinets of the Ministers, and the sentiment and work of the people must find expression. But will the appeal be universal?

One of the first signs of an attempt to make it so is the appearance of a new monthly magazine published simultaneously in The Hague and Paris. It is called La Revue de Hollande, and is to be devoted to matters literary, artistic,

and documentary. The first number is a superb octavo of 150 pages, printed in large, clear type on linen paper, inclosed in a parchment paper jacket. The illustrations are fine woodcuts and a few portraits in half-tone—just as half-tones should be when a very fine screen is used. In explaining, but not attempting to excuse, the fact that the review is printed in the French language, the editors mention the Dutch contributors to the Great Encyclopaedia and show the bonds that have always connected the artistic and poetical life of the Low Countries with French letters. Besides, all Dutchmen know French and have preserved many of its eighteenth century traditions better than they have been preserved in France herself.

The opening article is by Dirk Coster. It is a magnificent review of Dutch literature, various phases of which will be treated of in subsequent papers. Henri Malo writes on the famous battles of the Yser in the past, and Edzaed Falck on "The Princes of Orange." Emile Verhaeren has an essay on "The Past of Flanders." Naturally, Belgium is not forgotten. Louis Pierard writes on "From One Belgium to the Other," introduced with a clear and dispassionate exposition of the real causes underlying the defense of the country against Germany's invasion and how a new Belgium must be inevitable, merely as a matter of evolution, when the German scourge shall have passed. Meanwhile the Belgians are working in silence and by the grace of God:

> In spite of the most careful guarding of the frontiers, many young men, at the peril of their lives, left the country—only to come back with the army from France and England. And those who remain are a source of encouragement and help to each other. These Belgians, who write from time to time to their kinsmen in the land of exile, convey, in spite of the censor, more than the fact that they have the best of news from Aunt Victoire and Cousin François.

A review of the most important literary, artistic, and biographical events of the world occupies several pages at the end of La Revue de Hollande.

The Mercure de France, now changed from a fortnightly to a monthly publication—"but only during the war"—in "Montparnasse et la Guerre," by Claudien, presents in the August number an exposition of the formative influences of the French literary revival noted above. "It is even in the humanity and spirituality of this revival that the advocates of the impossible Kultur may find the inspiration for new life and hope."

GERMAN "KULTUR."

We find this Kultur treated of from several points of view in other articles: "The Pan-German Paradox," by G. Vacher de Lapouge; "Carlyle and the German Empire," translated by E. Masson from the English of David A. Wilson; "The Errors of Force," by Aurel, and "A Revision of German Philosophic Values," by Péladan. M. de Vacher writes:

> Like Sparta and Japan, Prussia has ever lived under a régime of artificial survival of the fittest, which has subordinated to the interests of the State and King those of the individual. Her Constitution has come from decrees. From that have been evolved her rigid character tainted with socialism, and this paradox of an individualistic race in which individuals abdicate all rights before the State.

And the cause of it all? Down to the twelfth century "Prussia was still inhabited by the savage tribes of the Lithuanian race, living by hunting and fishing, idolaters and man-eaters." Two forces combined to change their habits, but not their spirit—Christianity and the Brandenburgers. The first taught them fear of superiors; the second that these superiors were material. Then came the mobilization of the forces thus disciplined under Frederick the Great, which paved the way to Jena, to Sadowa, Sedan, and to Versailles.

> With this foundation there has been formed a mental attitude which we can hardly understand, imbedded in the character of the race by an inflexible education. This mental attitude has inspired books which for generations have made Germans think in the Prussian way, and so little by little has made the German nation, and then the State.

The author quotes from German writers to show how every phase of private and public life, every expression in the arts, finally conformed to the Prussian

rules of thought and conduct, until it became inevitable that those whose very existence depended upon these rules must try, in sheer egotistical desperation, to apply them elsewhere:

> The Pan-German paradox is therefore from the point of view of anthrosociology, a unique phenomenon which is entirely German. It has only an incomplete knowledge of this science, but this very incompleteness produces most terrible results, as are revealed by the 7,000,000 dead or wounded, the billions of wealth destroyed, and civilized countries shaken to their foundations.

It is a question whether Carlyle, in introducing certain German thinkers and writers of verse and fiction to English readers, wished to exploit a curious discovery, or whether he really thought he was adding something to the heritage of Bacon and Shakespeare. "Carlyle and the German Empire," while not solving the problem, gives us data from which deductions may be made and a working hypothesis established thereon.

On "The Errors of Force" Aurel writes:

> If war is the "judgment of God and of force," as Proudhon says, we must conclude that a war without results which are sufficient for Germany must have been, for the originators, a mere "brain storm," and not a matter of vital necessity—the satisfying of a "holy appetite" of a people who must slay and despoil in order to live—as they have been made to believe by Treitschke, Mommsen, Giesebrecht, &c.

The author shows that the German creed of force cannot possibly prevail, simply because it is contrary to all human life, and human life will not permit itself to be controlled by force alone. Force in human life is merely one element in the complex fabric of progress, and history has shown that where it was regarded as an end in itself it has been annihilated by itself. Force of itself never proved anything but its power to destroy; least of all has it proved the right. And so the author adds that the Romans who conquered the barbarians by force only proved their right in so far as they planted justice where injustice had hitherto prevailed. They, in turn, were conquered by the barbarians of Central Europe, and then both were conquered by Christianity.

The war, among other great things, writes Péladan, has given one the opportunity tranquilly to examine the claims of German art and philosophy and see if they be worthy of the position the world has hitherto assigned them. Have Kant and his disciples, Wagner and his, made the world better and a happier, a more joyful, place in which to live? To be sure, he says, Kant freed knowledge, just as the religious reform had the conscience. But what then?

> Doubtless Kant did not aim the cannon which destroyed the Cathedral of Rheims, any more than Jean Jacques Rousseau manipulated the lever of the guillotine; but they fabricated the brains of the artillerists and the Terrorists. A philosopher owes his fame less to what he says than to what he implants in the mind. He sows, and people judge him by the harvest.

What will be the harvest of Kant, Schelling, Hegel, Schopenhauer, Herder, and the rest?

THE WAR'S DURATION.

In La Revue Hebdomadaire, Gabriel Hanotaux has an article on the duration of the war. It is not enough, he says, that military forces should be mobilized. That has been done. The civil forces must also be mobilized, for the victory will not be the result of a glorious combat, but will belong to the last battalion, the last platoon, the last breath of will, the last effort of courage; and he quotes Lord Kitchener, who said: "Our forces must go on ceaselessly increasing, just as those of the enemy ceaselessly diminish."

This, says M. Hanotaux, applies not only to the military, but to all material, physical, and moral strength which has been mobilized for the war. The war has taught many things to the Allies which Germany knew and had prepared herself for—transit, ammunition, and other material necessities for a gigantic campaign—and which are now being put into perfect practice by the Allies. Germany's failure to get to Paris in October was a salutary lesson. Others have been learned.

> But how will it all end? I am not in a position to answer. But first of all I would ask that you pay attention to actualities, and not to words.

In principle, he says, this war is a usurious war. It will last a long time, possibly a very long time. Engines wear out and must be replaced, like men. The taking of Constantinople will have an immense material and moral effect; but this must not be exaggerated. Two or three millions of Teutons have already been slain. But that fact must not be exaggerated, either. Nor must the appearance of Greece, Rumania, and Bulgaria on the side of the Allies, any more than the entry of Italy gave a sure promise, as many believed, of shortening the war. All these elements are contributive and cumulative, but the forces against which they are contending are still infinite. It is no exaggeration to say, however, that their limit will soon be observed.

As for us Frenchmen, writes Raphael George Lévy in an appeal on behalf of the nation for gold:

> At present no Frenchman should keep a goldpiece in his house. He can employ it in two ways. He can buy State bonds or the stock of the National Defense; or he can exchange it for national bank notes. In both cases he will act like a good citizen. * * * All our funds must be mobilized under one form or another, just as General Joffre concentrates our armies on the frontier. Let us not hesitate to fulfill a duty which costs nothing, which can, on the contrary, bring in an ample return, and at the same time render easy the most happy result for the country.

Italian Magazinists

AN ECONOMIC LEAGUE.

The Nuovo Antologia, the most serious and important of Italian reviews, published in the middle of every month at Rome, opens its July 16 number with an article by a certain famous political economist, now a member of the present Government, who for years has written under the pseudonym of "Victor." The current article is entitled "The Economic League of Victory and Peace." The writer says that the time has arrived for the nations allied against the Teutonic empires and Turkey to form a league which shall not only shorten the war but which shall reestablish peace with justice for all and upon a permanent basis. The program of the original Entente powers to which Italy has given adhesion is defined as follows:

> 1. The independence of little States, particularly Belgium.
>
> 2. The affirmation of the principle of nationality to the future demarkation of Europe.
>
> 3. The assignment to each State of exact geographic and military boundaries on land and sea, to the end that it may live in security and tranquillity.
>
> 4. The demobilization of the German military, which would otherwise continue to threaten the peace of the world, ruin nations with war expenditures, and restrict every economic and social progress.

To these conditions, says the author, there should now be added an indemnity which Germany must pay for what she has destroyed on land and sea. But all this is not sufficient; the economic future of Germany and Austria must be considered as well as the rights and obligations of neutral nations, for it is necessary that when the war ends that the business of the world should be resumed not only within the shortest possible period but that such resumption should be brought about with the least possible confusion and waste. For that reason three economic aspects must be viewed:

> 1. Economic conditions of the States already belligerent, the Entente powers on one side and the Teutonic empires on the other.
>
> 2. Conditions of the allied States among themselves.
>
> 3. Conditions of the allied States with neutral countries.

No country more than Italy, says "Victor," has sought to attain an economic ideal which should promote social solidarity and at the same time assure the freedom of exchange. But the war brought to the attention, as nothing else could possibly have done, the lengths to which Germany and Austria had gone to

rupture not only international good fellowship but also international economics.

When information of the three foregoing groups of conditions shall have been ascertained the author suggests the following international economic program:

1. A central international office for the public debt of the allied States.
2. A federation of all loan banks.
3. An association formed among all the great banks of deposit and savings.
4. The establishment of an international standard of discount and exchange.
5. Commercial treaties, with reciprocal tariffs.
6. Navigation treaties, with reciprocal privileges.
7. Improvement in fiscal, postal, telegraphic, and telephonic communication.
8. A confederation of railways, &c.

After such an economic system shall have been examined in the light of European conditions the author would then apply it abroad. Here he takes for an illustration the example evolved by the growth of the British Empire, which, with a few alterations, would be the ideal sought. In this way he deals with the European colonies in Africa, America, Asia, and the Pacific, and then with the independent countries in these regions, showing the enormous waste among the colonies, the obstacles to their development, and their lack of enterprise—all due to the fact that an understanding was lacking among the mother countries in Europe. He shows by statistics and deductions made from tables of exports and imports how both the producer and the consumer could have been measurably benefited if even a knowledge of needs and productive ability had been exchanged between the European colonizing nations in the past.

His treatment of the emigration question is entirely new, although based upon long-recognized political and economical principles. Too much in the past has been left to chance. Emigration has brought forward questions which have been dealt with as they came up, whereas they should have all been settled before emigration began. Formerly emigrants fleeing from religious or political persecution sought new lands where freedom of conscience and action had been guaranteed or where they thought they could establish it for themselves. These were followed by emigrants moved by economic reasons. The latter did not go where they were most needed, but where conditions were most easy and the monetary rewards the largest, so that very often their appearance changed the conditions which had obtained before their arrival. Much capital has been wasted in attempting to apply it to these new conditions when it should have been applied elsewhere in order to invite emigration. Emigration is not a matter in which only two countries are concerned—the country of departure and the country of arrival—it concerns all countries which have financial or commercial dealings with the two directly interested. Emigration, if unguided, will continue to flow along the lines of least resistance to where life is easiest and labor lightest and the rewards theoretically higher. In the meantime:

> It is difficult to conceive how the States of South America—Argentina, Brazil, Chile, or Peru—can prosper as they have in the past without the aid of regulated capital, navigation, trade, and emigration from England, France, Italy, &c. An economic crisis would injure them severely.

Hitherto each European country has exploited South America according to its own immediate benefit, real or imagined. Many things have been withdrawn because it was believed they were useless; others have been put forward only to find that they were useless. A better understanding among the suppliers of capital, commodities, and emigrants would have obviated all that.

The author then declares that the United States will play a still more important rôle than she has hitherto played. He outlines the past history of this country and shows how in enterprise, morality, and restraint it has given lessons to the world. All these things contribute to make the United States an example for all.

What a spectacle, says the author, has been offered by Germany's violations of all international precedent and law, which finally found expression in the sinking of the Lusitania, and the moderate, restrained method pursued by the

United States in dealing with this catastrophe, while at the same time emphasizing the fact that international obligations, at least in so far as they concerned humanity and the lives and property of neutrals, must be made to prevail!

The author does not look for the armed intervention of the United States, but he believes already its moral intervention on the grounds of humanity has had a salutary effect.

> The Economic League of the Allies would offer to the United States an easy but most powerful means to develop a decisive and rapid action in the vast European conflict and toward its happy conclusion. The spontaneous participation of the United States in the league on the side of the Allies would gather into the league itself such a colossal complex of economical forces which would crush any and all resistance. Thus the United States could, without armed intervention, vindicate and consecrate in Europe and in the world those principles of liberty, humanity, and justice which form the origin of the United States themselves, and which no brutal or barbaric force, no militarism, no matter how well organized, could ever obliterate from the history of nations.

GERMAN AND ITALIAN CULTURE.

With a full consciousness of how Germany and Austria have tried financially, commercially, and politically to exploit Italy for their own benefit, while injuring not only Italian industry but taste and feelings, Guido Manacorda contributes an article on "German and Italian Culture." On this theme the readers of CURRENT HISTORY are already pretty well informed. Many side lights are thrown on the long struggle between Latin and Teutonic culture which began in Caesar's time and has now been resumed with the same ideals in conflict.

PROVISIONS FOR WAR.

Ezio Bottini writes on "The Methods of Communication Employed by the Various Armies in the Present Conflict," dealing with everything from the aeroplane to the automobile. An important article on "The Problem of Meat During the War" is presented by Massimo Torelli. At the begining of the war, he tells us, only two nations were using preserved meats—Germany and England. After the battle of the Marne, when the French found that they would not immediately need the immense herds of cattle that had been collected in case of a possible siege of Paris, cold storage was first cautiously introduced and has been gradually developed. This is most curious, as it was a Frenchman who invented cold storage.

As to Italy, although it had been again and again affirmed that Italians did not use preserved meats, either of the chilled or the frozen variety, yet when the war came it was found that the Government had built no fewer than 1,400 cold-storage warehouses, principally in the north of Italy, and that great orders for preserved meats had been placed in Argentina, Australia, and the United States. For the first time in its history the Italian Army is now being fed on preserved meat.

ITALY "REDEEMED."

The popular magazines continue to keep their readers informed of what their army is doing. Taking the most recent War Office reports as a theme, but never anticipating them, they present well-illustrated articles on the Italy that has already been "redeemed," with historical articles giving narratives of former attempts for redemption. For example, we have in Il Secolo XX. "Views from the Front," by Vittorio Podrecca, and "Grado Redeemed," by Giovanni Franceschini, to contrast with "A Century of Conspiracy at Trieste," by Angelo Scocchi, and "Garibaldi in the Trentino," by Isa Pini. The pictures which accompany the articles on current subjects give a splendid idea of the beauties of the territory invaded by the Italians, its natural as well as its historic elements, and also of the gigantic obstructions to the advance.

THE ALPINE SOLDIERS.

La Lettura opens with an article on "Our Alpine Soldiers," by G. Perucchetti, describing in pictures and text the history of the remarkable corps and its achievements in the wars against

Austria of 1859 and 1866. There is also an article, of historical as well as current interest, on the "Gulf of Trieste," by Paolo Revelli. The Foreign Minister, Baron Sidney Sonnino, who conducted the protracted negotiations with Austria-Hungary before Italy entered the war, forms the subject of a picturesque and informing paper by Guido Biagi. While not dealing with the Baron's most famous exploit in diplomacy, the author presents a careful survey of those political influences and that natural ability which caused Sonnino first to rival Giolitti and then to defy him with a new and regenerated Italy eager for war at his back. What the Banca Roma scandal could not achieve in regard to the man who for thirteen years had held Italian internal politics in the hollow of his hand was performed over night by Sonnino with a popular foreign program.

Robin Williams, K. O. Y. L. I.

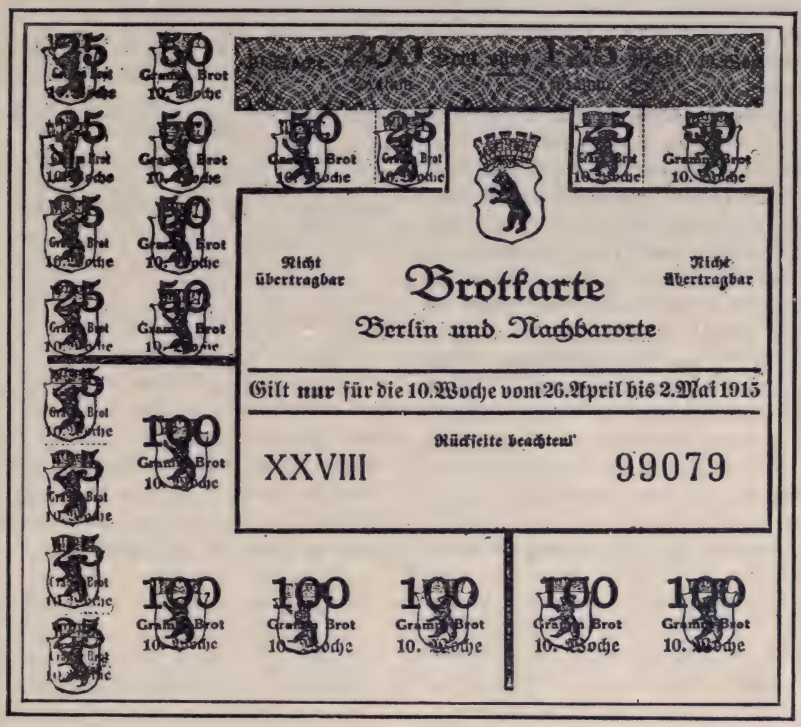
(Eton, King's College, Cambridge, and the Roll of Honor, April 18, 1915.)

[From The Westminster Gazette.]

"Who dies if England lives?" O England's son,
Not thou, who thus too punctually hast paid
Thy double debt to Henry's Holy Shade
With precious blood and duty nobly done;
And, equaling England's gift to thee, has won
The death of the undying, and the grade
Of thine illustrious hero-peers who made
Our England's freedom safe upon its throne.
With a great sum, God knows, did She obtain
This freedom, and with greater yet must hold;
Coin'd is the cost from ore of English vein—
Metal of Martyrs—the celestial gold
Of hearts like thine, that must light up a fane
For Reverence, howsoe'er the Earth grow cold.

G. C. C.

A German War Bread Card



The authentic bread card, partly used, of which an illustration is here reproduced, was inclosed in a letter from a young business man of Berlin not yet drafted for the front, but at the disposal of the military authorities for service in the Landwehr Artillery. The letter is dated May 23, 1915, and reads, in part, as follows:

WHAT remains of my bread card of a few weeks ago will show you how liberal an allowance of bread the Government grants to each individual. These cards, issued every Monday morning, have small coupons calling for 25, 50, and 100 grams of bread, making a total of 1,950 grams, or nearly two kilos—about 4½ pounds of English weight—per week per individual.

Now, I have the normal appetite of a full-grown man, and, as you will see from the inclosed card, I used only 550 grams of my allowance without stinting myself in the least. Even the most hard-working laborer could not consume more bread than the Government permits him to obtain.

At first, when the new regulation for the distribution of bread and flour came into effect, on Feb. 15, there was a general grumbling of dissatisfaction in Berlin. The war has not quelled in us Berliners the atavistic inclination to kick about anything at any time. It is a condition of our mental and physical comfort. But the kicking did not last long. We soon realized the superior wisdom of the Government in regulating Germany's bread supply and preventing a number of scare-headed women from hoarding up enormous stores, to the detriment of the rest of the community. We also found that the new system runs smoothly and is not at all vexatious to the individual.

If you keep house, each member of the

household has his or her bread card, and upon supplying bread, rolls, and flour the baker clips corresponding coupons from these cards.

If you are a bachelor, like myself, and take your meals at restaurants, you tell the waiter what sort and how much bread you wish, and he does the clipping. The cards are not transferable. Thus, when you are a guest at the table of some friend, either you bring your bread with you, or, if you arrive early enough, you deliver your card into the hands of your friend's servant, who takes it to the baker and returns with the bread. It is all very simple, and no one thinks any more about it, now that thirteen weeks of quiet working have accustomed us to the little formality.

When you call for your new card, the old one has to be returned, with the unused coupons, to the authorities. I am really risking six months' imprisonment, or 1,500 marks' fine, by sending you this one, for all infringements of the regulations of Jan. 25, 1915, are punishable to that extent, as the letterpress on the back of the card will tell you.

What would you pay in New York at a decent restaurant for a meal consisting of soup, fish, or entrée, roast with vegetables and potatoes, and dessert? Now, as before the war, I pay 80 pfennigs (or 20 cents) for such a meal at my usual restaurant! Nor have the portions been reduced in size. With 10 pfennigs' worth of beer in addition, and a 10-pfennig tip for my old waiter, I consider myself most comfortably cared for.

England may try her best to starve us out; she is failing completely. In fact, it will soon become known officially that the Government's husbanding of foodstuffs has been so efficient that Germany has now a surplus of supplies and will not need to begin using the new harvest until the end of September.

Peace Rumors

By HENRY ALTIMUS.

Hark! I hear the beat of a wing,
  The caged bird is free.
The sun goes up in a wreath of hope
  In waking Germany.

Now all the world lays by its work
  And listens breathlessly
For the word that will make men kin again
  With the men of Germany.

The ear made blunt by cannon-roar
  Vibrates with prophecy,
For rebel tongues have raised a cry
  That rings through Germany.

A voice is raised; it will not still;
  It thunders o'er the sea,
And men are calling loud to men
  From distant Germany.

For they are wakened now and miss
  The broad fraternity
Of borderless, hand-clasping men
  That call to Germany.

Their sword will soon be scabbarded
  And love will set them free.
Beware, Red Kaiser and your band,
  The wrath of Germany!

India's Loyalty

By Rabindranath Tagore

Translated from the Original Bengali by Basanta Koomar Roy

The following article, as translated, appeared originally in The International for August, 1915.

LOYALTY is one of our inherent characteristics. There is something special in the loyalty of India. To the Hindu the King is divine, and loyalty is a religious cult. The people of the West cannot understand the true significance of this. They think that this bowing down before power is a sign of our national weakness.

The Hindu cannot but take almost all the relations of life as ordained. To him there is almost no chance relation. For he knows that however wonderful and varied the revelation may be, the original source is one. In India this it not only a philosophy, but it is the religion of the people as well. It is not only written in books or taught in academies, but it is also realized in the heart, and reflected upon every-day duties of life. We look upon our parents as gods, our husbands as gods, and chaste women as goddesses. By showing respect to our superiors we satisfy our religious sense. The reason is not far to seek. From whatever source we derive benefit we see this primal source of all beneficence. To be separated from all the varied expressions of divinity around us, and then to pray to a benevolent Father in a distant heaven is not the religion of India. When we call our parents gods we never think of such an absurdity as that they are omnipotent. We fully know their weaknesses and their good qualities. We are also certain that the benefits they are showering upon us as father and mother are an expression of the fatherhood and the motherhood of the Universal One. That is why Indra, (the god of the clouds,) moon, fire, and wind have been spoken of as gods in the Vedas. India was never satisfied until she could feel the presence of the all-powerful One in the varied expressions of nature. To us the universe is alive with a divine life.

It is not true to say that we worship power owing to our weakness. Every one knows that India worships even the cow. She knows that it is an animal. Man is powerful and the cow is weak. But the Indian society derives various benefits from the cow. Similarly the workman bows in reverence to his tools, the warrior to his sword, and the minstrel to his harp. It is not that they do not know that tools are mere tools, but that they know as well that a tool is only a symbol. The joy and benefit derived from it is not the gift of the wood or the iron, for nothing which is not kindred can touch the soul. It is for this that his gratitude and worship is offered through the tools to Him who is instrumental to all expressions.

Nothing can pain India more than to feel that this governmental affair is only a machine. She, who is satisfied by feeling a kinship of the soul even with the inanimate, how can she live unless she can find a real personification of the heart in such a vast human institution as the State? One can bend wherever there is a relationship of the soul with its kindred. Where there is no such relationship, and if one is constantly forced to bend low, there he feels insulted and grieved. Therefore, if we can realize the life of the supreme power and beneficence as the ruler, we can bear the heavy yoke of government. Otherwise the heart breaks down at every step. We want to worship the State after infusing it with life; we wish to feel the kinship of our hearts with it. We cannot bear force as mere force.

It is true that loyalty is the very heart of India. In her the King is not merely to please her whims. She does not like to see the King as an unnecessary ap-

pendage. She wants to feel the King as a reality. For a long time past she has not yet found her King, and she is becoming more and more grieved. How this vast country is being afflicted in her heart of hearts by the burdensome yoke of her many Kings from beyond the seas, and how she is sighing helplessly all the time is known only to the omniscient. India only knows how painful it is to bear with the heartlessness of those who are merely sojourners, who are always longing for the holiday, who live a life of exile in this "land of regrets," as they call it, only for their livelihood; and with those who are working the administrative machinery by being paid for it, and with whom we have no connection whatever, India, with her innate feeling of loyalty, is thus humbly praying: "O Lord, no more can I bear with these little Kings, temporary Kings, and many Kings. Give me the one King who will be able to proclaim that India is his kingdom—a kingdom, not of the merchant, not of the sojourner, not of the paid servant, not of Lancashire. O Lord of the universe, give us one whom we can accept as our King whole-heartedly."

To rule man with a machine and ignore the connections of the heart or of society is not possible. Justice cannot bear the arrogance for any length of time. It is not natural. It hurts the universal law. No talk of "good government" or "peace" can satisfy this intense heart famine. The British officials may get angry and the police serpents may raise their heads at such statement, but the famished truth that is wailing within the hearts of 300,000,000 of the people of India cannot be rooted out by any man or superman.

We cry for bread but we are given only stones. No wonder that our hearts regret and refuse everything. It is then that in our heart of hearts the spiritual India is awakened: "Be not deceived by outward appearances—all this is mere play." In this play, even he who is dancing does not know that he is merely an actor in disguise. He thinks he is a King, he is a magistrate, he is a Viceroy. The more he is being enveloped with this veil of falsehood the more he is forgetting the real truth. If you remove his actor's dresses today, then in the eternal truth what is left? There is no difference between him and me. In this universe I am as big a King as any King on earth. * * *

Where there is only show of authority, excess of force, and where there is only whip and cane, prison and fine, punitive police and armed soldiers, there can be no greater insult of self, no greater insult to the all-knowing God within us, than to be afraid and bend. O motherland, with the help of your eternal, noble, and inspiring knowledge of Godhood, keep the head unmoved and untainted high above those insults; refuse with all thy heart these high-sounding falsehoods, see that wearing an awe-inspiring mask they may not influence thy inner soul in any way. Before the purity, the sacredness and the all-powerfulness of the soul these loud declamations and punishments, this pride of position, these huge preparations for the economic drain are merely child's play. If they pain you, see that they do not make you mean. Where there is a bond of love, to bend there is glorious; but where there is no such bond, one sl ould keep his heart free and head erect. Never bend. Give up mendicancy. Do organize yourself in silence and in secret. Do not slight small beginnings. Keep an invincible faith in yourself. For, surely, you have a mission in this world. That is why with all your sufferings and tribulations you were not destroyed. Mother India, your throne lies stretched at the feet of the sacred Himalayas, and it is being washed on three sides by the great oceans. Before your throne the Hindus and the Mohammedans, the Christians, Buddhists and the Parsees have been attracted at the call of the Father. When you will again occupy your own seat, then, I am sure, the differences of knowledge, work, and religion will be solved, and the all-envious, poisonous pride of the modern, cruel, political system will be softened at thy feet. Do not be hasty, do not be deceived, do not be afraid. Know thyself and awake, arise and stop not till the goal is reached.

American Opinion of Germany

By Herman Oncken

Dr. Oncken, one of the foremost German historians, and Professor of Modern History in the University of Heidelberg, is well known as the author of "America and the Great Powers." This article is taken from a long discussion of Germany's struggle with public opinion in this country.

THE difficulties are greater than we thought, and the entrance to the portals of the mentality of another nation, which we sought to attain, can hardly be essayed in view of the broad stream in which conceptions coined in England swamp public opinion in America. For here it is not the question of an influence, the exertion of which is only beginning now, but the food which emerges from the kitchen of the organization for the manufacture of British public opinion has been served Americans regularly for decades past, seasoned and prepared in such a way that the American stomach has become unreceptive for anything else. The war, however, has given the English the possibility to bring their system to a height never before attained. They have worked in two directions in order to secure the monopoly of the market; on the one hand through a cutting off of German information, so long as it could be done, and on the other through a systematic and clever furnishing of its own product.

Even those who reckoned with the inner relationship between English and American thinkers as an indestructible fact, this time were surprised by the unusual exhibition of inward dependence which over there became manifest almost everywhere in treating of the immediate reasons of the war, and fully whenever the deeper underlying causes were to be considered. Almost everywhere one met the same chains of thought, the same prejudices, the same sources of errors and the same conjuror as in the public opinion of England. The conception of German "militarism" at present held by the masses in America in its most minute details, even in its very mental composition, is "made in England." And the most surprising thing is how this English argument, known to be framed for the war, a weapon more diabolical in calculation than the weapons of the battlefield, is now being accepted in America, without condition, as if it contained unbiased truth. It thus becomes the mental property of a nation that does not want to be a partisan, but instead wants to be neutral.

With complete disregard of their mental rooting, the phrases coined in England have been greedily grasped, and not only in the spheres where the comfort of not thinking is pairing with sanctimonious pathos, but even in the leading upper strata the accusation resounds, that the German spirit in its depths carries the responsibility for the world war; that Nietzsche and Treitschke, the pan-Germans, and General von Bernhardi, are its exponents.

The irony of world history has burdened the much-tried Nietzsche with the fate of being proclaimed as the mental originator of the modern Germany which he detested so deeply. All his dazzling brilliancy has not spared him, the aristocrat, from being recoined by pure ignorance of the masses like the shallowest of every-day talk. There was nothing he was so proud of as his Slavic blood, and nothing at which he cast such amorous glances as his Romanic mentality. No other German of later days had announced his sympathy with French education, his hatred of the part of German culture in the world and of the German Empire, in the past as well as in the present, to the extent this unhappy human, who did not want to be a German but a European, did these things.

With the name of Treitschke it is another matter. He belongs to the new Germany in the making, for which he

struggled, and to the completed Germany, whose face he helped to mold: a glowing and powerful expression of the spirit that has created our State. Englishmen and Americans should be the first to understand him, for if anything distinguished him, it was this—that he, stepping forth from the political champions of the new empire, imbued historical writing with a fiery national pride and a conscious political determination, such as it is a matter of course for the Englishman, as is manifested by Macaulay or, perhaps, by George Bancroft in his naïve self-confidence in his great and glorious American fatherland. Every thorough student knows that Treitschke formed the climax and also the finishing point of a period in German history writing, and I need not discuss why Ranke was bound to be to the present generation of historians something higher than that. G. P. Gooch, one of the few Englishmen who even felt a breath of the wealth of this mind, recently very correctly wrote, in a characterization teeming with vigor: "It had grown out of a national need and its raison d'être ceased when the need was satisfied." In that mental isolation of England, of which the finer minds of the island again and again complained sorrowfully, for a long time no attention whatever was paid to Treitschke, and even in the lectures by Professor J. A. Cramb on "Germany and England," which have recently appeared in print, the late new historian of Queens College in London, in shame addresses to his countrymen the reproach: "Not a page of Treitschke's greatest work has been translated."

Certainly Treitschke has never been a friend of England, (just as little as Macaulay was a friend of the Germans,) for in his knightly soul he felt no relationship with the insular methods of politics; but it is absolutely inhistorical to seek the sowing of an alleged hatred against England, as the root of all evil, in a man who died almost twenty years ago and never lived to experience that rising wave of envy and malice that since was to come over here. Just a single example to show how precipitately the effort is now suddenly being made to burden the memory of Treitschke. Even a man of the education of Cramb adds to the characterization of the English as "a nation of shopkeepers" the quotation "Treitschke. Politics 2, 358"—although every German student of national economics could have taught him that the designation in question was originally coined by an English classic, by none other than Adam Smith ("Wealth of Nations," 114, Chapter 7, Part 3). They have forgotten their own people!

The book on "Pan-Germanism" published by the American Roland G. Usher, Associate Professor of History, Washington University, St. Louis, emerges from these depths of English journalism. But, then, I am very well aware of the fact that the academic titles of Mr. Usher form only a modest step in the unwritten but recognized order of rank of the learned life of America, and I would not mention his poor piece of work here if it were not being sold over there in many thousands of copies, and if it were not a significant expression of that mental dependence of subordinate circles. The elevation of this book may be gathered from the following sentences taken from it at random in which this historic thinker seeks to inform his countrymen concerning the political situation in Southern Germany. (Page 258):

> Moreover, Prussia and Austria are thoroughly well hated in Southern Germany. The comic papers of Munich are fond of printing scandalous cartoons and squibs about the Emperors; it is popularly supposed that neither Emperor would dare venture into Southern Germany without a large bodyguard. It must not be forgotten that the German Constitution gives the Southern States important military privileges, which could not fail to be of consequence in time of war. Furthermore, Southern Germany controls important approaches to Alsace, the passes through Switzerland, and the whole upper half of the Rhine and Danube Valleys.

The entire mental equipment of the book is upon the level of this strategy. Every page discloses abysses of lack of general education. Evidently the much-read book owes its origin to the utilization of journalistic "chance," but not to an interest even half-way scientific. Its familiarity with the funda-

mental principles is of a sort that a historic political discussion of it is not at all worth while. Therefore, let us leave the phantom of this Pan-Germanism, against which Mr. Usher, in the name of the culture of the world, calls all nations to assistance, to all those who have learned nothing from history. One is only obliged to think the one thing: It is conceivable if something of this sort is being produced by our enemies as a means to antagonize, but it is more difficult to understand it when public opinion assumes ownership on these second-hand arguments without suspecting the "Made in England."

But, then, England and America are able to serve up an additional crown witness, who is alleged to combine in the strongest warlike formula our true political desire, and therewith to expose it involuntarily to the world: This is General von Bernhardi and the book he wrote a few years ago on "Germany and the Next War." This book of a cavalry General, retired five years ago, in Germany has attracted attention only in small circles. It soon was played against us in England so much the more actively in that its author was an official personality of political influence; and after the outbreak of the war the English factory of public opinion has not taken hold of any export article in a more loving manner. In America the book in the English translation has reached a circulation of a million copies, more than a hundred times the number of its circle of German readers. And if, of late, the book can be sold for the cheap price of twenty-five cents, this fact proves that those who are behind this distribution are promising much to themselves of this effective number for a circle of readers without judgment. Why, even a man like Roosevelt, who, taken altogether, might well be called an American mental congener of Bernhardi, thought to attack the German original sin itself with a phrase of Bernhardism, coined by himself.

Therefore this book has undoubtedly exercised an influence very unfavorable to us. It is being swallowed over there like an unintentional self-criticism of German militarism. I do not wish to enter here into a discussion with its author, who, like almost all former officers, has re-entered the service before the enemy, but one may be permitted here to state that the son of intelligent Theodor von Bernhardi has not inherited much of the latter's diplomatic prudence. Of course, cavalry Generals hardly ever are to be found among the most astute politicians, and Americans will remember that we are even able to show the type of sabre-rattling Admirals with strong words. But, then, Bernhardi is not a Clausewitz, and his book never leads us to the high elevations of the other's discourse "About War." It rather belongs to a class of literature which is not strange to any of the great nations—one could place the writings of Lord Roberts as a parallel alongside of it—which, whether in the form of a novel or in the presentation of political military argument, seeks to educate up to a warlike feeling and a forceful foreign policy.

I also admit that in this book sentences are found which very few people among us would sign, considering them as impolitic and indiscreet, but I do not admit the correctness of the final deduction which is being drawn from this book. For one thing, Americans overlook that Bernhardi is so little in accord with the responsible authorities of the Imperial Government that he openly affirms that they have lost public confidence in consequence of the peaceful solution of the Moroccan question, and if a dissatisfied General out of service desires to have German policy of the last years replaced by another, then one can hold the ruling German spirit of the German State just as little responsible for his opinion as the Administration of President Wilson can be held responsible for all declarations of Theodore Roosevelt. But to attempt to contradict the peace policy of our empire for forty-four years past with a book of a private individual without influence—the peace policy in particular which according to admission of the entire world has been maintained by our Emperor for a quarter of a century—that is no longer honest fair play. And

if the point is raised that Bernhardi is a characteristic exponent of our public opinion—as indicated before, he is no such thing—then one should pay a little closer attention to the part that has been played by the Matin in France and the newspaper concern of Lord Northcliffe in England. This is disturbing peace and poisoning the wells in a circle of millions of readers.

Is the cause of the slogan "German militarism" to be found in the inborn insular aversion to general obligatory military service, which is in vogue in France and Russia just as it is in Germany?

A nation having obligatory military service takes an absolutely reversed view of things. It looks at war as something tragic for the reason that it concerns all without exception, the Prince and the laborer, the academician and the peasant, in the same manner and carries the same worries into castle and hut. General Hamilton may say with a vanity of the aristocratic professional soldier: "Yes, conscription is a tremendous leveler. The proud are humbled; the poor-spirited are strengthened; the national idea is fostered; the interplay of varying ideals is sacrificed." We Germans know that this dreadful equalizer produces the true democracy of duties, which is not based upon the supermankind of Nietzsche, but upon the categorical imperative of Kant. But, above all, such a democratic army of general obligatory service is not an instrument to be used according to whim for the conquest of the world, but a means of defense of the home country, of the defense of all by all, only to be employed in case of need. In the English army of professionals the world-conquering poor devils may sing in the verses of Rudyard Kipling:

"Walk wide o' the Widow at Windsor,
For 'alf o' Creation she owns:
We 'ave bought 'er the same with the sword an' the flame,
An' we've salted it down with our bones."

In the German peoples' army, however, there resounds the old song of the comrade with the refrain composed and added to it by the people themselves: "In der Heimat, in der Heimat, da gibt's ein Wiedersehen" ("At home, at home, a reunion there will be")—for they are standing in the field to protect their home and all it stands for.

The German peoples' army therefore is peaceful by nature—and so has been our policy since 1871. The English professional army is by nature on conquest bent—and so has England's policy been from time immemorial.

A Legend of the Rhine

[From Punch.]

(German bakers are now producing cakes with "Gott strafe England" on them.)

Young Heinrich at the age of ten,
An offspring of the Huns,
Joined manly hate of Englishmen
With childish love of buns;
And so it filled him with delight
When bakeries divulged
A plan whereby these passions might
Be both at once indulged.

In fervent love of fatherland
Young Heinrich swiftly brake
The patriotic doughnut and
The loyal currant cake;
To guard his hate from growing less
Through joy at this repast
He saved—precocious thoroughness!—
The "strafe" bits till last.

Alack! his well-intentioned cram
Cost little Heinrich dear;
Disorder in the diaphragm
Concluded his career;
To find out why he passed away
They bade the doctor come,
And "strafe England," so they say,
Was printed on his tum.

The Moral Right to Thrive on War

By Dr. Kuno Francke

Dr. Francke Is Professor of the History of German Culture and Curator of the Germanic Museum in Harvard University.

Cambridge, Aug. 9, 1915.

To the Editor of the New York Times:

I HAVE worked, during the last months, on the side of those who seek to avert the danger of this country being involved in civil dissensions arising from racial sympathies or antipathies concerning the European conflict. In particular, I have repeatedly expressed my conviction that sympathy with one or the other of the warring nations should not induce American citizens to attempt to coerce our Government into deviating from the strict observance of the accepted rules of neutrality.

I have therefore advocated non-interference on the part of our Government with the internationally legalized traffic in arms and munitions of war, even though, through circumstances over which the United States has no control, this traffic turns out to be of decided advantage to one of the belligerents and of very serious disadvantage to the other. For the inhibition of this traffic would be equally to the advantage of one of the belligerents and to the disadvantage of the other, and as a positive Governmental measure it would make the United States in a much stricter sense legally a partisan of one of the warring powers than mere non-interference with this traffic does.

But the time has come, I believe, when this question should also be looked at from another point of view. Through the course of events it has ceased to be a question of international legality only, and has come to be a vital question of national and international morality.

Is it moral, from the national point of view, that the United States, a nation which officially stands for the policy of peace and against excessive armament, should now permit within its own borders the manufacture of arms on so large a scale that this industry bids fair to become one of the leading industries of the country?

Is it moral, from the national point of view, that our Government should permit the rise in this country of a set of capitalists whose interests are exclusively or predominantly identified with war, and which, therefore, by its own self-interest, is bound to abet and to foster the war spirit among masses of people?

Is it moral, from the international point of view, that this country, while officially holding aloof from the gigantic carnage which is now devastating Europe, should, as a matter of fact, through its continued shipment of arms make itself a participant in this destruction, and indeed thrive upon it?

And if—as is by no means impossible—the continued sale of arms to one of the belligerents from an officially neutral country should finally come to be one of the decisive factors in the issue of this war, would that be an issue to which the United States would have reason to point with pride as a victory of international morality? Would not that be the result of a positive assistance from this country to one of the warring groups which could not any longer be reconciled with moral neutrality?

These are questions so momentous, so far-reaching, and so pressing that Congress should, the sooner the better, have an opportunity to discuss them. They are questions which should be decided without the bias of racial sympathies or antipathies, solely upon the ground of American national welfare.

Italy in War Time

By G. M. Trevelyan

This article, by the author of "Garibaldi and the Making of Italy," appeared originally in The London Daily News. Written while the Germans were making their victorious thrust at Warsaw, it constitutes an appeal to Italy's and Europe's historic past.

ITALIAN fortitude has been quite undisturbed by the fall of Lemberg. The Italians of their own choice entered the war at the time when the Russian retreat had begun and they were prepared for the events that have since occurred. If the Italians had failed to take the Alpine passes of Trentino and Carnia, and to establish themselves on the line of the Isonzo, they would no doubt be more alarmed about the possibility of the Germans coming down in force upon the Lombard plain. But that is felt to be an impossibility since the passes have been seized, and the fact that Germany, though it sends volunteers to the Trentino, will not actually declare war against Italy, is held to indicate that Germany seeks to minimize the Italian war and its effects, rather than to attempt any big coup on this side of the Alps. I do not think it will be possible to minimize the effects of the Italian war in the long run. The spirit of the people and of the army is so strong, so quiet, so patient, so determined. There has been no grumbling at the comparative want of progress of the last fortnight; for people here have watched the great war long enough before they entered it to understand that quick results on a big scale are not to be looked for till the Allies as a whole are on the advance again. The Italians are doing their duty of the hour in drawing off more and more Austrians from Galicia. They are acting as a much-needed "magnet" to the forces of the common enemy. And meanwhile they are making real progress on the Carso, the bare plateau of limestone uplands above Monfalcoux, Gorizia, and Trieste.

Two things have tended to maintain public confidence here in the last few days. The news from England and the news from Russia. The Lloyd George munitions campaign and the rising up of the English people to face the adverse hour is as much commented on as the Czar's spirited manifesto and the similar uprising of the Russian people of all classes and parties to continue the war till final victory. It is believed here that something of the spirit of 1812 has been aroused in Russia by the recent defeats. The spirit of England and of Russia respectively has been watched, and is at this moment approved. The spirit of France is not even watched, for the Italians know that the tragic determination of every Frenchman is to die rather than to fail of victory. England is well beloved here, but she is distant and relatively a stranger. With France there have been more quarrels in the past, but she is more kith and kin to Italy. Her ways, whether in war or peace, are simpler and more understandable to the Italian. There is also a deep feeling for the enormous sacrifices of men that France is making. The wrongs of Belgium are also very deeply felt by the people of Italy. That feeling meets one here at every turn.

I was present at a pro-English demonstration last night at one of the theatres. It was a patriotic revue of the war and the Italian politics that led up to it. There was Aristophanic political license, Giolitti and Bülow being as important dramatis personae as Cleon before them. Such uncensored freedom would, one fears, have been sadly abused and vulgarized on the English stage, but here it was used most delightfully. The civilization "of twenty-five centuries" knows how to do these things. There was a true delicacy of wit in the scene where Bülow, who looked his very self without any cariacaturing of his Ambassadorial dignity, unrolls to Giolitti and his "Parliamentary Majority" an

enormous scroll, containing in one corner of it a list of the infinitesimal "concessions" that he will make on Austria's behalf. Some one suggests they might ask the Italian Government about it. "There is no Government," says Giolitti. Then the mob breaks in on the conspirators, and the "Parliamentary Majority" vanishes. The scene ends with Giolitti looking around the room behind all the chairs with a match, to find his "Majority"; but it has disappeared.

As the British Ambassador was known to be present—it was a benefit night for the Blue Cross—a tableau had been specially put in about the British Navy. A British naval officer, looking, I fear, more like a representative, say, of the Chilian Navy, read a spirited speech about how England had drawn sword for honor and Belgium; and then we all got up and clapped for the British Ambassador to the strains of "God Save the King." A little later, when an "old Garibaldino" was singing his song, the presence of Ricciotti Garibaldi was detected in one of the boxes, and we all got up and clapped for him to the strains of Garibaldi's hymn; thereupon Ricciotti Garibaldi made us a speech about how his horse was wounded in the 1866 campaign, and gave a shriek of pain that he has never forgotten, and how we should all subscribe to the Blue Cross in aid of the wounded horses. Outside these demonstrations in the theatres no one now demonstrates or shouts in the streets, as they were constantly doing during the ten months of Italy's "neutrality." This is quite as it should be. The municipality has just put up a notice to tell us what we are to do if an air raid is made upon Rome. We are already very considerably darkened at night.

To return to the patriotic "revue." The song that was most often encored was a trio by a Socialist and anarchist and a priest, all united to go to the front. The song was witty and at the same time stirring, and when the actor representing the priest waved a tricolor handkerchief and cried "Avanti Savoia" he brought down the house. There was certainly no contempt or malice implied against the priest, quite the opposite. That reminds me that this Sunday there were again held patriotic services in several of the principal churches of Rome and in the Cathedral of Milan, with a war sermon there by Cardinal Ferrari on patriotism. It is not merely on the stage that priests are patriotic today.

Another of these patriotic revues was about the old dying wolf, Austria, and the bellicose mastiff, Germany. It reproduced in the most forcible manner both the character of modern Germany and the hatred of Italians for the historic idea of Austria. The black and yellow wolf, hobbling on a crutch shaped like a gallows, was in himself an artistic creation. We had Cavour, Rossini, and I know not whom beside. The appeal was to historic memories—what "our fathers have told us"—and it moved a vast audience far more than anything that happened fifty years ago could touch a corresponding English audience. Me it moved, because it is part of my profession to understand the multitude and delicacy of the historical allusions. Certainly Austria is paying now for what she did in Italy between 1815 and 1866. And her retention of Trento and Trieste have kept the memory of the old yellow and black hangman alive in Italian hearts, in spite of all the delusive appearance of the Triple Alliance. Trentino and Trieste are everywhere the magic words. To the Italian populace those are the two objectives of the war.

But Germany had her due share in the piece. One of the best songs was a trio by a German commercial traveler, a spy, and a professor. The part of the German professor in the present European tragedy is as well appreciated here as with us. These revues no doubt are trifles, but they serve to illustrate the various phases of public opinion at the moment.

It is with very different feelings from those of the detached and light-hearted tourist that one walks the streets of Rome today. Formerly an Englishman in Rome has felt as though this wonderful mise en scène of the agonies and tragedies and achievements of three thousand years of Italian history, which are bounded in the little circle of this

city, were a glorified and joyous plaything for the visiting scholar or poet from the isle of safety. "Dulce mari magno." Ever since, in the Winter that followed Waterloo, the flocks of "Milords Inglesi" came in their private chariots to possess the Piazzi di Spagna, after their twenty years of war-exile from Italian joys—ever since that date, now a century old, we English have moved about in Italy and Rome in a privileged position. For we alone have been citizens of a State in no fear of being conquered by an insolent foe, persons free from the heavy burden of the race-feuds and military despotisms of the Continent, safe in our inviolate isle. We watched with too little understanding the convulsions of all Europe in 1848; we pitied the agony of France in 1870, but never feared her fate for ourselves; even the long struggle for Italian freedom with all its sufferings and postponements, though it moved our sympathy, was a thing remote from our own experience. And so we have always trodden the historic streets of Rome, where liberties and empires so often rose and fell, as persons detached from the cruelties, sacrifices, and catastrophes of its history ancient and modern, observing all with the snug pleasure of an art-critic before a masterpiece.

And now, behold, these ancient tragedies and agonies are become flesh and blood to us. We, too, strive for our lives and our liberty against the Tedeschi, sworn to enslave us. Our far-flung empire is in danger as was once that of Rome. Divisions or want of forethought now would ruin us, as Italy was ruined when Landsknecht and Spaniard sacked this city near 400 years ago. And so, as we move about among the present inhabitants of Rome, amid a people that has risen to its dangerous duty at this crisis of European freedom in a mood so sober and with preparations so well made, we English feel heart-brothers with them, sharers at last in the agonies and sacrifices and dangers which their fathers knew so well as their daily portion. We are blood-brothers with Europe now. "Sink or swim, survive or perish," we are in for it together now. That this change will profoundly alter our character I cannot doubt. Whether mostly for good or mostly for bad, it is far too early even to guess.

Meanwhile the Italians are watching, with friendly but penetrating eyes, to see how we drag ourselves out of the dangers among which we have fallen. They have heard that the Englishman is best when he has his back to the wall. They are watching, and they think the munitions campaign and the loan a good beginning. They are waiting to see if England also is capable of a Risorgimento on a mightier scale of organized effort than that which sufficed to free Italy two generations ago.

The Land of the Brave and the Free

By ONE OF THE LATTER.

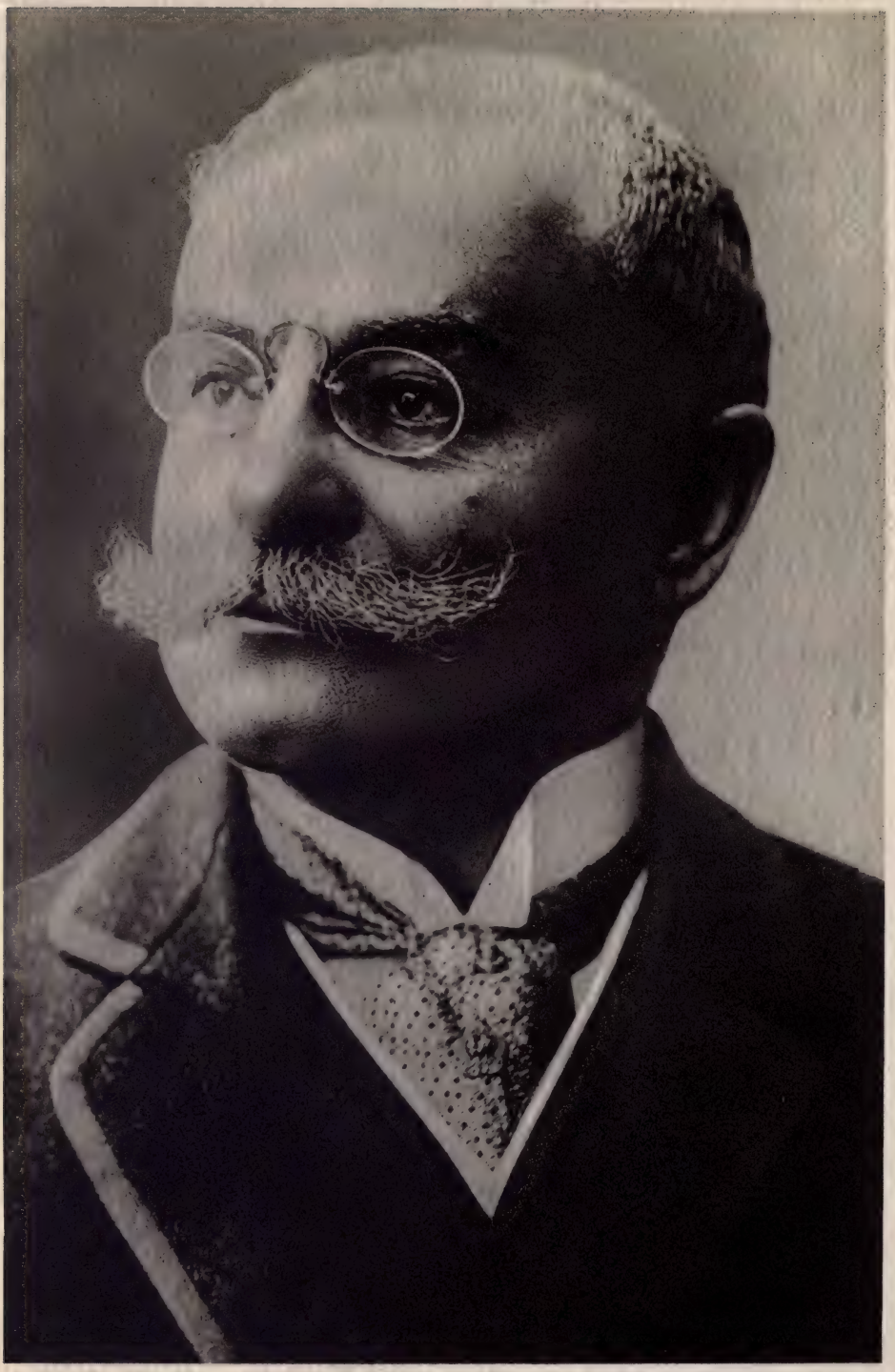
[From The Spectator.]

Old England glories in her Volunteers;—
'Tis splendid! Let the other fellow go,
While *I* remain—a prey to poignant fears
Lest he should suffer harm. He's dead? Ah, woe!
Resignedly I check the rising sob,
Then hurry out to try and get his job.

"National Service?" Would you have us slaves?
Free I was born and free my friend shall die.
It is because he likes it that he braves
Thirst, hunger, cold, fatigue, and agony.
And if he die, what matter? I foresee
Another England bred from men like ME.

H. W. B.

VICE ADMIRAL GRIGOROVICH
Russian Minister of the Navy
(Photo from Paul Thompson)



M. THÉOPHILE DELCASSÉ

Minister of Foreign Affairs of France. He Resigned This Place in 1905 at Germany's Behest

(Photo from Bain News Service)

Britain's New African Colony

By Charles Friedlander, F. R. G. S.

Mr. Friedlander, whose article appeared in The London Daily Chronicle of July 15, was for eight years legal adviser to the German Government in West Africa.

THE great news of General Botha's superbly successful and glorious campaign has been in all men's mouths this week. The King, the Commons, and the War Office, and the self-governing dominions have expressed to him the congratulations of the empire, to which he has added a large and valuable colony. The writer has had several opportunities of visiting what was then German Southwest Africa, and a few details as to its past, present, and future will suffice to show the extreme importance of the conquest effected.

The history of the territory in question, which extends roughly from the Orange River mouth to Portuguese West Africa, along the west coast of the African Continent, and about 250 miles inland, dates further back than that of most Southern African territories.

To this day, on the hill southwest of Luederitzbucht, there is uplifted a cross, presently composed of steel, and a replica of the cross erected by Bartholomew Diaz in 1486, when he first circumnavigated the Cape of Storms.

The original was removed by the order of the German Emperor, and is now believed to be in the Museum of Historical Research in Berlin. The hill in question was known until 1908 as Diaz Point, but since the discovery of diamonds in this part of the territory, the point and the hill behind it have been renamed Diamond Hill.

From the time of its first sighting by Diaz the bay behind the point, called until the time of the German occupation, Angra Pequena, (the Narrow Harbor,) remained a port of call for stray vessels traveling to and from the Dutch East Indies, and especially so after the settlement of the Dutch East India Company had been established at the Cape of Good Hope.

From time to time, and more particularly during the early and middle nineteenth century, whalers also made use of this part of the coast, but the inhospitable nature of the country discouraged all and sundry from even attempting to penetrate into the interior, as well as from settling near the harbor itself. In order to complete the historical survey, it is only necessary to add that the country was taken possession of by the British Government, and the Government of the Cape Colony carried on the immediate administration. Toward the latter part of the nineteenth century, by agreement between the Imperial and Colonial Governments, the territory was abandoned, and it was immediately seized by Germany, which country had previously claimed it, as having been acquired for Germany by one Anton Luederitz, a German trader and hunter. From that date until its surrender to General Botha's victorious army it has been a German colony, and for the last few years the largest, most prosperous, and best administered, and the one with the greatest prospects of becoming not only a self-supporting, but a remunerative part of the German colonial empire.

The country was originally abandoned by the British chiefly by reason of the fact that it seemed wholly unproductive, utterly barren, and without any promise for the future. And, indeed, the aspect to the visitor from either East or West is appalling enough. Coming from the east, the only means of entry is across the Kalahari Desert, through trackless, waterless country, swept by sand storms, and repellent from every point of view. From the west the approach is by sea.

Coming from Cape Town, you find a belt of barren, shifting sand dunes stretching inland for miles and miles. There is not a sign of life, human, animal or vegetable. Dense fogs and storms abound, and the Benguela current increases the dangers of navigation. The only safe port in the middle of the nineteenth century was Walfish Bay, then, and since, a British possession, but now rapidly silting up. The port of Angra Pequena is a small, almost entirely landlocked harbor, into which ships of great draught cannot enter. For ships of a somewhat shallower draught it has been made available by the work done since the German occupation. The only other port is Swakopmund, immediately north of Walfish Bay, an open roadstead exposed to the full fury of the gales and seas coming across the Atlantic from South America. Since the abandonment of the territory and the German occupation it has, however, been found that, once the forbidding outer defences have been passed the country itself is found to be most suitable to many forms of activity, and is likely, owing to its magnificent climate, to be able to support a large white population.

In the south the revolution has come in the discovery of diamonds in 1908 in a form never known before in the history of the world's precious stones. Certain natives working on the railway line then being constructed from Luederitzbucht inland found among the gravel and sea-sand stones which they knew, from previous experience in the diamond mines of Kimberley, and in the river-diggings of the Western Orange River Colony, to be diamonds of an exceptionally fine quality.

In 1906, after the temporary prosperity due to the money expended by the German Government during the Herero campaigns in 1904, Luederitzbucht was bankrupt. In 1910 it was a large and flourishing town to which settlers had flocked from all parts of the earth, and north and south of which for scores of miles there extended an unbroken chain of diamond fields, practically from the Orange to Walfish Bay. The export from these fields, all alluvial sand, in 1913 exceeded the value of £1,250,000. From August, 1908, to about February, 1910, life in Luederitzbucht was almost a replica of the days of the American goldfields in the '40s, and many stirring and quaint stories can be related in connection therewith.

The first large company was formed in Cape Town and is a British company. It was this company which paid £100,000 for its claims, and put active work as well as capital into the mines that made the fields. When it was successful, the German Government immediately stepped in, and the German Emperor decreed that no further foreign company should be allowed to own diamond claims in German Southwest Africa. After the war, under British rule, there should be great opportunities for the development of this important industry, as a very large section of the ground has been worked by or for the German Government and another large section has been entirely closed to private enterprise.

In the north very valuable copper deposits have been found at Otavi, the terminus of one of the two branch arms of the railway running northeast from Swakopmund toward the Caprivi enclave. They are being worked under the auspices of a Johannesburg mining firm. Other valuable mineral deposits have been reported from time to time, and there seems to be no doubt that great mineral possibilities lie hidden in the interior, which is very largely, from the prospector's point of view, a terra incognita.

No Militarism in Germany

By Dr. Rudolf Leonhard

Professor of Law in the University of Breslau.

Breslau, Germany, July 11, 1915.

To the Editor of the New York Times:

AMONG many things read today with astonishment the most astonishing for the German public is the often declared purpose of our adversaries to continue the war until German militarism should be destroyed. The acquaintances of mine regard these utterances as a very riddle. They do not understand what such words mean, because we have no other militarism than the Continental States of Europe, which struggle against our country.

Such a weapon is absolutely unavoidable for every commonwealth, which must protect the people against the hostile desires of the neighbors. The care for such a weapon would naturally not be diminished, but increased in the case of a defeat. But there are also other opinions about the sense of the mysterious opposition against Germany's so-called militarism. Many foreign people believe that there exists a German military caste, to whom the Emperor himself belongs, having the tendency to begin as many wars as possible in order to enlarge the German territory and to bring other nations into a dependence upon Germany. But we know our Emperor's love for peace from daily experiences and cannot be mistaken about it.

However, it seems that the opposite feeling abroad is the result of a wrong interpretation concerning some former utterances of the Emperor made in order to deter those who would disturb the peace. The form of them seemed sometimes to be a little rough. But this was the natural consequence of the good conscience of the speaker and of his peace-loving heart. People who did not understand that were very bad psychologists.

Nowadays the "militarism" is more and more regarded as a dangerous quality of the whole German people, to begin bloody quarrels in order to conquer a dominion over the world. We all know here that nothing is further from the German mind than such desires. Therefore, it is difficult to conceive how such a misrepresentation about our tendencies could arise.

Asking for the reasons, we must confess that, indeed, there have been among us some enthusiastic persons, the so-called Pan-Germanists, a little party without any influence, who uttered from time to time rather fantastic ideas about the splendid future of our country. Their opinions were usually not even mentioned in the most widely spread German newspapers. The less they were respected in Germany the more they have been quoted abroad by the political enemies of our country in order to spread the illusion that such incautious aspirations were the very expression of the German desires. If that be true, we would observe now after the victories a development of such tendencies in Germany. But they cannot be discovered here. I cannot deny that there are some patriots who dream of leading German thought toward the education of the world, but such hopes do no harm and have no political consequence.

If our foes really have made up their mind to destroy German desires of conquest under the name of militarism they cannot have any success. It is impossible to destroy a thing which does not exist. Therefore, if the war really will last until such a goal is reached, it will never end.

I do not say it in the interest of my people. I say it in the interest of the foreigners who are deceived by their rulers in order to sacrifice them for an impossible thing. Certainly the very goals of the deceivers are other ones, which they carefully hide, because their poor victims would not like to give their blood for the real wishes of their rulers. So I regret less my brethren than the

brave soldiers of our enemies, among whom I had many very good friends before the war. It is worth while to die for his people, but it is not worth while to die for the destruction of a phantom.

Although I do not overrate the influence of my words, I think it is my duty to say my opinion openly. I cannot help them who do not wish to learn the truth.

Night in the Trench

By H. VARLEY.

It eynt quite as 'omelike as old 'Ampstead 'Eath.
To crawl on yer belly like worms,
Wiv water an' mud arf-an-arf underneath,
An' live things as bites till yer squirms.
Yer down't care a 'ang fer the Germans as lives.
In 'oles just a few yards aw'y,
Fer alw'ys yer gives 'em as good as they gives
Wotever they do or they s'y.

Yer down't even mind w'en a blarsted shell drops
So long as yer eynt 'it yersel';
It's part o' the gyme—an' yer grin till yer flops
An' dies wiv a smile where yer fell.
If the 'Un fellers charge yer it eynt arf as bad—
Yer gives 'em a 'ellstorm o' lead;
They runs on yer baynit like men as is mad—
An' yer twists it aht reekin' an' red.

Yer down't even care if the rations runs aht
An' yer drink o' the filth as is near.
It's "Are we down'earted?" yer yell an' yer shaht—
But yer'd give up yer soul fer a beer.
An' 'unger evnt notin' so long as it's d'y
An' yer rifle is 'ot wiv the fight;
But arfter the sunset, w'en black is the sky;
O Gawd! That's what gets yer—the night.

No 'ell can be worse than to 'ear the wild screams
Of soljers who fights in the'r sleep;
An' dreadin' the orful things 'auntin' yer dreams;
The red flood as drowns yer down deep.
Yer fear fer yer senses, the thread as m'y bryke;
Yer bryne nearly bursts wiv the stryne,
Until in the gray o' the dawn yer awyke,
An' a day-full o' fight comes agyne.

France's Fight Against "Kultur"

By Paul Sabatier

M. Paul Sabatier, author of the "Life of St. Francis of Assisi," has addressed the following eloquent letter to Professor Falcinelli, the President of the International Society for Franciscan Studies at Assisi, of which M. Paul Sabatier is Honorary President. It was written and published in The London Times, in reply to a letter in which Professor Falcinelli inclosed a resolution in favor of peace which the council of the society had passed shortly before Christmas. M. Paul Sabatier, one of whose brothers fell at Gravelotte in 1870, and whose only son is fighting in the Argonne, was for many years pastor at Strassburg after the German occupation. The great influence which he acquired in Strassburg rendered him obnoxious to the German authorities, who, after having failed to silence him, expelled him from Alsace. One of his books, "L'Orientation Religieuse de la France Actuelle," first revealed, some years ago, the moral strength of France. In his present letter he defines, for the benefit of his Italian friends and fellow-students of St. Francis, the spirit in which France regards the war.

MY Dear President: My hearty thanks for your cordial letter. I hasten to reply; excuse me if I do so more briefly than I should wish.

First let me express my delight that your friend and mine, Luzzatti, should have accepted the Presidency of the committee Pro Belgio. The noble Belgian Nation is doubtless to be pitied, but it is still more to be admired. Its tribulations will pass, but its laurels will not fade.

The Belgians went to certain destruction, with a firmness unexampled in history, in honor of a principle, whereas they might easily have secured handsome payment for granting a right of way through their country, and might also have made millions out of the German troops. Without a moment's hesitation, without giving a thought to these profits, they replied with a non possumus of which other nations have not, perhaps, understood the lofty heroism.

Dec. 29.—I was interrupted the other day and have not been able to continue before. I took advantage of the Christmas holidays to go and speak in the neighboring villages and to admire the quiet courage of our countryside. It is as though the words "In your patience possess ye your souls" had been spoken for our people.

As to my feeling about your manifestation in favor of peace, you understand, do you not, that, as a belligerent, and a belligerent the more determined in that I was before firmly pacific, I look upon it all with an eye very different from yours? A Frenchman cannot now utter the word "peace." To use it would be akin to treason. When a quarrel is for money, or for a strip of territory, one can make peace without moral loss. To make peace when an ideal is at stake is an abdication; even to think of it is to be false to the voice which tells us that man is born for other things than to enjoy the moral and material heritage of his fathers.

It is the honor of Belgium, France, and their allies to have seen at once the spiritual nature of this war. No doubt we are fighting for ourselves, but we are fighting, too, for all peoples. The idea of stopping before the goal is reached cannot occur to us—and we find some difficulty in understanding how it can occur to lookers-on. We are grateful to them for the excellence of their intentions, but we are somewhat embarrassed by the thought that they are more careful of our physical than of our moral life. Our soldiers are martyrs; they bear witness to a new truth. Their defeat would mean the triumph in Europe of brute force, supported by the two spiritual forces which it has mobilized—science and religion. Before permitting that it is our duty to fight, without even thinking of what may befall. And if our soldiers go down to the last man everybody who had not yet taken up arms will fight to the last cartridge, to the last

stone of our mountains that we can hurl against a "Kultur" which is nought save worship of the sword and of the golden calf.

The France of today is fighting religiously. Catholics, Protestants, men of Free Thought, we all feel that our sorrows renew, continue, and fulfill those of the Innocent Victim of Calvary. But they are birth pangs; we may die of them, but we have not the right not to bless the present hour and to take up with rejoicing the task before us.

The peace which St. Francis preached was not peace at any price, peace as an end in itself. Like many others before him, he repeated "Righteousness and Peace have kissed each other"—righteousness first and then peace. There is no true or lasting peace that is not based on justice. He did not beg the people of Perugia no longer to make war on Assisi. He began by fighting them; and later on, at the end of his life, he did not preach peace to these same people, but told them that the wrongs they had committed would be avenged.

Besides, unless I am mistaken, you will soon feel what I am saying. It seems to me that Italy is preparing soon to enter the lists. She will come in at her own time for practical reasons, and also, I am sure, for reasons of ideal. And in the thrill of enthusiasm that will run through you all, from furthest Sicily to the Alpine peaks, you will feel the mysterious workings of spiritual creation, as yet incomplete, but which strives to realize itself in and by us. You will then see how necessary it is for a nation, as for a man, to take the rare chances that are offered him to fulfill his destiny and realize his ideal.

This is what our soldiers—I see it by their letters—and what our peasants—I hear it in their talk—feel and understand better than I can express it. What France of the Crusades stammered, what France of the Revolution saw dimly, France today desires to accomplish. She believes with all her strength in victory because she has indomitable faith in the ideal of justice and truth that is in her heart. But she does not need to believe in victory in order to fight, for to give up fighting would be to betray her past, her ideal, her vocation. What matter that she die at her task if she has done her work?

The other day I read in a Swiss newspaper that one must go to France to see a people whom the war has not perturbed. It seems that in neutral Switzerland there is greater moral distress than in France. This is quite natural. In the ideal work we are now doing we have again found the secret of the life of nations—to labor together at a hard task and to be faithful to the Spirit of Life that is embodied in the Creation. This is why I have found no trace of hatred of the enemy or wish for reprisals in the letters of our soldiers, who are enduring what they endure.

My son Jacques is grateful for your thought of him. He is still in the first line in the Argonne. His last letter is dated Dec. 23.

Au revoir, my dear President. In these last days of 1914 I embrace you and wish I could embrace all the people of Assisi, the "black," the "red," and the "white"; for I shall never be able to tell you how fond I am of you all. Long live Italy! and may 1915 bring to the eldest of the Latin nations those victories, material and spiritual, that will reform Europe and place civilization itself on new foundations.

The War and the Jews

By Israel Zangwill

Mr. Zangwill's article on "The War and the Jews" appeared in the Metropolitan Magazine for August, and the major part of it is here reproduced by permission.

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THE WANDERING JEW.

"THERE is no luck for Israel," says the Talmud. Individual Jews are frequently shrewd and fortunate, but as a people Israel is, in his own expressive idiom, a Schlemihl, a hapless, ne'er-do-well. Twenty centuries of wandering find him concentrated precisely in the valley of Armageddon. And here in a hundred places he must again grasp the Wanderer's staff. Symbolic is the figure of the Chief Rabbi of Serbia wandering across Europe to beg for his pitiful flock. A workhouse and a hostel at London are congested with Belgian Jews. Forty ravaged towns have poured their Ghettos into Warsaw. Prague, Vienna, Budapest, seethe sullenly with refugees. A census taken of 4,653 Jews, who fled into Alexandria showed subjects of England, France, Russia, Spain, America, Turkey, Persia, Rumania, Italy, Greece and Serbia, while another thousand had already wandered further—to other Egyptian cities, to America, Australia, South Africa, Russia. The only important section of Jewry that has escaped the war is that which has poured itself into the American Melting Pot. And not only are ten of the thirteen millions of Jewry in the European cockpit; nearly three millions are at the fiercest centre of fighting—in Poland.

Poland—be it German, Russian or Austrian Poland—is pre-eminently the home of Jewry, and Poland even more than Belgium has been the heart of hell. For two of the Powers that combined to dismember it are now fighting the third across its fragments, and Jewish populations are at their thickest along those 600 miles of border country through which Russia invades East-Prussian Poland or Galician Poland, Germany hacks her way toward Warsaw, or Austria hurls her counter-attacks.

The accident of a series of peculiarly wise and tolerant monarchs opened Poland to a large volume of Jewish immigration and even gave its Jews a measure of autonomy and dignity. They were the recognized providers of an urban and industrial population to a mainly agricultural people. Thus were they collected for the holocaust of today. For, of course, the partition of Poland left them still pullulating, whether in Prussian Danzig, Russian Warsaw or Austrian Lemberg. And not only have they duplicated the tragedy of the Poles in having to fight what is practically a civil war; not only have they suffered almost equally in the ruin of Poland so poignantly described by Paderewski, in the burnings, bombardings, pillagings, tramplings; not only have they shared in the miseries of towns taken and retaken by the rival armies, but they have been accused hysterically or craftily before both belligerents of espionage or treachery, and even of poisoning the wells, and crucified by both. Hundreds have been shot, knouted, hanged, imprisoned as hostages; women have been outraged, whole populations have fled, some before the enemy, many hounded out by their own military authorities, wandering—but not into the wide world. Into the towns outside the Pale they might not escape—these were not open even to the wounded soldier. In the long history of the martyr-people there is no ghastlier chapter. Yet it is lost—and necessarily lost—in the fathomless ocean of Christian suffering, in the great world-tragedy. But while Poland and Belgium are crowned

by their sorrows and cheered by the hope of rebirth, while the agony of Belgium has become an immortal heroic memory, the agony of Israel is obscure and unknown, unlightened by sympathy, unredeemed by any national prospect, happy if it only escape mockery. It is related that when one of these ejected foot-sore populations, wandering at midnight on the wintry roads, with their weeping children, met marching regiments of their own army, the women stretched out their hands in frantic beseechment to the Jews in the ranks. But the Jewish soldiers could only weep like the children—and march on.

TO THEIR TENTS, O ISRAEL.

"You are the only people," said Agrippa, trying to hold back the Jews of Palestine from rising against the Roman Empire, "who think it a disgrace to be servants of those to whom all the world hath submitted." Today, servants of all who have harbored them, the Jews are spending themselves passionately in the service of all. At the outbreak of the war an excited Englishwoman, hearing that the Cologne Gazette, said to be run by jews, was abusing England, wrote to me, foaming at the quill, demanding that the Jews should stop the paper. That the Jews do not exist, or that an English Jew could not possibly interfere with the patriotic journalism of a German subject, nay, that the abuse in the Cologne Gazette was actually a proof of Jewish loyalty, did not occur to the worthy lady. Yet the briefest examination of the facts would have shown her that the Jews merely reflect their environment, if with a stronger tinge of color due to their more vivid temperament, their gratitude and attachment to their havens and fatherlands, and their anxiety to prove themselves more patriotic than the patriots. It is but rarely that a Jew makes the faintest criticism of his country in war-fever, and when he does so, he is disavowed by his community and its press. For the Jew his country can do no wrong. Wherever we turn, therefore, we find the Jew prominently patriotic. In England the late Lord Rothschild presided over the Red Cross Fund, and the Lord Chief Justice is understood to have saved the financial situation not only for England, but for all her allies. In Germany, Herr Ballin, the Jew who refused the baptismal path to preferment, the creator of the mercantile marine, and now the organizer of the national food supply, stands as the Kaiser's friend, interpreter and henchman, while Maximilian Harden brazenly voices the gospel of Prussianism, and Ernst Lissauer—a Jew converted to the religion of Love—sings "The Song of Hate." In France, Dreyfus—a more Christian Jew albeit unbaptized—has charge of a battery to the north of Paris, while General Heymann, Grand Officer of the Legion of Honor, commands an army corps. In Turkey, the racially Jewish Enver Bey is the ruling spirit, having defeated the Jewish Djavid Bey, who was for alliance with France, while Italy, on the contrary, has joined the Allies, through the influence of Baron Sonnino, the son of a Jew. The miltiary hospitals of Turkey are all under the direction of the Austrian Jew, Hecker. In Hungary it is the Jews who, with the Magyars, are the brains of the nation. Belgium has sent several thousand Jews to the colors and at a moment when Belgium's fate hangs upon England, has intrusted her interests at the Court of St. James's to a Jewish Minister, Mr. Hymans. Twenty thousand Jews are fighting for the British Empire, fifty thousand for the German, a hundred and seventy thousand for the Austro-Hungarian, and three hundred and fifty thousand for the Russian. Two thousand five hundred Jews fight for Serbia. Even from Morocco and Tripoli come Jewish troops—they number 20 per cent. of the Zouaves. Nor are the British Colonies behind the French. From Australia, New Zealand, from Canada, South Africa, from every possession and dependency, stream Jewish soldiers or sailors. Even the little contingent from Rhodesia had Jews, and the first British soldier to fall in German Southwest Africa was Ben Rabinson, a famous athlete. In Buluwayo half a company of reserves is composed of Jews.

When Joseph Chamberlain offered the

Zionists a plateau in East Africa the half-dozen local Britons held a "mass-meeting" of protest. Yet today, though the offer was rejected by the Zionists, fifty Jewish volunteers—among them Captain Blumenthal of the Artillery and Lieutenant Eckstein of the Mounted Rifles—are serving in the Defense Force enlisted at Nairobi. Letters from British Jews published in a single number of the Jewish World, taken at random, reveal the writers as with the Australian fighting force in Egypt, with the Japanese at the taking of Tsing-Tao, with the Grand Fleet in the North Sea, while the killed and wounded in the same issue range over almost every British regiment, from the historic Black Watch, Grenadier Guards, or King's Own Scotch Borderers down to the latest Middlesex and Manchester creations. The Old World and the New are indeed at clash when a Jewish sailor on Passover eve, in lieu of sitting pillowed at the immemorial ritual meal, is at his big gun, "my eye fixed to the telescopic lights and an ear in very close proximity to an adjacent navyphone, and the remainder of the time with my head on a projectile for a pillow." Anglo-Jewry, once the home of timorous mothers and Philistine fathers, has become a Maccabean stronghold. One distinguished family alone—the Spielmanns—boasts thirty-five members with the forces. A letter of thanks from the King has published the fact that an obscure Jew in a London suburb has five sons at the front.

And in all these armies the old Maccabean valor which had not feared to challenge the Roman Empire at its mightiest, and to subdue which a favorite General had to be detached from the less formidable Britain, has been proved afresh. "The Jewish bravery astonished us all," said the Vice Governor of Kovno, and, indeed, the heroism of the Russian Jew has become a household word. More than 300 privates—they cannot be officers—have been accorded the Order of St. George. One Jew, who brought down a German aeroplane, was awarded all four degrees of the order at once. In England Lieutenant de Pass won the Victoria Cross for carrying a wounded man out of heavy fire, and perished a few hours later in trying to capture a German sap. In Austria up to the end of the year the Jews had won 651 medals, crosses, &c. "I give my life for the victory of France and the peace of the world," wrote a young immigrant Jew who died on the battlefield. A collection of letters from German soldiers, published by the Jewish Book-shop of Berlin, reveals equal devotion to Germany. And to the question, "What shall it profit the Jew to fight for the whole world?" a Yiddish journalist, Morris Myer, has found a noble answer. There is a unity behind all this seeming self-contradiction, he points out. "All these Jews are dying for the same thing—for the honor of the Jewish name."

THE RIDDLE OF RUSSO-JEWRY.

The devotion of the Jew to the British flag needs no explanation. Both socially and by legislation England has given the world a lesson in civilization. And if France only just escaped the pollution of the Dreyfus affair, if Germany and Austria are anti-Semitic in temper, all these countries have yet given the Jew his constitutional rights, and the Kaiser in particular has had the sense and the spirit to turn his ablest Jews into friends and henchmen. The appointment of several hundred officers during the war has probably removed the last tangible grievance of German Jewry. As for Turkey, she has been since 1492 a refuge of Jewry from Christian persecution, while Italy, which has had a Jewish Prime Minister as well as a Jewish War Minister (General Ottolenghi), stands equal with England in justice to the Jew. But that the Russian Jews, yet reeking from the blood of a hundred pogroms, should have thrown themselves into Russia's struggle with almost frenzied fervor, this is, indeed, a phenomenon that invites investigation, and invites it all the more because the Jews in America, remote from the new realities, continue their barren curses against Russia, and include in their malisons those who, like myself, proclaim the cause of the Allies the cause of civilization.

It would be easy to dismiss the enthusiasm of the Russian Jews as more politic than patriotic, or to say that they have made a virtue of necessity. But it bears all the marks of a sincere upwelling, a spiritual outreaching to their fellow-Russians. Such scenes as marked the proclamation of war have never been known in Russian Jewry. The Jewish Deputy in the Duma and the Jewish press were at one in proffering heart and soul to the country. From the Great Synagogue of Petrograd five thousand Jews, headed by the Crown Rabbi, marched to the Czar's Palace and, kneeling before it, sang Hebrew hymns and the Russian anthem. Their flags bore the motto, "There are no Jews or Gentiles now." At Kieff ten thousand Jews, carrying Russian banners and the Scrolls of the Law, paraded the town, and similar demonstrations occurred wherever Jews dwelt. A Warsaw writer records that the Jews wept with emotion in the synagogues as the prayed for Russia's victory. Thousands of youths who had escaped conscription offered themselves as volunteers; in Rostoff even a girl smuggled herself among them and went through several battles before she was detected. The older generation poured out its money in donatives. The Dowager Empress accepted and named a Red Cross Hospital. One wealthy Jew in the province of Kherson undertook to look after all the families of reservists in six villages, or 1,380 souls.

Something must, perhaps, be discounted for the hysteria and hypnosis of war time. And other factors than patriotism proper may have entered into the enthusiasm. The young generation had reached the breaking point. Baffled of every avenue of distinction, the most brilliant blocked from the schools and universities by the diabolical device of admitting even the small percentage by ballot and not by merit, grown hopeless of either Palestine without or the social revolution within, the young Jews hovered gloomily between suicide and baptism, between depravity and drink. Some with a last glimmer of conscience and faith had thought to avoid the stigma of Christianity by becoming merely Mohammedans; others to dodge at least the Greek Church had exploited an Episcopalian missionary. But even for these Russia refused to open up a career. To this desperate generation the war came as an outlet from a blind alley, a glad adventure. Hence the reckless bravery on the battlefield. But there was reason, too, in the ecstasy. England, ever the Jew's star of hope, was at last to fight side by side with Russia. For the Russian the alliance was a pride, for the Jew an augury of liberty. The great democracies of the West would surely drag Russia in their train. And for the elders the fear of Germany was the beginning of wisdom. The very first day of the war she had taken possession of the undefended town of Kalicz on the Russian border, and in this town, more than a third Jewish, had initiated her policy of "frightfulness." And mingling with this sinister first impression came the stories of wealthy Jews returning from Karlsbad, Wiesbaden, and other Summer resorts from which they had been ejected as "alien enemies." Te Jew began to cling to the devil he knew, to realize that, after all, Russia was his home.

But when every allowance is made for lower factors, there remains a larger and deeper truth underlying the enthusiasm, the truth which it takes a poet to feel and which found its best expression in the words of the Russo-Yiddish writer, Shalom Asch, whose dramas have been played in Berlin and whose books were published in English. Germany's aeroplanes had rained down on the Pale not bombs, but leaflets, announcing herself as the deliverer of the oppressed peoples under the Russian yoke and promising to grant the Jews equal rights. To these seductive attempts to exploit the Jewish resentment against Russia, Shalom Asch answered sternly: "'The oppressed peoples under the Russian yoke' have risen as one man against the German bird of prey. * * * The Jews are marching in the Russian ranks for the defense of their fatherland. Nor is it the youth alone

that has done its duty. In every town of Russia Jews have established committees; our sisters are joining the Red Cross, our fathers are collecting funds. * * * Thousands of Russo-Jewish volunteers have enlisted in France * * * even from America, where Germany has tried to exploit our sufferings, they are beginning to come. For this is not a war to defend the Russian bureaucracy which is responsible for the pogroms, but to defend the integrity of our fatherland. * * * Nor do we do our duty in order to 'earn' equal rights * * * but because, deeply hidden in our hearts, there is a burning feeling for Russia. * * * Look at America, where hundreds of societies and streets bear the names of our Russian towns. * * * No Pale, no restrictions, no pogroms, can eradicate from our hearts this natural feeling of love for our country, and God be thanked for it! * * * Nobody gives a fatherland and nobody can take it away. We have been in Russia as long as the Slav peoples. The history of the Jews in Poland begins with the very first page of Polish history. Equal rights must be ours, because for a thousand years and more we have absorbed into our blood the sap of the Slav soil, the Slav landscape is reflected in our thought and imagination. *We shall fight against the system of government which refuses to recognize our equality, as we fought against it in* 1905. *But the Russian soil is sacred, it belongs to the peoples of Russia, and whoever dares to touch it will find in the Jew his first foe!"*

Poland, 1683—1915

By H. T. SUDDUTH.

Thy valor, Poland, stemmed the tide of fate
  Onrushing from the East in olden days,
  When proud Vienna saw, with dread amaze,
Vast Turkish hosts before her walls, elate
In victor pride, inflamed with zealot hate!
  Then Sobieski did thy banner raise
  Triumphant, bore it through the battle blaze,
And saved from Crescent rule the Christian State!

And what was thy reward, O Land of Woe?
  'Twas thine to see thy kingdom torn and rent,
And all a proud and vanquished people know
  Whose necks beneath a conqueror's yoke are bent!
Yet thou hast kept through all thy centuried night
An altar flaming clear with Freedom's light!

And now again the tide of war has swept
  In mightiest wave the world has ever known
  Across thy plains by battle scarred, and prone
A nation lies! War's fury that long slept,
To greater madness waked! The bounds it kept
  In older times are swept away, and strown
  Thy fields are with thy dead, while moan
Of dying men shows where War's cohorts stept!

And Warsaw fair, where slow the Vistula flows,
  Where Kosciusko fell in Freedom's cause,
Now once again a conqueror's presence knows
  While issue vast that all the world now awes
Hangs trembling in the balance stern of Fate
Whose dread decree all nations now await!

The Collective Force of Germany

By Gerhard von Schulze-Gaevernitz

Dr. von Schulze-Gaevernitz is Pro-Rector and Professor of Political Economy in the University of Freiburg and a member of the Reichstag. This article is part of an essay published by The New York Evening Mail, which Dr. Gaevernitz handed to The Mail's Berlin correspondent as an answer to his question: "What do the educated Germans really believe about England?" The part selected contrasts the German ideal of collective efficiency with the British ideal of individual freedom.

ALTHOUGH the machinery creaks a bit, and for the time being friction is more apparent than the actual benefits, there has never been a more perfect organization of a free people than is evidenced in warring Germany of today. One of the most singular chapters of economic history is being written for the benefit of posterity. The socialization of the German State has been so rapid and complete that it will take science years to record what has been achieved. We can state also that Germany has never been economically so strong and so firmly knit together as now, after nearly a year of war.

Similar advancement is apparent in the technical field. Germany, like the sleeping beauty, has been aroused out of her century-long sleep by the electric spark which touches the blackness of anthracite to bring forth the magic colors of aniline dyes. War stimulated progress. Saltpetre was literally extracted from the air.

The great revolution in means of transportation since the days of Napoleon has benefited Germany more than any other nation, as Frederich List predicted. The Prussian railway system is not only the largest single enterprise in the world, but it is the most efficient mechanism ever created, typifying German unity and striking power. The railway has welded together nations which otherwise could hardly come into touch, such, for example, as Germany and Turkey.

With the help of her Allies and of such neutrals as are contiguous by land, and with her control of the Baltic Sea, and, through Turkey, of the Black Sea, Germany commands an economic territory which could support itself for years in case of necessity. And these changes have been effected during a period when the British industrial has been losing its mobility!

In a moral and intellectual sense, also, England has been living the life of a retired capitalist, the richest capitalist of the world. England's tremendous heritage still towers over her head as a globe encompassing dome, but the foundation arches of this heaven-storming structure are cracking. The religious life of the Anglo-Saxon has aged into formalism, and, having lost the power of adapting itself to scientific progress, is degenerating into little more than hypocrisy.

"No Englishman," said Carlyle, "any longer dares to pursue Truth. For 200 years he has been swathed in lies of every sort." And even that phenomenon of disintegration called "Enlightenment," which England never succeeded in outgrowing, offers no substitute for the truths that slipped from her as her religion withered into formalism; no mechanical formula will solve the riddle of the universe; no utilitarian calculation of happiness will satisfy the anxious longings of the heart.

Herein lies England's internal danger; here gapes the abyss which Carlyle and Emerson sought to bridge with building stones of German philosophy.

And, in fact, it was upon German soil that the basic lines of that universal temple were thought out which was to furnish a new home for the searching human spirit. German idealism outstripped the British mind since it fused puritanism and enlighenment to a higher unity. The rigid greatness of puritan-

ism lived on in old Prussia, to which it had always been bound by threads of spiritual history. But Kant placed this same old Prussia upon the judgment seat of reason when he vanquished the greatest skeptic of all times, David Hume, the final product of British thought.

Amid the doubts of the intellect and the perplexities of the soul the "mandate of duty" becomes the granite block upon which man can rise to "freedom" and bring "order" into his affairs—"order" into conflict between knowledge and desire of the man who understands and acts. Looking up from that rock man inevitably attains to faith in God and to confidence in an all-embracing plan of salvation, even when in places the continuity of the ordained purpose remains veiled in darkness.

But the synthesis achieved by German thought was even richer than this. When old Prussia allied itself with Western Germany, with its warmer blood and its quicker perceptions of art, duty and individual liberty were merged in the "idea of the whole"—from Kant to Hegel!

The discipline of the individual as a part of the social whole is, for the German, no servitude, as the Briton is wont to imagine, but a higher step toward freedom. For the individual in that way confers the place of transcendent value upon society.

"Law seems to bind with rigid fetters
Only the mind of the slave who spurns it."

The collective force of Germany, which interlocks the free individual with the social whole, is stronger than the forceful individuals whom old England produced. This tendency is observable in the German Army, in German state enterprises, and in the kartel organization of German capital. At his best the Briton succeeded in subjecting the world to British dominion through strong personalities for the glory of a world-strange God.

The German, on the other hand, does his best in creating a highly organized community for the purpose of furthering in society the historic development of eternal values. Thus the idea of the Kingdom of God (Civitas Dei) and its visible manifestation in the Christian Church, continue to produce beneficent results. Corresponding to this difference in philosophic outlook between the two races, there is a difference in political aims. The formal freedom of the Briton the German regards only as the first step beyond which he must go by bringing about a rational organization of the State for material justice, and in this respect the Prussian State Socialist and the Social Democrat are at one.

The German strives for rational order, where the British ideal of competition places the blind forces of finance upon an arbitrary throne. No one knew this better than an Englishman himself—Carlyle—who thought that Germany when she took the lead in Europe had secured several hundred years more for the attempt to build out of the germs then in existence a new social order.

Beyond these national aims the German does not strive for world dominion, but for a rational organization of the world on the basis of voluntary co-operation. Kant's "Eternal Peace" is to him an ideal always to be striven for, even though unattainable. But between this indefinite remote aim—"One flock and one shepherd!"—and the today, full of national antagonisms, the German believes that he can realize certain intermediate steps through a welding for a federal union of nations akin in interests and civilization.

That such a political organization can be expected Germany has proved by its kartels, wherein stronger and weaker units exist with advantage to all. Switzerland, essentially German in character, constitutes such a federation, comprising three of the principal European nationalities. Similarly, Austria-Hungary should be such a federation, assuring equal rights to Germans, Magyars, Rumanians, west and southern Slavs.

A commercial and political union of the two Central European powers lay in the direction of Bismarck's thoughts, and is today more than ever felt as a need consequent upon the present brotherhood in arms. By leaning upon such a Central European nucleus the Germanic States of the north and Slavic States of the south-

east would obtain the advantages of State organization on a large scale without losing their independence.

But the German idea of a federation of nations goes still further. It is no Utopia; no idler's day dreams to safeguard the peace of the Western European Continent by a league of its principal powers. Such a peaceful confederacy among Germany, Austria-Hungary, France, and Italy would consolidate and unite nations that have vital interests in common. This would furnish a balance to England's sea monopoly and world-power which for centuries has been the source of Europe's strife. Demands for such a federation will make themselves felt after the madness of the present war.

The war with France was entirely avoidable, for Germany demanded from France nothing but her neutrality. And why did France go to war? The French themselves, in the territory now occupied by us, have answered again and again: "Nobody knows why!" The war with England was not quite so groundless, but it, too, could have been avoided because it was in England's ultimate interest to accept the position of "first among equals," ("Primus inter pares.") But war with Russia was inevitable at some time or other.

Germany might have waged it, with Western Europe neutral, for the liberation of the Russian people itself, for the independence of the subjugated nationalities, and for the security of neighboring people menaced by "Holy Russia." There may have been a time when tyranny and serfdom were essential to the education of mankind. But today the time has come for the organization, instead, of free units, each protected by the whole—a German conception of civilization.

The ideal of organization, the thought of a tremendously valuable whole, uniting its free members for effective work, labors in the sub-consciousness of millions of Germans; labors even where it does not come to the light of philosophic discussion. The very fact that our opponents call us "barbarians" proves that these ultimate sources of strength are closed to them and that they cannot gauge our power and invincibility, but only imitate externals.

The Flow of Tears

By the Bishop of Lund

[From King Albert's Book.]

AMID the press of incalculable sorrows, of which this terrible war is the cause, there is yet one element which uplifts the spirit as we contemplate it. From every country which is involved in the war there is evidence that that nation is united, that no schism of class or party exists, but that all citizens are one in accepting every sacrifice which may be required for the safety and honor of the fatherland.

Little can he who stands afar off from the scene of fighting realize how much suffering has already been caused and must continue to be caused by this struggle. To comprehend the agony one must live, day by recurrent day, under the very experience of anxiety and loss. But sympathy we give from the depths of our hearts, sympathy to all the nations who are taking their part in this war; most of all to Belgium, which, so far as we can understand, has suffered most.

And inwardly we yearn to see advance every effort made to stanch the flow of tears.

A Cheerful German Emperor

By Dr. Ludwig Ganghofer

An interview with "a changed Kaiser, a joyous, triumphant Kaiser," is described in the Münchener Neueste Nachrichten by Dr. Ludwig Ganghofer, the German novelist, who at an earlier stage of the war described a meeting with the Kaiser on the west front, and again in the east just before Italy's entry into the war, when the weight of adverse events was pressing heavily upon the German ruler. In the latest article, however, Ganghofer describes the War Lord triumphant as the German forces swept through Lemberg and onward into Russian Poland. His account appears below.

LET me narrate, without omission, wandering back to the Lake of Janow and feeling again the glowing evening hour in which I saw that the German Kaiser had arrived. I did not want to stay, did not wish to intrude; wanted to go away after I had seen with joy how happy and lively the Kaiser was, how healthy and fresh and full of strength he looked—no longer so serious and severe as on the 8th of May, when I was permitted to see him at the depot at Brzeskow, that time when the impression of the victorious Spring days on the Dunajec was embittered and overshadowed for him by worry about the decision of Italy. Worry? No! What then spoke so seriously and severely out of the eyes of the Kaiser was neither care nor wrath—it was the painful sorrow for an event which he saw coming and in which, in spite of all, he could not believe, because it seemed incomprehensible and impossible to him in the loyalty of his own nature.

In those days that followed, from the 20th to the 24th of May, the question intruded itself a hundred times upon me, "How will this heavy disappointment affect the Kaiser?" And now, when I saw the Kaiser in the wood of Janow, standing over there in the clearing, under the thunder song of the cannon, so erect, so joyous in the fateful hour, and so full of life—now I had my answer, the answer that made me happy! As the Kaiser was, so he is still! Those who are strong within do not change. Let happen what may, they do not bow, they do not stoop under their burdens. Therefore they are victors. One foe more or less does not count.

I wanted to depart.

"Herr Doctor," inquired an officer, stepping up to me, "will you not wait?"

I shook my head. My clothes were soiled and dusty, my hands gray, my face covered with perspiration.

"I beg of you, stay! The Kaiser has already seen you. Here he comes."

With a cordial smile the Kaiser extended his hand to me:

"Ganghofer! Are you everywhere?"

I reported where I had come from, and the Kaiser made me happy by saying:

"The news has just come in that the Russians have been driven out of the advanced point of support by the next corps."

"Indeed!" It came as a cry of joy from my heart. One always hears joyful news from the Kaiser! I had to tell him about myself, and the Kaiser asked how long I would remain with the army. I told him at least until Lemberg.

"You are good," laughed the Kaiser gayly; and then he grew serious: "You are right; energetically to wish for something which is necessary helps to attain it."

And when he heard that since early morning I had been on my legs, he asked immediately: "Have you eaten your midday meal anywhere?" I shook my head.

"For heaven's sake! Then you must have something at once!"

He ordered a cup of tea brought to me and two big slices of cake; thrust one hand into a tin box that was on the table, and stuffed my coat pocket with zwieback. And while he was speaking with me I had to nibble all the time, for he kept urging me: "Eat, please eat!"

In reporting to him about my travels

on the front in the last few weeks I told him also that I had met Sven Hedin in Przemysl. The Kaiser's eyes lighted at the mention of the name, and he said quickly: "I am very glad that you made his acquaintance. This Swede is a splendid man. If you see him again, pray greet him cordially for me."

Then followed a few moments in which an embarrassing fear seemed to choke me. High above us a whirring sound made itself heard in the air, ever louder and louder. A Russian aviator! He came from the east, glowed in the red evening sun like a lightning bug, and flew over the clearing almost perpendicularly above us. Surely he must see the many persons down here! And if he—no, I could not think out this harrowing thought! And now the fear has already passed. Behind the rapidly vanishing gadfly of war a little cloud of shrapnel puffed up. The Kaiser stood there calmly looking up and said:

"Too low."

The next shots also fell short of the flier. The Kaiser nodded meditatively.

"Ay, to have wings—for the others that always means to come too late."

He turned suddenly toward me, looked at me, and again in his eyes there was that sorrowing earnestness like that at the depot of Brzeskow on May 8. And when he spoke his voice had a subdued ring, although he emphasized each syllable severely and slowly:

"Ganghofer, what do you think about Italy?"

Could I but portray the tone of those words! That was no query that demanded an answer from me; it was a painful recollection of the Kaiser, a confession of his inmost thought, a renewed amazement at the impossible that could not happen, but had nevertheless happened. In Brzeskow the Kaiser had the firm belief: "Even if a part of the Italian people may be led astray by the war jingoes, we can depend upon the King!" And now the glance of the Kaiser, in this half murmured query, so shook me that my eyes almost grew moist, and that silently I gritted my teeth. Only after a pause could I say:

"Your Majesty, it is better as it has come to pass. Better for Austria and for us. The clean table is always the most valuable piece of furniture in the honest house."

The Kaiser nodded. He breathed deep, straightening up; and again joyous calm shone in his eyes.

And then, in farewell, the Kaiser told me something that fell like a brilliant prophecy into my joyous, startled soul. Today I must still keep silent about this something, although I know that it would be a refreshing draught for millions in the homeland, a deep well-spring of faith, a new steel band for holding them together. But for important reasons I may tell about this word of the Kaiser only on the day when it shall have become truth. That day will come soon.

The evening began to draw on. Under the restless grumbling and rolling echoes the Kaiser went from battery to battery. The trip home became for me a dreaming joy, a foreshadowing fraught with rich pictures.

On the following night, at Jaroslav, about the first hour of morning, the Commanding General von Mackensen sent word to me:

"Depart as early as possible! The Russian position at the Lake of Janow has been captured. Tomorrow Lemberg will fall."

The War of Notes

[From Truth.]

Opposed the two musicians sat;
  Each twanged his rival harp;
Fritz thought at first that Sam was flat,
  But found him soon grow sharp.

Yet up each straining tone still floats,
  Grows strident more and more.
I wonder if this war of notes
  Shall end on notes of war!

ACTUAL STATE COUNCILOR BARK
Minister of Finance of Russia
(Photo from Bain News Service)

DR. J. LOUDON
Minister of Foreign Affairs for Holland
(Photo (c) *by Harris & Ewing, from Paul Thompson)*

Self-Sustaining Germany

By the War Committee of German Industries

The following article is reproduced from Pamphlet 13 of the Authoritative Propaganda of Reassurance Conducted by the War Committee of German Industries in Berlin.

IN the present war Germany's enemies are endeavoring to bring about the economic as well as physical collapse of the German people by cutting off the overseas imports of food and rawstuffs. The imports in these important articles were before the war very large, and the enemies of Germany have succeeded in diminishing them to a great degree. On the other hand, they have not by the action attained the goal they had hoped to.

Even now every thinking person outside of Germany must be fully aware that, in spite of the diminution of the imports in provisions, the German civil population and the army are not threatened with starvation. Above all, however, German science has found ways and means of replacing the raw materials now lacking by materials of like value at present being reproduced in Germany. For example, an economically successful method of extracting nitrogen from the air, whereby the German powder industry and German agriculture are supplied with this otherwise missing rawstuff, has been discovered. The importation of petroleum having more or less completely ceased, this supply has also given out. Gas and electricity, for whose manufacture only coal, of which Germany has large quantities, is necessary, have taken its place as illuminants. The lack of fodder has been in part compensated for by an invention whereby the food values in straw are made accessible for feeding stock. And now another discovery is to be recorded which is not only of great importance as assuring the nourishment of our cattle, but arouses the greatest astonishment as an act of scientific boldness. The Institut für Gärungsgewerbe (Institute for Yeast Industries) in Berlin has discovered a process for making food yeast with over 50 per cent. albumen in the simplest manner from sugar and ammonium sulphate. These quantities of albumen will easily replace the supplies of fodder barley that were formerly imported. Since ammonia is not only a by-product in the manufacture of coke, but can also be obtained directly from the air, this method has been correctly described as the extraction of albumen from the air.

These inventions, which will doubtless be followed by others in the course of the war, will have, above all, an effect on the financial world. Germany's enemies are compelled to draw a large part of their supplies of ammunition and arms, as well as provisions, from abroad. Since at the same time the purchasing power and prosperity of large transmaritime territories have been seriously damaged by the European war, the enemies of Germany are drawing smaller incomes from their foreign investments, while the exports of these countries have diminished during the same period. The excess of imports over exports in the foreign trade of Germany's enemies has, therefore, in the course of this war been enormously increased.

The result of this is that the payment of the very considerable sum to foreign countries which they have to make for these increased imports is made on the basis of an exchange very unfavorable for Germany's enemies. The argument that the exchange rate is unfavorable to Germany bears little weight here, for, in consequence of the interruption of German foreign trade, Germany has, in comparison with times of peace, small payments to make to foreign countries. The enemies of Germany, however, are compelled to pay in cash not only the contract sums, but also the deficit caused by the unfavorable rate of exchange.

The enemies of Germany have now

tried every means, or, rather, have been compelled to do so, in order to influence the rate of exchange. England has shipped some of the gold at her disposal in Canada to the United States. Russia and France have taken up foreign loans, not to get new cash but to make payments to their foreign creditors from the balances thus created, and thereby avoid the exchange. According to recent reports, England intends doing the same thing, in order thus to relieve the embarrassment caused her by the turn the exchange rate has taken.

But it must be remembered that the taking up of such foreign loans does not do away with the burdens imposed by the unfavorable rate of exchange, but simply postpones its effect until after the treaty of peace. These countries have, as it were, capitalized the losses growing out of the exchange rate and had their payment postponed by taking up foreign loans. But after the war the interest on these loans, as well as the sums for the liquidation of the debts, will all flow into the coffers of the foreign nations, and thus continue to influence the international monetary basis.

Matters will have quite a different aspect for Germany after the treaty of peace. Germany will then not be indebted abroad, as the costs of the war are all being covered at home. On the other hand, in consequence of the new discoveries made during the war and the newly built factories, she will be in a position to reduce the necessary payments to foreign countries and improve her exchange rate.

If the Germans, indirectly forced to it by the war, continue to use gas and electricity instead of petroleum, artificial nitrates instead of saltpeter, strawmeal and artificial fodder yeasts instead of fodder barley, in large quantities, the war will have brought about a strengthening of Germany's international financial position. Germany's enemies will then in this respect have shown themselves to be a power which, like Mephisto in Goethe's "Faust," always strives to evil and accomplishes only what is good.

Contrary to the deprecating assertions of her enemies, the economic life of Germany is in the course of the war developing in a manner which, in consideration of the extraordinary conditions, may be said to be more than satisfactory. It is well known that the deposits of the German savings banks are constantly increasing. This in part explains the huge success of the war loan. Meanwhile, the German postal check service has reached a figure never touched before the war. During March, 1915, the number of persons having postal bank accounts in the imperial postal territory was 105,473—818 more than in the previous month. In March the credits on these postal check accounts amounted to 2,142,000,000 marks, as against 1,779,000,000 in February and 1,875,000,000 in January of the same year; and the debits amounted to 2,124,-000,000 marks, as against 1,764,000,000 in February and 1,877,000,000 in January. The payments made through this medium amounted, accordingly, to 2,352,000,000 marks in March, as against 1,982,000,000 and 2,020,000,000 in February and January, respectively.

These figures are seen in their true light when we remember, for example, that in the period Jan. 1-April 10, 1915, the withdrawals from the French savings banks amounted to 44,065,088 francs more than the deposits. The commercial war started by Germany's enemies seems to agree with them much worse than with the country they attacked.

The nations * * * being courted by the Allies have so far been able to keep their heads cool. They consider, and rightly, too, how much of all that which is promised in time of need the Allies will do or be able to do, and whether or not some reasonable national ideal may be realized at less cost than participation in this bloody struggle. But even should the future have surprises in store for us, the quiet confidence of the central powers that they will attain their goal is not to be shaken. For this goal is not the subjugation of the world, as their envious enemies would have it appear, but simply the desire to be freed from the strangle hold which hindered them in their normal development. It is not that Germany has a lust for world

empire, but that England has hitherto haughtily assumed the rôle of world ruler. That she no longer has the power to force her will upon the whole world the course of the war has shown; it should also have shown in what manner she would use this power were she ever again in a position to possess it.

The Wealth of William II.

By R. Franklin Tate

The following estimate of the personal fortune of the German Emperor appeared in The London Daily News of July 29 as special Paris correspondence:

IT was stated recently that the Kaiser had already lost by the war a sum of four millions sterling. The Temps, while recognizing that he must have suffered heavy losses, shows that this statement is not borne out by what we know of the Kaiser's private affairs.

At the time of the financial census for the assessing of the tax which was to provide the sum of 40 millions sterling as a war contribution the Kaiser stood first among his subjects with an income of £900,000, whereas he only stood third in the general classification of fortunes. Frau Bertha Krupp von Bohlen headed the list with 83 millions sterling and an income of £640,000 per annum; Prince Henckel von Donnersmarck was second with 10 millions and an income of £520,000 per annum. The Kaiser's visible annuities, according to the same statistics, were: Civil list, £875,000; rents, &c., £175,000; interest on Crown Treasury, £225,000.

According to the same statistics, his visible estate consisted of: Real estate, Crown forests, &c., £3,500,000; developed estate, £2,000,000; property in Berlin, £900,000; total, £6,400,000. In transferable securities: 1, Crown treasure, established by Frederick William III. after the battle of Jena, together with the addition of £250,000 made by William I. out of the French indemnity of 200 millions sterling—making a total of one million sterling; 2, the Kaiser's share of the fortune of four millions sterling left by William I.; 3, the Kaiser's investments since he came to the throne.

It is impossible to estimate these investments, but the Kaiser is known to have a big holding in the Hamburg-Amerika, the Reichsbank, and especially Krupp. For this purpose he figures under the name of Privy Councilors Müller and Grimm. His share in William I.'s fortune is estimated at £125,000.

Admitting that William II. inherited something under the will of Queen Victoria, that he has saved money, and that his investments have proved lucrative, his fortune at the beginning of the war may have been about two and a half to three millions sterling. But with the exception of Krupp his investments have all depreciated enormously.

English and German Ideals of God

By Eden Phillpotts

The following article, which originally appeared in The London Daily Chronicle, is here reproduced by special permission of the author.

"Our Good Old God."—THE KAISER.

A GREAT religious idea is declared to be under the watchword of "Teuton above All." Their Kaiser to the Germans represents more than a King; he is the right hand of the King of Kings, and his subjects' eyes assume a reverential expression, their speech drops a note, when they say "Our Kaiser." The nation is, moreover, Christian; it subscribes to one faith and professes the Christian ideal.

We may assume that, even in the face of their present opposition, all the contending powers would agree that there is but one God. There is but one God of the Germans and of the English, of the Austrians and the French, of the Belgians and the Turks. We are not concerned with His prophets, but Himself. It suits Germany to predicate a Jaweh, who regards with approval their doctrines of "Frightfulness" and a "necessity" that may be greater than any human oath; it better serves our purpose to protest at this conception and declare for a God of mercy and forgiveness and truth. Their God inspires them to strike for themselves and seek to impose the ideal of their reigning classes upon the rest of the world; our God inclines us to recognize the sovereign rights of all mankind, be they weak or strong, able or impotent. We argue that the accident of Belgium's salvation embracing our own has nothing to do with our action: that had Belgium been Serbia and our word given, we should have similarly set forth on her behalf.

Now, the English and German ideals cannot both be of God, because they contradict each other. We may argue that the virus of hate which has for the moment poisoned German thinking cannot be an inspiration of Heaven, since it leads to no culture, breeds bad air, and results in a mental and physical condition of absolute exhaustion from which no temporal or spiritual advantage can possibly spring to man or race; they, on the other hand, characterize their ebullition as righteous wrath and the just outcome of what they conceive to be our present attitude to them. We speak of "envy, hatred, and malice"; they describe the same emotion as the natural outpouring of a nation's spirit, which finds itself frustrated, foiled, outraged by a sister nation with a giant's power and the evil will to use it like a giant.

There would seem no common ground of reconciliation. A kingdom spoon fed by its rulers and trained to the platter of a fettered press has slowly absorbed ideals which we view with distrust and dislike; while their wisest and best are honestly of opinion that things have come to such a pass with Germany that only her cannon can make civilization listen to her. Her philosophers have subscribed to that opinion and hold that the conspiracy of Europe to deny their country the right to impose her culture (or Kultur, i. e., Civilization) upon it, can only be put down with fire and sword. But a nation that cringes to a Junker Lieutenant has ostracized its well-wishers, and for Herr Lamprecht to declare that Germany is the freest country in the world simply means that he and his fellow-kinsmen have forgotten what freedom is. A Goethe or Schiller, could they return, would find Germany chained and manacled.

On our part, with an immense and, for the most part, successful experience of colonization, we hold that any imposition is fatal, and that to speak of "England over all" would be to destroy our

empire with a phrase. We have seldom attempted this political folly, but rather allowed existing nations influenced by us to preserve their individuality and encouraged new nations sprung of our loins to develop their own genius in their own way. When we fell from this ideal, as we have done, swift and terrible punishment followed. The Indian Mutiny was born of our errors; the United States exist as an everlasting monument to our fatuity. We placed a mighty and proud people in an impossible position, and they shook off our dust from their feet forever.

But our ideals have stood the test of time; those of Germany, tested by our achievements, have only to be stated to be condemned. We decline to believe that any State has Divine authority to impose itself upon the world; we see nothing, and the world sees nothing, in Germany's present principles, practices, or purposes to justify the belief that their acceptance would make of earth a happier, freer, and more contented abiding place. We deplore only an unexampled arrogance, an extraordinary lack of the perspective sense, an ideal absolutely unjustified by any appeal to history or religion.

The fact, however, remains that religious, political, industrial, and racial Germany is at one in this adventure. Monist Haeckel, Christian Harnack, mystic Eucken, agree that their country must and shall be first; and if the world, declining the super-position of Germany, takes measures to oppose it, then they hold all means are justified to overcome the world. Every teaching of Christianity, every precept of justice, every bright maxim of humanity polished through the centuries may be discarded before this ambition. Infinite evil may be done that the infinite good they foresee shall at last be attained, and it matters not whether the "good old God" of the Kaiser be floated to his throne on the blood of a widowed world, so long as he arrives, to be acclaimed and worshipped by the remainder of mankind.

We have now an impartial account of the atrocities in Belgium, and, allowing for the inevitable, "atrocities" is not too strong a word. Drunken men inflamed with the passion of fighting and in the shadow of their own deaths will do evil things, though it remains to be seen whether British culture has so far permeated our trained troops that they anon deny themselves similar excesses; but the real atrocity was a part of the campaign, premeditated, plotted. Germany took with her machines which would make the task of burning Belgium swift and easy; her "fearfulness" was long ago worked out in cold blood at the headquarters of her high command. She will bring these tools here if she can. The machinery by which she set out to do the will of her Kaiser and her God is before the world, and if it be possible to say that her reigning class was alone responsible for it, we have also to admit that every other class applauded it, sanctioned it, and hoped that it would prevail. The nation must, therefore, be confident that God also approves these methods, and that, in His name, the Fatherland will fight and conquer with them.

One may note in passing that neutral States have uttered no public word before her horrific achievements. No King, no President has allowed enthusiasm for humanity to open his mouth and record a whisper of protest from any nation in the enjoyment of peace. They know that moral influence is as powerful as the sword, but abstain from exerting it, since at present to state their opinion of Louvain, or Rheims, or the massacre at Andenne, would be an unfriendly act. The neutral ruler sells his soul for his country's peace and in the name of politics. As politics are constituted that is often the sudden sacrifice they demand, and few be they who will make it.

There is but one God, and all who believe in Him, from the primate to an infant schoolchild, agree that His will is presently to be done, and that the issue of this catastrophe lies in His keeping. Neither the nations that are fighting nor any others doubt this fact for an instant. The minority in all States who deny a supreme intelligence and believe that blind Forces rather than one all-seeing and self-conscious Will are responsible for the war, need not be considered at this time.

And here lies the tremendous plea for reason when the end comes, the forceful appeal to the losers to accept the will of the only God, and recognize that once again, through the destruction of civilization, His eternal purpose is made manifest. At present each side is conscious of its own rectitude; but, when the issue has been determined, it behooves the nations crowned with the diadem of victory, and those who sit in sackcloth and ashes, alike to acknowledge that God in which they believe has conquered and His ways have been justified to man.

There is no other course open to a God-fearing and God-trusting kingdom. If peace finds us a protectorate of Germany, or Germany deprived forever of her Prussian Poland, her French acquisitions of 1870 and her Hohenzollerns, we, or she, must be equally prepared to say "The Lord's will be done." We must in the event of defeat confess that a democratic ideal has not at present the sanction of Devine widsom; while Germany, if the fortunes of war leave her naked and stricken, should be prepared to grant that her determination to conquer the world for the good of the world was based on a fearful misreading of the Almighty's purpose.

Such a confession should abate bitterness and banish after-hatreds. It would be no more than logical from God-guided and God-fearing nations; and if those in authority publicly declared to their beaten land that all must accept without murmuring the just payment of their unfortunate errors, then such a doctrine should speedily leaven the lump of the defeated and help to reconcile them to their Master's will.

The truth about the world's belief in God must emerge from this peace. To argue that the war itself proves very sufficiently that nothing but an academic adherence is accorded to the theory of a Supreme Being, is vain, since both sides (in different senses) argue this a Holy War and cry to one God to bless their opposing banners; but the outcome cannot fail to determine whether civilization still veritably believes; and not only the attitude of the beaten nations to their faiths, but also the power of their faiths to control their conduct in defeat and direct their subsequent destinies will challenge deep scrutiny in this generation and provide a fruitful field for such philosophic writers as examine the question in years to come.

Savings

[From the London Daily Chronicle]

Here a little and there a little,
  Paring away the waste;
Courses shortened and waistbelts tautened,
  Drilling the spendthrift taste;
Freaks of fashion and pleasure's passion
  Disciplined, checked and chaste.

Here a little and there a little,
  Tighten the leaking cork.
Taste the phial of self-denial,
  Saving is storing work;
Purse-strings tighter will help the fighter,
  War to the knife——and fork!

A. W.

Touring Europe in War Time

By Mme. L. de Hegermann-Lindencrone

Writer of "The Sunny Side of Diplomatic Life," published a few months ago, and of "In the Courts of Memory," which appeared last year, Mme. L. de Hegermann-Lindencrone has won a unique place in the hearts of American readers with her vigorous sketches of an American woman's life in the capitals and Courts of Europe. The following article reassuring tavelers recounts her recent experiences, starting from Copenhagen, Denmark, where she has lived for several years since her husband retired from the Danish Diplomatic Service, and crossing Germany through the Alps into Italy. As a story of tranquil Germany and of traveling in war time it is in marked contrast to many of the stories we read.

YOU have certainly read the many harrowing accounts, written, of course, by eyewitnesses, of the difficulties and dangers which beset those wishing to travel through Europe in these (w)awful days.

Although all newspapers abroad and at home were full of direful stories, and although they warned people from venturing abroad and advising them strongly to remain at home, we determined to start for Italy.

I was particularly anxious to get away from the cloudy north and longed for sunshine and flowers.

The obstacles that we would encounter were put forward in a lurid light, but we turned a deaf ear to everything, and, as the saying goes, "Ce que femme veut, Dieu le veut," the wish of the "femme" seemed about to be fulfilled—my husband being the "Dieu" and I being the "femme."

I will jot down some of the things which, according to all probability, were to happen to us.

In the first place—the mines. The Baltic Sea, which we had to cross, would be full of mines. The only way to avoid them would be to sail to Norway, from there to Edinburgh, then a boat could carry us to Genoa. This seemed a rather roundabout way, and would take almost a month to get to our destination, whereas by the regular route through Germany and Switzerland the journey would only take *two days*. We decided to risk the mines. We thought being blown up rather a novel sensation. The large ferryboats that ply between Denmark and Germany, as a general rule, take two or three passengar cars, and as many others to carry the post and baggage. Now there are none but cattle wagons, filled with poor cows on their way to be slaughtered in Rostock and destined to feed the German Army. No boats cross at night.

Secondly, it would be dangerous to speak any other language than German. We pooh-pooed at this. Why should we not talk German? This obstacle was therefore barred out. None but German books should be found among our things. If we wished to write letters, they would have to be written in German. Letters in other languages would be examined and perhaps destroyed by the police. We said we did not object to write letters and postal cards in German.

At the Custom Houses on the different frontiers we were admonished that we would be submitted to the severest searching. The men, from the very linings of their hats to the soles of their boots, and all their possessions would be dragged out of their pockets and all their papers searched. Women would be forced to let down their hair. Even their hatpins and shoelacings would be under suspicion! There would be no end of annoyances and delays at every moment.

We said that we did not care. We were sure that, armed to the hilt as we were with passports and documents, we would not be troubled.

Among minor obstacles it was mentioned that the trains would not be heated and that we would freeze to death. We answered that we did not like overheated compartments.

All the trains would be belated. There

would be no restaurant cars, no sleeping cars, no porters. We should be obliged to carry our traps ourselves. There would be no vehicles of any kind to meet the trains. We should have to walk to the hotels.

We risked being shut up with closed windows in stifling compartments, surrounded by insolent soldiers, probably smoking vile pipes, and also we risked that our wagon would be left on a side track for hours in order to let the trains with soldiers pass.

It certainly was not a pleasant outlook. Our friends and family saw us, in their minds' eye, starved, frozen, arrested, maltreated, and I don't know what more. Had we listened to and believed all that was predicted we never would have dared to sally forth, making straight, as we were doing, for the lion's den. However, our gigantic foolhardiness made us blind to arguments and forecastings. We fixed the day, and off we started.

Our family, convinced that they were seeing the last of us, came in a body to the station to "speed the parting" souls —not to say fools—some with flowers, as a sort of "last tribute." They would have thought it quite in keeping had our farewell words been "morituri salutamus," followed by a flood of tears. Even up to the final whistle they said: "You can still change your minds—it is not too late now to stay."

Before we started we four (my husband, my son, myself, and my maid) were obliged to have our photographs taken and glued on to the corners of our different passports.

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs was up to its ears preparing these documents, and the Legations of Germany, Italy, and Switzerland had been busy writing special letters to their Custom House officers in order to facilitate our passage through those dreadful places of torture. The German Minister sent a particularly helpful telegram to the commanding officer at Warnemünde, the landing place in Germany.

Behold us, then, on our way comfortably ensconced in our compartment with one other occupant—a Swiss gentleman, as we found out later by prudent diplomatic proddings. He had just come from Norway; he had his head on his shoulders, that is to say, he had not been mined nor blown up! Thus far we were encouraged, for if a person can travel from Norway to Denmark why not from Denmark to Germany? We feared that the blinding blizzard which accompanied us through Denmark would prevent the boat from leaving its shores, but when we reached Gjedser (Denmark) the sky was clear and the sea as calm as on a Summer day.

A little after we had passed the Danish light boat we saw an aeroplane flying over our heads, (a German one, of course.) The people on board (those who think they know everything) were sure that it was sent by the German Government to guard against the mines. Whether this was true I can't tell, but the protecting angel hovered over us all the way and guided us safely to land under its buzzing wings.

On the boat the only German we spoke was to ask for our coffee. This being a German boat, we should in any case have talked its language. Thus far we had escaped mines, bombs, and language. . . .

The next ordeal was the Custom House.

The passengers filed out on the platform and were shown into the shed which serves as the Custom House.

The soldiers who were walking about with guns on their shoulders were polite and not at all warlike or aggressive.

We were about to follow the others when out stepped from the crowd a tall, handsome officer, spick and span in his light gray uniform, his helmet shining like silver. He came toward us with a pleasant smile, clicked his heels in true military fashion, touched his helmet in salute, and asked my husband if he was "his Excellency." On his reply that he was, the officer then asked if I was "her Excellency." When he learned that we were both ourselves he led the way, pushing people aside to make a passage for us, and we went into the room where the passports were examined. He said that "this had to be done! It could not be avoided." The looking at our passports and the comparing of them with the originals took only a moment. My vanity

suffered a pang when the official, after contemplating the hideous portrayal of me, evidently said to himself, "*This is enough*," for he did not give me a second glance. We were not obliged to open any of our numerous bags and belongings. Even the enormous bouquet I carried, every flower of which might, for all they knew, have contained some secret missive, passed unexamined. Everything was quickly checked off. The polite officer whose appearance and manner belonged more to the Imperial Schloss in Berlin than in the Custom House in quiet little Warnemünde, put us himself in the train and, bowing, smiling, and saluting, went home to his 5 o'clock coffee, followed by our warmest thanks.

H., (my son,) who is of a friendly nature, hobnobbed with the Mecklenburg warrior who was on duty on the quay. He offered him a cigar, which the soldier pocketed quickly with a whispered "Danke schön." The footing on which they stood must have been very friendly, for the sentinel waved his gun as a parting salute when the train steamed away.

The Swiss gentleman with whom we had traveled, and with whom we had conversed in French and English at our sweet will, said that in the Custom House he had had been asked to show all his papers and that he had been felt over and "patted" from his shoulders down; that his pockets had all been "gone through," but everything had been done in the most courteous way, and the searchers had seemed rather to beg his pardon for putting him to so much inconvenience.

The other passengers, however, did not fare even as well as he did, and one (a Russian) did not fare at all. He was retained at Warnemünde, and was to be sent back by the next steamer. I must say that I never saw a more spyish-looking person in my life; I would not have trusted him across the street even in times of peace.

One man had a gold piece in his pocket. It was taken from him, but replaced by paper money of the same value. He had also a note book in his valise, in which he had written his impressions. One was that a "smukke pige" (Danish for pretty girl) did not mean a smoked pig. These he was obliged to explain in detail. H. helped him, as he did not speak German, being from Argentina.

Our route passed through Mecklenburg-Strelitz. This part of Germany is very familiar to us, as we once spent a delightful Summer there.

We had a most excellent dinner in the dining car, even better than formerly, consisting of a good soup, a very good filet de boeuf, hot potatoes, cheese, and fruit. We were, as you see, far from being starved. We had fared well—better than was dreamed of by those who bade us farewell. The only thing out of the usual that I noticed was that there were fewer men in the stations, almost none in the fields, and not many in the towns as we passed through them. But the railroad service was just as always.

We arrived on the stroke of time in Berlin, and found our former servant (Otto) at the door of our compartment. He had been sent by Count M. to invite us to luncheon the next day. All the automobiles had been taken, and Otto was some time finding two droschkes to convey us and our baggage to the hotel. There were plenty of porters about, and we were *not* obliged to burden ourselves with our bags, as predicted.

We went to the Hotel Bristol, Unter den Linden. How dimly the lighted and dull streets looked! How deserted they were! How quiet this usually so brilliantly lit centre seemed! Hardly a pedestrian and no carriages. I would never have known our old Berlin. The hotel, the rendezvous of all that was chic and fashionable, was filled only with serious elderly men, eagerly reading the newspapers. The head waiter rushed up to us, as if welcoming his dearest friends, (evidently thinking we were American millionaires.) He rubbed his hands and asked us if we would "*sup*," (speaking in English,) beaming with happy anticipation of a princely bourboire, and chanced an "I remember you when you were here before." He received a short and to-the-point reply in German to the effect that he was *not* remembered and that, as some one once said, "his face was not as familiar as his manner." A Brodkarte (bread

card) was given to us. There were ten coupons on each, and each coupon was good for 25 grams of bread, sufficient for one day—supposed to be all you need. You cannot get more.

When you go to a restaurant you must take your Brodkarte with you, otherwise you go without if you can't borrow one. The bakers provide their clients with just that amount, and no more. Of course, in the hotels it is put on your bill.

Many signs were hung on the walls of the hotel begging people to be economical, not to waste anything. A particular stress was put upon potatoes. They should be boiled with their skins on, and if they were pared the parings must not be thrown away. Why? I wondered.

I went to see my jeweler the next morning. There was hardly any one in the street, (Friedrichstrasse.) It was generally so full of traffic, but now noticeably empty. Occasionally an officer would limp by, leaning on his cane, and another with a loose-hanging sleeve. What a sad tale this told!

Although there were so few people to be seen, all the theatres are open, and, it is said, very well attended. Certainly the restaurants showed no sign of lack of customers. Both hotels and restaurants are filled to overflowing.

I met the Princess Wied in the corridor of the hotel—not the ex-Queen of Albania, but her sister-in-law, (the daughter of the King of Württemberg.) She presented her son to me. He is very young, at least he looked so. He goes to the front tomorrow. She seemed very sad, and looked with loving eyes at the handsome young fellow.

We lunched with Count and Countess M., and met some of the American Embassy, and after lunch Countess M. took me out for a drive in her motor. She has my former chauffeur. It seemed natural to be driving about the old familiar road to Grünewald and by Kaiserdam. My favorite promenade! When we passed the new building devoted to exhibitions and sport, the chauffeur said it was the largest edifice in the world. (I wonder.) The hall alone is 1,200 meters long and 18 meters high. It covers 19,000 meters of ground, and is lighted by 15,000 electric lamps at night; it is lighted "al giorno" from the ceiling and behind glass.

It must be splendid! *Colossal* is the only word to apply to it. My jeweler said that he would be called to do his military service next year.

"Next year!" I cried. "Surely you don't think that the war will go on till then?"

"Why, of course," he answered; "there is no doubt of it."

I hope that he is wrong. It is a dreadful thought that this state of things should continue!

Now our real journey, fraught with dangers and surprises, was to commence. We started from Anhalt Bahnhof the next day. The station was crammed with soldiers. Every train that came in brought them, and every train that went out took them away. The poor young fellows looked hardly over twenty. They carried their bundles on their backs and paper *cartons* tied with strings. They were going to receive their knapsacks at the end of their journey. . . . And what more! Poor creatures!

They appeared quiet and serious; there was no shouting nor running about, after the manner of soldiers. The Captain marshaled them about with low-spoken words of command. Their uniforms, as those of the officers, were of dark cloth. Their helmets were covered with the same cloth to hide (I suppose) the shininess of them. Our first-class compartment was almost filled with officers, but when we came they politely left us to ourselves and stood in the corridor.

The luncheon and dinner on the restaurant cars were well served, and there was enough of everything for the many passengers. Our bread was given to us in small packages, but we had plenty. The train was crammed with soldiers; they stood in all the corridors. H. gave them some cigarettes and I handed out what chocolate I had taken with me. It was not much, yet they seemed very grateful.

All the factories we passed seemed to be closed; there was no smoke to be seen anywhere. In the fields, which appeared

to be full of Spring promise, one saw none but women. They were sowing grain, and plowing the fields behind the slow and ponderous oxen. We saw them sawing wood and cleaning out stables. Man's work! They replaced their husbands just as the oxen and dogs replaced the horses. Of them only the weak-kneed and blind were left.

In some towns we went through the women were acting as conductors on the tramways.

We passed many camps for prisoners. They were a little way from the railroad, but one saw them very well. One regiment (I think it must have been a regiment) was in French uniforms. They were walking along the high road accompanied by some German soldiers. They seemed to step along briskly as if their lot was not an "unhappy one."

When one thinks that Germany has to provide not only for its own people but for more than 800,000 prisoners, one can truly admire the organization and the resources of the country. I, who was craving an adventure, an emotion, or a thrill of some kind, was disappointed. No plainer sailing or anything more humdrum and emotionless and normal than our journey so far can be imagined!

The only difference I noticed was that women were selling beer and newspapers in the station, which, as a rule, except for the moving of soldiers, was very devoid of excitement. The trains started on the minute and arrived on the minute.

At Stuttgart we walked to the Hotel Marquand, as it is next to the station. This hotel, whose prices are equal to its pretensions, was full; however, we found very good rooms. I think that we were the only strangers, and we seemed to convey the impression that we were the nabobs the waiter in Berlin took us for. The expectant maid, who stayed in the vicinity of my room, certainly was one of those "*made in Germany*"—she never spoke to me without saying "*Gnädige.*" The other guests, evidently as "*heartless*" as we, did not mind showing that they had money to spend. I was glad to find other "cruel" people willing to throw away a little of theirs in a country that needed it. The country seemed very pleased to get the little we threw. The next morning we took the train *en route* for Switzerland, and found on it our Swiss friend Mrs. M. and a German diplomat on his way to Rome. They had traveled all night very comfortably in the sleeping cars from Berlin. The fourth person in their compartment was an elderly lady, who dozed peacefully and who only waked up occasionally to ask whether we had reached the frontier. On hearing that we had not, she moved closer to her corner, to make room for me, and dozed off again. Happily, they were amiable enough to allow us to be there, (we sat sqeezed three on a seat,) otherwise we should have been obliged to stay in the corridor and stand on a Landwehr's toes.

No one, apparently, had had any difficulty anywhere. They seemed very comfortable; they had neither frozen nor starved nor waited on side tracks.

The German diplomat must have received special orders from his Government to avoid conversation with the humbler sex, for none of us three ladies could worm a glance from him, even the elderly lady's questions about the *frontière* were snubbed.

But as soon as one of my gentlemen attacked him, he was all smiles and blinkings behind his spectacles, evidently proud of himself that he had repelled the advances and withstood the wiles of *women!* He had in his eyes a sort of "retro Satanical" look.

We had no delay at the Swiss-German Custom House. The Swiss officer opened his eyes when the avalanche of passports was unbosomed and thrust at him, every one of them in a different language and garnished with portraits. We had been told that our photographs must be taken in the *identical* clothes we would wear on the journey, but, womanlike, we had changed our minds as we had our dresses and hats. Therefore, it was very hard for the man to see where the difference was, and, as we had not the time for puzzling over the mystery, he handed the passports back, with a tired but polite sigh.

This was my last hope of an adventure. Nothing had happened, and certainly now

nothing would happen. I looked out of the window at the Schafhausen Cascade, (the place where the beautiful Rhine commences its career before it begins to make wine and grow hops,) and felt somehow as if I had been defrauded unduly of emotions. I had one, nevertheless.

The elderly lady who had shown such anxiety about the frontière whom we thought was Russian, caught sight of my flowers and remarked that they were beautiful, and added: "If you want to keep them you must cut their stems a little every day"; I said I would remember to do so.

The ice being broken, I said: "These carnations are already three days old. I can't expect to keep them forever."

"From what country did you say they came?" I had not mentioned any country! Nevertheless I told her. "I am from Sweden," she said. The ice by this time had become thin enough to walk on. She talked rapidly and in Swedish. "Do you know Mrs. ——?" and spoke my name. I nodded my head. "Have you read ——?" and mentioned my book. I murmured something, trembling to hear a verdict. "Oh! how I should like to know her!" she said.

"You have not far to go, Madame," I said; "you are talking to her *now*," and pointed to the third button of my blouse.

"Nae," she cried, "Nae, I cannot believe it," and gasped for breath. I think, also, that it must have been hard for her to believe that the lady she wanted so much to know was the tired and travel-stained lady before her.

"I have not your book with me. It is too precious, [perhaps it was too heavy.] I own *two*. I keep one in my salon and the other on my nightstand; I read a chapter every night."

Like the Bible, thought I, or could she mean that it was to invite slumber? In any case I was overwhelmed. . . .

What pleased this enthusiastic lady the most was that she had praised the book before she knew who I was. I took some flowers from my bouquet and gave them to her; I could not do less, could I? She pressed them to her lips, and begged me for my autograph. I never was so flattered in all my life.

We stayed that night in Zurich. It was very cold, and we decided to push on to Locarno. Before we left the hotel the next morning I received a twenty-five-word-long telegram from the Swedish lady repeating in a condensed form her effusions of the day before.

It was a dark and cold day, but when we came out of the long tunnel of St. Gothard the sun burst forth in a blaze of glory.

Reindeer for Berlin

Ten thousand living reindeer are to be imported from Norway in order to be slaughtered for consumption in Berlin. The *Allgemeine Fleischer Zeitung*, the leading organ of the German meat trade, which makes this announcement in a late June number, states that one reindeer has already been imported and slaughtered. It had, however, suffered somewhat during the long railway journey, and it is believed that better provision can be made for the transport of large consignments than was possible in the case of a single animal.

Russia's German Bureaucrats

By Jean Finot

FROM the outset of the war Russian "barbarism" and "savagery" have been much harped upon by the Germans. In this way they wished to influence the neutrals, even the Allies themselves. The "Cossacks" became the incarnation of the cruelties and inhumanity of earlier wars; they represented pillage, robbery, violation, incendiarism, destruction of property, murder of non-combatants.

Intellectuals in various countries allowed themselves to be caught in this clumsy trap set by German diplomacy with the aid of German savants, newspapers, agents, and spies.

Reality soon tore the mask from these lies. Compared with the semi-civilized Germans, the Cossacks have proved to be angels of sweetness and mercy. The illusion of Russian savagery has been swept away. The Germans themselves, for the purposes of their cause, now find more interest in turning about and denouncing the criminal egoism of the English.

But it is not without interest to take up again the psychology of the Russian people as it is understood in the Old and New Worlds. The Europe of tomorrow must become better acquainted with the elements that must work together in creating it.

First, one must draw a distinction between the Russian people and its rulers. The formation of the Russian Nation makes it impossible to identify these with each other. The Romanoff dynasty has tried for many years to become identified with the needs and aspirations of the people; now, at last, everything leads to the belief that it has succeeded.

The nobility of the three Baltic provinces, entirely Germans, in whom are rooted the worst instincts of the Prussian Junkers, had until the war a dominant influence on the evolution of Russian destinies. Military leaders, statesmen, the highest office holders, were recruited principally from the Junkers of Courland, Livonia, and Esthonia. Always intriguing with Prussia, toward whom they were attracted by similarity of tastes and aspirations, they can be considered only superficially Russians. Were it not for the immense extent of the empire and the resistance of the real Russians, this little selected body, working without restraint, would have drowned the Russian soul in the German ocean.

The Franco-Russian alliance was confronted for years with insurmountable obstacles. The iron will of an Alexander II., of a Nicholas II., was needed to make headway against the petty intrigues of the Baltic nobility, backed by the Hohenzollerns. But what contributed most efficaciously to awakening the Russian Court and to exasperating the national sentiment was the unskillful conduct of the Kaiser and of his diplomats, who looked upon Russia as a conquered province.

Pan-Slavism, and the orthodox religion, so radically opposed to Germanic tendencies, also helped to save the empire of the Czars. The present war will be, for Russia, a war of permanent deliverance. The mountain of crimes erected between the two nations will make the resurrection of the past impossible.

Nevertheless, German influence has not had its last word. While Russia is fighting her "holy war," numerous German emissaries paralyze her life and seriously compromise her repute. The far-reaching words of the Czar offer peace and kindly tolerance to his subjects, but at the same time agents from Berlin are doing their best to foment trouble which threatens to discredit the decrees and promises of Nicholas II.

Scattered through the Russian Empire, the Germans have always sought to make trouble among its constituent elements. High German officials are almost always responsible for Russian blunders; they

keep up their policy of fomenting dissension in order to weaken the empire. Disguised as true Russians, nay, as ultra-Russians, they support the newspapers of the "Black Band," in which France and England are slandered and Germany praised. Even while the heroic Russian Army is shedding its blood in the cause of the future of humanity, newspapers in the pay of Germany are plunged in grief because the land of Czars is arrayed against the Kaiser, who is represented as the good genius of the dynasty, of reaction and of orthodoxy.

Foreigners ignorant of this complexity in Russian life tend to confuse the two sides of the medal. It is necessary to turn away from the hideous and criminal "Black Band," which continually imperils the noble Slavic soul, and look only upon the real Russian Nation, its writers, savants, and philosophers, who alone reflect its worth.

It is in the words of Tolstoy, Dostoevsky, Turgenieff, Gorky, Tchekoff, Korolenko, and so many other poets or novelists; in Solovieff, the great psychologist of Russian religious feeling; in Borodine, Pavloff, Mendeleyeff, Metchnikoff, in the brilliant galaxy of sociologists, publicists, and historians, that one finds the ability and worth of the Muscovite nation. Its intellectual forces, compared with those of present-day Germany, would bear away the palm both as to number and intrinsic value. In studying the Russian people as depicted by a Tolstoy one perceives their profound morality. I have had occasion to bear witness to this in a series of studies of modern saints and inspired writers. All that impresses us in the superhuman morality of a Tolstoy, whose nobility of soul is sometimes inconceivable to other European countries, is in reality nothing more than the reflection of the life of the ordinary Russian mujik. Among people divided against each other in hundreds of sects we find the greatest of evangelical truths formulated with touching simplicity. Centuries of misery and sadness have purified and ennobled the popular conscience to a remarkable degree.

Meditating upon the sorrows of this world, a poor Russian peasant often expresses thoughts worthy of a Seneca or a Spinoza. But alcoholism, that formidable enemy, and the far too great misery caused by exploitation at the hands of the State through centuries have at last robbed true Russian genius of its character.

The prohibition of the sale of alcohol just promulgated by the Czar will save and radically transform the lower classes, who exceed 150,000,000 in number. Under the régime of enforced temperance Russia will present an unexpected spectacle to the human race of tomorrow. Within twenty years people will understand of what prodigies a nation will be capable which has not succumbed under the ravages to which from time immemorial its moral and material life was exposed.

II.—GERMAN DIPLOMACY AND THE RUSSO-JAPANESE WAR.

Above all, one must visualize the developments of tomorrow. My sincerity as to moral and political Russia, as to its Government and people, has become strengthened on a number of occasions. For a long time I stood almost alone in protesting against various aberrations of those at the helm in Russia, which were followed by acts harmful to the nation.

We know now that the unfortunate Japanese war turned Russian evolution from its natural course. The historian of the future will discover among the principal reasons for this the hidden influence of Germany. In order to weaken Russia in Europe, Germany drove her to dangerous ventures in the Far East. This seemed to me so clear that I have continually called attention to it in these very pages.

The Russo-Japanese war nearly ruined the Russian Empire and nearly prevented it from fulfilling its obligations toward France. It was evident that if war could be stopped, an alliance of the two belligerents, which had become necessary, would quickly make good the damage done.

In this opinion I stood almost alone; by some, in fact, it was declared paradoxical and harmful. And when high finance, anxious first of all for its profits,

decided to negotiate a loan of 1,000,000,000 francs for Russia, I braved the impossible to halt this financial move, as disastrous to the Franco-Russian Alliance as to the whole human race. The loan was already signed at St. Petersburg; nevertheless, the impossible succeeded.

An article of mine entitled "How to Save Our Milliards" signed "a friend of the alliance"—for I had never given up believing in its necessity and advantages—produced a tempest in legislative circles.

In that article I tried to demonstrate that, if the war continued, Russia would find it impossible to pay the interest on her loans, and that a catastrophe of this nature would bring about the ruin of French investors and the final fall of the third republic.

M. Rouvier, Minister of Finance at that time, asked me to stop my campaign, which he considered unpatriotic. Nevertheless, being a man of high intelligence, he became convinced, after a long conversation to which he summoned me, that the real interests of France required, before all else, the immediate termination of the war.

Besides, Japan rightly thought that this impending loan was an act of hostile intervention harmful to her interests. Baron Motono, the eminent Japanese Ambassador, said to me: "As France is such a tried friend of our country and of Russia, and as she is not able to send her armies to the Far East, she should not send her money there. After the war, Indo-China might sooner or later pay the cost of this intervention, even contrary to the wishes of the friends of France."

Furthermore, the Franco-Japanese rapprochement, foreshadowed in La Revue during the war (in 1905) by my eminent friend, Viscount Suyematsu, son-in-law of Marquis Ito, came true as soon as the war was over, and it is the reason why France, Russia, and Japan stand together today on the same side of the barricade.

Thus our perspicacity was justified. It sufficed to look at reality without prejudices to see that the Russo-Japanese war was one of the most illogical in history. The perfect good faith with which both nations have since accepted peace proves the sincerity of their humanitarian aspirations.

One thing must never be lost sight of—left to itself, the Russian people is essentially peaceful. The idea of conquest is foreign to it; schemes of territorial aggrandizement have always been inculcated into it by those in high position or by foreign influences. The only wars that are popular in Russia are those whose object is the deliverance of Slavic peoples. In 1879, when it was a case of freeing the Balkan peoples, the enthusiasm of the Russians knew no bounds. But in 1905 they were opposed to a campaign which they considered monstrous and inconceivable. And now they are filled again with enthusiasm for the great crusade of civilized peoples whose goal is to free Russia from German influence and to preserve not only the Slavic principle but the political rights and moral acquisitions of Europe.

So this nation, looked upon as barbarous and savage, has waged several wars for an ideal! It will suffice to compare it to the German Nation, which has never helped any people and never fought for a lofty principle, in order to understand on which side moral supremacy lies.

III.—THE PARADOX OF A MONGOL PEOPLE.

Russia is taxed with being a Mongol or Tartar nation. A victim of the barbarians, she has needed centuries to emancipate herself from their influence and become Christian and moral. Germany, in her past, has had no such tragic event to deplore. Therefore she is today committing a crime that is all the more monstrous because she is separating herself from the civilized and falling voluntarily into sheer savagery.

It will suffice to study the main currents of Russian thought during the last half century to realize how much her "idealists" remain superior to the German "intellectuals." Ever since the Russians of 1840, whom Herzen describes with so much talent in his "Byloie i

Doumy," ever since Granovsky, Pisemsky, Stankevitch, since Slavophiles like Kirevsky, Khomiakoff, Aksakoff, a breath of great humanitarian principles has animated Muscovite literature and life. How many reforms have been introduced since 1860—the emancipation of the serfs, judiciary reform, the organization of municipal and provincial autonomy! The germ of a free Parliament like the present one gives promise of a brilliant future for the Russian Empire. Russia will become a great free and civilized nation on the day that she succeeds in ridding herself once and for all of the harmful influence of the Germans, who have ceaselessly paralyzed her life and aspiration.

IV.—REAL RUSSIAN ASPIRATIONS.

Russian psychologists boast rightly of Russia's innate aspirations toward liberty and justice. Alexander Herzen calls the autocratic power of the Czar essentially German. "Perfect concord reigned formerly between non-believers and Catholic Slavs in Russia," declares the great publicist, Gradovsky. "Jews, Moslems, and Christians lived together in perfect harmony there."

The subjugation of the people, who become in the course of centuries veritable slaves, originated in the invasion of the Tartars. Peter the Great, instead of Europeanizing Russia, simply Germanized it. He tried to graft upon it the formal and external sides of German civilization. Thanks to his successors, the only thing Russian about whom was their title, the Germans settled in Russia as if it were a conquered land.

Nevertheless, for the last fifty years one may note intermittent tendencies on the part of the Czars to free themselves from German influence. Often they encountered insurmountable difficulties. In the wake of German Princes and Princesses, a train of favorites and courtiers always flowed into Russia, creating rich and influential families, always opposed to the principles dear to genuine Russians. When one adds to these the German families of the Baltic Provinces it is easy to understand that this internecine struggle had necessarily to last for some decades more.

The German families who have succeeded in throwing off the Prussian influence are very few. So unfortunate an imprint has Prussia left on the life of the empire that all farseeing patriots never tire of deploring it. On this subject great Generals and statesmen educated away from German influence are unanimous. Here Tolstoy clasps hands with General Skobeleff, the revolutionary writer Herzen agrees with Aksakov or Soloviev, both so closely bound to tradition. Let us recall the words uttered by Skobeleff in 1882: "We Russians, when we are at home, are not in Russia."

V.—RUSSIANS DO NOT TRUST THE GERMANS.

Recent happenings simply throw a tragic light on the statements of Russian patriots. The generous intentions of Czar Nicholas II. seem very sincere.

But the bureaucrats find the way to reduce his projects to nothing; they continue to persecute the Poles and their language. They have even gone so far as to send Russian prelates into Galicia! They are organizing Jewish pogroms and deporting to Siberia the most beloved of Finnish representatives. These are crimes of lèse-majesté committed by the very men who should be the most faithful servants of the Czar.

What is the purpose of these vexatious measures if not to compromise Russia in the eyes of her allies and alienate from her the sympathies of neutral countries? Sweden having shown hostility toward Russia on account of Finland, the result of such measures has been to alarm her once again.

In Russia there are at present more than 250,000 Jewish soldiers whose courage and devotion to their country are proved by the official communiqués. But the bureaucrats have been able to drive the Jewish wounded from certain places on the pretext that "they have not the right to live there!" Moreover, by organizing pogroms at the moment when the sacred union of the nation is at its zenith, they seek to destroy the harmony between Russian citizens and foment civil war.

Russia will need many millions for her economic and financial reconstruction;

Self-Sustaining Germany

By the War Committee of German Industries

The following article is reproduced from Pamphlet 13 of the Authoritative Propaganda of Reassurance Conducted by the War Committee of German Industries in Berlin.

IN the present war Germany's enemies are endeavoring to bring about the economic as well as physical collapse of the German people by cutting off the overseas imports of food and rawstuffs. The imports in these important articles were before the war very large, and the enemies of Germany have succeeded in diminishing them to a great degree. On the other hand, they have not by the action attained the goal they had hoped to.

Even now every thinking person outside of Germany must be fully aware that, in spite of the diminution of the imports in provisions, the German civil population and the army are not threatened with starvation. Above all, however, German science has found ways and means of replacing the raw materials now lacking by materials of like value at present being reproduced in Germany. For example, an economically successful method of extracting nitrogen from the air, whereby the German powder industry and German agriculture are supplied with this otherwise missing rawstuff, has been discovered. The importation of petroleum having more or less completely ceased, this supply has also given out. Gas and electricity, for whose manufacture only coal, of which Germany has large quantities, is necessary, have taken its place as illuminants. The lack of fodder has been in part compensated for by an invention whereby the food values in straw are made accessible for feeding stock. And now another discovery is to be recorded which is not only of great importance as assuring the nourishment of our cattle, but arouses the greatest astonishment as an act of scientific boldness. The Institut für Gärungsgewerbe (Institute for Yeast Industries) in Berlin has discovered a process for making food yeast with over 50 per cent. albumen in the simplest manner from sugar and ammonium sulphate. These quantities of albumen will easily replace the supplies of fodder barley that were formerly imported. Since ammonia is not only a by-product in the manufacture of coke, but can also be obtained directly from the air, this method has been correctly described as the extraction of albumen from the air.

These inventions, which will doubtless be followed by others in the course of the war, will have, above all, an effect on the financial world. Germany's enemies are compelled to draw a large part of their supplies of ammunition and arms, as well as provisions, from abroad. Since at the same time the purchasing power and prosperity of large transmaritime territories have been seriously damaged by the European war, the enemies of Germany are drawing smaller incomes from their foreign investments, while the exports of these countries have diminished during the same period. The excess of imports over exports in the foreign trade of Germany's enemies has, therefore, in the course of this war been enormously increased.

The result of this is that the payment of the very considerable sum to foreign countries which they have to make for these increased imports is made on the basis of an exchange very unfavorable for Germany's enemies. The argument that the exchange rate is unfavorable to Germany bears little weight here, for, in consequence of the interruption of German foreign trade, Germany has, in comparison with times of peace, small payments to make to foreign countries. The enemies of Germany, however, are compelled to pay in cash not only the contract sums, but also the deficit caused by the unfavorable rate of exchange.

The enemies of Germany have now

tried every means, or, rather, have been compelled to do so, in order to influence the rate of exchange. England has shipped some of the gold at her disposal in Canada to the United States. Russia and France have taken up foreign loans, not to get new cash but to make payments to their foreign creditors from the balances thus created, and thereby avoid the exchange. According to recent reports, England intends doing the same thing, in order thus to relieve the embarrassment caused her by the turn the exchange rate has taken.

But it must be remembered that the taking up of such foreign loans does not do away with the burdens imposed by the unfavorable rate of exchange, but simply postpones its effect until after the treaty of peace. These countries have, as it were, capitalized the losses growing out of the exchange rate and had their payment postponed by taking up foreign loans. But after the war the interest on these loans, as well as the sums for the liquidation of the debts, will all flow into the coffers of the foreign nations, and thus continue to influence the international monetary basis.

Matters will have quite a different aspect for Germany after the treaty of peace. Germany will then not be indebted abroad, as the costs of the war are all being covered at home. On the other hand, in consequence of the new discoveries made during the war and the newly built factories, she will be in a position to reduce the necessary payments to foreign countries and improve her exchange rate.

If the Germans, indirectly forced to it by the war, continue to use gas and electricity instead of petroleum, artificial nitrates instead of saltpeter, strawmeal and artificial fodder yeasts instead of fodder barley, in large quantities, the war will have brought about a strengthening of Germany's international financial position. Germany's enemies will then in this respect have shown themselves to be a power which, like Mephisto in Goethe's "Faust," always strives to evil and accomplishes only what is good.

Contrary to the deprecating assertions of her enemies, the economic life of Germany is in the course of the war developing in a manner which, in consideration of the extraordinary conditions, may be said to be more than satisfactory. It is well known that the deposits of the German savings banks are constantly increasing. This in part explains the huge success of the war loan. Meanwhile, the German postal check service has reached a figure never touched before the war. During March, 1915, the number of persons having postal bank accounts in the imperial postal territory was 105,473—818 more than in the previous month. In March the credits on these postal check accounts amounted to 2,142,000,000 marks, as against 1,779,000,000 in February and 1,875,000,000 in January of the same year; and the debits amounted to 2,124,-000,000 marks, as against 1,764,000,000 in February and 1,877,000,000 in January. The payments made through this medium amounted, accordingly, to 2,352,000,000 marks in March, as against 1,982,000,000 and 2,020,000,000 in February and January, respectively.

These figures are seen in their true light when we remember, for example, that in the period Jan. 1-April 10, 1915, the withdrawals from the French savings banks amounted to 44,065,088 francs more than the deposits. The commercial war started by Germany's enemies seems to agree with them much worse than with the country they attacked.

The nations * * * being courted by the Allies have so far been able to keep their heads cool. They consider, and rightly, too, how much of all that which is promised in time of need the Allies will do or be able to do, and whether or not some reasonable national ideal may be realized at less cost than participation in this bloody struggle. But even should the future have surprises in store for us, the quiet confidence of the central powers that they will attain their goal is not to be shaken. For this goal is not the subjugation of the world, as their envious enemies would have it appear, but simply the desire to be freed from the strangle hold which hindered them in their normal development. It is not that Germany has a lust for world

empire, but that England has hitherto haughtily assumed the rôle of world ruler. That she no longer has the power to force her will upon the whole world the course of the war has shown; it should also have shown in what manner she would use this power were she ever again in a position to possess it.

The Wealth of William II.

By R. Franklin Tate

The following estimate of the personal fortune of the German Emperor appeared in The London Daily News of July 29 as special Paris correspondence:

IT was stated recently that the Kaiser had already lost by the war a sum of four millions sterling. The Temps, while recognizing that he must have suffered heavy losses, shows that this statement is not borne out by what we know of the Kaiser's private affairs.

At the time of the financial census for the assessing of the tax which was to provide the sum of 40 millions sterling as a war contribution the Kaiser stood first among his subjects with an income of £900,000, whereas he only stood third in the general classification of fortunes. Frau Bertha Krupp von Bohlen headed the list with 83 millions sterling and an income of £640,000 per annum; Prince Henckel von Donnersmarck was second with 10 millions and an income of £520,000 per annum. The Kaiser's visible annuities, according to the same statistics, were: Civil list, £875,000; rents, &c., £175,000; interest on Crown Treasury, £225,000.

According to the same statistics, his visible estate consisted of: Real estate, Crown forests, &c., £3,500,000; developed estate, £2,000,000; property in Berlin, £900,000; total, £6,400,000. In transferable securities: 1, Crown treasure, established by Frederick William III. after the battle of Jena, together with the addition of £250,000 made by William I. out of the French indemnity of 200 millions sterling—making a total of one million sterling; 2, the Kaiser's share of the fortune of four millions sterling left by William I.; 3, the Kaiser's investments since he came to the throne.

It is impossible to estimate these investments, but the Kaiser is known to have a big holding in the Hamburg-Amerika, the Reichsbank, and especially Krupp. For this purpose he figures under the name of Privy Councilors Müller and Grimm. His share in William I.'s fortune is estimated at £125,000.

Admitting that William II. inherited something under the will of Queen Victoria, that he has saved money, and that his investments have proved lucrative, his fortune at the beginning of the war may have been about two and a half to three millions sterling. But with the exception of Krupp his investments have all depreciated enormously.

English and German Ideals of God

By Eden Phillpotts

The following article, which originally appeared in The London Daily Chronicle, is here reproduced by special permission of the author.

"Our Good Old God."—THE KAISER.

A GREAT religious idea is declared to be under the watchword of "Teuton above All." Their Kaiser to the Germans represents more than a King; he is the right hand of the King of Kings, and his subjects' eyes assume a reverential expression, their speech drops a note, when they say "Our Kaiser." The nation is, moreover, Christian; it subscribes to one faith and professes the Christian ideal.

We may assume that, even in the face of their present opposition, all the contending powers would agree that there is but one God. There is but one God of the Germans and of the English, of the Austrians and the French, of the Belgians and the Turks. We are not concerned with His prophets, but Himself. It suits Germany to predicate a Jaweh, who regards with approval their doctrines of "Frightfulness" and a "necessity" that may be greater than any human oath; it better serves our purpose to protest at this conception and declare for a God of mercy and forgiveness and truth. Their God inspires them to strike for themselves and seek to impose the ideal of their reigning classes upon the rest of the world; our God inclines us to recognize the sovereign rights of all mankind, be they weak or strong, able or impotent. We argue that the accident of Belgium's salvation embracing our own has nothing to do with our action: that had Belgium been Serbia and our word given, we should have similarly set forth on her behalf.

Now, the English and German ideals cannot both be of God, because they contradict each other. We may argue that the virus of hate which has for the moment poisoned German thinking cannot be an inspiration of Heaven, since it leads to no culture, breeds bad air, and results in a mental and physical condition of absolute exhaustion from which no temporal or spiritual advantage can possibly spring to man or race; they, on the other hand, characterize their ebullition as righteous wrath and the just outcome of what they conceive to be our present attitude to them. We speak of "envy, hatred, and malice"; they describe the same emotion as the natural outpouring of a nation's spirit, which finds itself frustrated, foiled, outraged by a sister nation with a giant's power and the evil will to use it like a giant.

There would seem no common ground of reconciliation. A kingdom spoon fed by its rulers and trained to the platter of a fettered press has slowly absorbed ideals which we view with distrust and dislike; while their wisest and best are honestly of opinion that things have come to such a pass with Germany that only her cannon can make civilization listen to her. Her philosophers have subscribed to that opinion and hold that the conspiracy of Europe to deny their country the right to impose her culture (or Kultur, i. e., Civilization) upon it, can only be put down with fire and sword. But a nation that cringes to a Junker Lieutenant has ostracized its well-wishers, and for Herr Lamprecht to declare that Germany is the freest country in the world simply means that he and his fellow-kinsmen have forgotten what freedom is. A Goethe or Schiller, could they return, would find Germany chained and manacled.

On our part, with an immense and, for the most part, successful experience of colonization, we hold that any imposition is fatal, and that to speak of "England over all" would be to destroy our

empire with a phrase. We have seldom attempted this political folly, but rather allowed existing nations influenced by us to preserve their individuality and encouraged new nations sprung of our loins to develop their own genius in their own way. When we fell from this ideal, as we have done, swift and terrible punishment followed. The Indian Mutiny was born of our errors; the United States exist as an everlasting monument to our fatuity. We placed a mighty and proud people in an impossible position, and they shook off our dust from their feet forever.

But our ideals have stood the test of time; those of Germany, tested by our achievements, have only to be stated to be condemned. We decline to believe that any State has Divine authority to impose itself upon the world; we see nothing, and the world sees nothing, in Germany's present principles, practices, or purposes to justify the belief that their acceptance would make of earth a happier, freer, and more contented abiding place. We deplore only an unexampled arrogance, an extraordinary lack of the perspective sense, an ideal absolutely unjustified by any appeal to history or religion.

The fact, however, remains that religious, political, industrial, and racial Germany is at one in this adventure. Monist Haeckel, Christian Harnack, mystic Eucken, agree that their country must and shall be first; and if the world, declining the super-position of Germany, takes measures to oppose it, then they hold all means are justified to overcome the world. Every teaching of Christianity, every precept of justice, every bright maxim of humanity polished through the centuries may be discarded before this ambition. Infinite evil may be done that the infinite good they foresee shall at last be attained, and it matters not whether the "good old God" of the Kaiser be floated to his throne on the blood of a widowed world, so long as he arrives, to be acclaimed and worshipped by the remainder of mankind.

We have now an impartial account of the atrocities in Belgium, and, allowing for the inevitable, "atrocities" is not too strong a word. Drunken men inflamed with the passion of fighting and in the shadow of their own deaths will do evil things, though it remains to be seen whether British culture has so far permeated our trained troops that they anon deny themselves similar excesses; but the real atrocity was a part of the campaign, premeditated, plotted. Germany took with her machines which would make the task of burning Belgium swift and easy; her "fearfulness" was long ago worked out in cold blood at the headquarters of her high command. She will bring these tools here if she can. The machinery by which she set out to do the will of her Kaiser and her God is before the world, and if it be possible to say that her reigning class was alone responsible for it, we have also to admit that every other class applauded it, sanctioned it, and hoped that it would prevail. The nation must, therefore, be confident that God also approves these methods, and that, in His name, the Fatherland will fight and conquer with them.

One may note in passing that neutral States have uttered no public word before her horrific achievements. No King, no President has allowed enthusiasm for humanity to open his mouth and record a whisper of protest from any nation in the enjoyment of peace. They know that moral influence is as powerful as the sword, but abstain from exerting it, since at present to state their opinion of Louvain, or Rheims, or the massacre at Andenne, would be an unfriendly act. The neutral ruler sells his soul for his country's peace and in the name of politics. As politics are constituted that is often the sudden sacrifice they demand, and few be they who will make it.

There is but one God, and all who believe in Him, from the primate to an infant schoolchild, agree that His will is presently to be done, and that the issue of this catastrophe lies in His keeping. Neither the nations that are fighting nor any others doubt this fact for an instant. The minority in all States who deny a supreme intelligence and believe that blind Forces rather than one all-seeing and self-conscious Will are responsible for the war, need not be considered at this time.

And here lies the tremendous plea for reason when the end comes, the forceful appeal to the losers to accept the will of the only God, and recognize that once again, through the destruction of civilization, His eternal purpose is made manifest. At present each side is conscious of its own rectitude; but, when the issue has been determined, it behooves the nations crowned with the diadem of victory, and those who sit in sackcloth and ashes, alike to acknowledge that God in which they believe has conquered and His ways have been justified to man.

There is no other course open to a God-fearing and God-trusting kingdom. If peace finds us a protectorate of Germany, or Germany deprived forever of her Prussian Poland, her French acquisitions of 1870 and her Hohenzollerns, we, or she, must be equally prepared to say "The Lord's will be done." We must in the event of defeat confess that a democratic ideal has not at present the sanction of Devine widsom; while Germany, if the fortunes of war leave her naked and stricken, should be prepared to grant that her determination to conquer the world for the good of the world was based on a fearful misreading of the Almighty's purpose.

Such a confession should abate bitterness and banish after-hatreds. It would be no more than logical from God-guided and God-fearing nations; and if those in authority publicly declared to their beaten land that all must accept without murmuring the just payment of their unfortunate errors, then such a doctrine should speedily leaven the lump of the defeated and help to reconcile them to their Master's will.

The truth about the world's belief in God must emerge from this peace. To argue that the war itself proves very sufficiently that nothing but an academic adherence is accorded to the theory of a Supreme Being, is vain, since both sides (in different senses) argue this a Holy War and cry to one God to bless their opposing banners; but the outcome cannot fail to determine whether civilization still veritably believes; and not only the attitude of the beaten nations to their faiths, but also the power of their faiths to control their conduct in defeat and direct their subsequent destinies will challenge deep scrutiny in this generation and provide a fruitful field for such philosophic writers as examine the question in years to come.

Savings

[From the London Daily Chronicle]

Here a little and there a little,
Paring away the waste;
Courses shortened and waistbelts tautened,
Drilling the spendthrift taste;
Freaks of fashion and pleasure's passion
Disciplined, checked and chaste.

Here a little and there a little,
Tighten the leaking cork.
Taste the phial of self-denial,
Saving is storing work;
Purse-strings tighter will help the fighter,
War to the knife——and fork!

A. W.

Touring Europe in War Time

By Mme. L. de Hegermann-Lindencrone

Writer of "The Sunny Side of Diplomatic Life," published a few months ago, and of "In the Courts of Memory," which appeared last year, Mme. L. de Hegermann-Lindencrone has won a unique place in the hearts of American readers with her vigorous sketches of an American woman's life in the capitals and Courts of Europe. The following article reassuring tavelers recounts her recent experiences, starting from Copenhagen, Denmark, where she has lived for several years since her husband retired from the Danish Diplomatic Service, and crossing Germany through the Alps into Italy. As a story of tranquil Germany and of traveling in war time it is in marked contrast to many of the stories we read.

YOU have certainly read the many harrowing accounts, written, of course, by eyewitnesses, of the difficulties and dangers which beset those wishing to travel through Europe in these (w)awful days.

Although all newspapers abroad and at home were full of direful stories, and although they warned people from venturing abroad and advising them strongly to remain at home, we determined to start for Italy.

I was particularly anxious to get away from the cloudy north and longed for sunshine and flowers.

The obstacles that we would encounter were put forward in a lurid light, but we turned a deaf ear to everything, and, as the saying goes, "Ce que femme veut, Dieu le veut," the wish of the "femme" seemed about to be fulfilled—my husband being the "Dieu" and I being the "femme."

I will jot down some of the things which, according to all probability, were to happen to us.

In the first place—the mines. The Baltic Sea, which we had to cross, would be full of mines. The only way to avoid them would be to sail to Norway, from there to Edinburgh, then a boat could carry us to Genoa. This seemed a rather roundabout way, and would take almost a month to get to our destination, whereas by the regular route through Germany and Switzerland the journey would only take *two days*. We decided to risk the mines. We thought being blown up rather a novel sensation. The large ferryboats that ply between Denmark and Germany, as a general rule, take two or three passengar cars, and as many others to carry the post and baggage. Now there are none but cattle wagons, filled with poor cows on their way to be slaughtered in Rostock and destined to feed the German Army. No boats cross at night.

Secondly, it would be dangerous to speak any other language than German. We pooh-pooed at this. Why should we not talk German? This obstacle was therefore barred out. None but German books should be found among our things. If we wished to write letters, they would have to be written in German. Letters in other languages would be examined and perhaps destroyed by the police. We said we did not object to write letters and postal cards in German.

At the Custom Houses on the different frontiers we were admonished that we would be submitted to the severest searching. The men, from the very linings of their hats to the soles of their boots, and all their possessions would be dragged out of their pockets and all their papers searched. Women would be forced to let down their hair. Even their hatpins and shoelacings would be under suspicion! There would be no end of annoyances and delays at every moment.

We said that we did not care. We were sure that, armed to the hilt as we were with passports and documents, we would not be troubled.

Among minor obstacles it was mentioned that the trains would not be heated and that we would freeze to death. We answered that we did not like overheated compartments.

All the trains would be belated. There

would be no restaurant cars, no sleeping cars, no porters. We should be obliged to carry our traps ourselves. There would be no vehicles of any kind to meet the trains. We should have to walk to the hotels.

We risked being shut up with closed windows in stifling compartments, surrounded by insolent soldiers, probably smoking vile pipes, and also we risked that our wagon would be left on a side track for hours in order to let the trains with soldiers pass.

It certainly was not a pleasant outlook. Our friends and family saw us, in their minds' eye, starved, frozen, arrested, maltreated, and I don't know what more. Had we listened to and believed all that was predicted we never would have dared to sally forth, making straight, as we were doing, for the lion's den. However, our gigantic foolhardiness made us blind to arguments and forecastings. We fixed the day, and off we started.

Our family, convinced that they were seeing the last of us, came in a body to the station to "speed the parting" souls —not to say fools—some with flowers, as a sort of "last tribute." They would have thought it quite in keeping had our farewell words been "morituri salutamus," followed by a flood of tears. Even up to the final whistle they said: "You can still change your minds—it is not too late now to stay."

Before we started we four (my husband, my son, myself, and my maid) were obliged to have our photographs taken and glued on to the corners of our different passports.

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs was up to its ears preparing these documents, and the Legations of Germany, Italy, and Switzerland had been busy writing special letters to their Custom House officers in order to facilitate our passage through those dreadful places of torture. The German Minister sent a particularly helpful telegram to the commanding officer at Warnemünde, the landing place in Germany.

Behold us, then, on our way comfortably ensconced in our compartment with one other occupant—a Swiss gentleman, as we found out later by prudent diplomatic proddings. He had just come from Norway; he had his head on his shoulders, that is to say, he had not been mined nor blown up! Thus far we were encouraged, for if a person can travel from Norway to Denmark why not from Denmark to Germany? We feared that the blinding blizzard which accompanied us through Denmark would prevent the boat from leaving its shores, but when we reached Gjedser (Denmark) the sky was clear and the sea as calm as on a Summer day.

A little after we had passed the Danish light boat we saw an aeroplane flying over our heads, (a German one, of course.) The people on board (those who think they know everything) were sure that it was sent by the German Government to guard against the mines. Whether this was true I can't tell, but the protecting angel hovered over us all the way and guided us safely to land under its buzzing wings.

On the boat the only German we spoke was to ask for our coffee. This being a German boat, we should in any case have talked its language. Thus far we had escaped mines, bombs, and language. . . .

The next ordeal was the Custom House.

The passengers filed out on the platform and were shown into the shed which serves as the Custom House.

The soldiers who were walking about with guns on their shoulders were polite and not at all warlike or aggressive.

We were about to follow the others when out stepped from the crowd a tall, handsome officer, spick and span in his light gray uniform, his helmet shining like silver. He came toward us with a pleasant smile, clicked his heels in true military fashion, touched his helmet in salute, and asked my husband if he was "his Excellency." On his reply that he was, the officer then asked if I was "her Excellency." When he learned that we were both ourselves he led the way, pushing people aside to make a passage for us, and we went into the room where the passports were examined. He said that "this had to be done! It could not be avoided." The looking at our passports and the comparing of them with the originals took only a moment. My vanity

suffered a pang when the official, after contemplating the hideous portrayal of me, evidently said to himself, "*This is enough*," for he did not give me a second glance. We were not obliged to open any of our numerous bags and belongings. Even the enormous bouquet I carried, every flower of which might, for all they knew, have contained some secret missive, passed unexamined. Everything was quickly checked off. The polite officer whose appearance and manner belonged more to the Imperial Schloss in Berlin than in the Custom House in quiet little Warnemünde, put us himself in the train and, bowing, smiling, and saluting, went home to his 5 o'clock coffee, followed by our warmest thanks.

H., (my son,) who is of a friendly nature, hobnobbed with the Mecklenburg warrior who was on duty on the quay. He offered him a cigar, which the soldier pocketed quickly with a whispered "Danke schön." The footing on which they stood must have been very friendly, for the sentinel waved his gun as a parting salute when the train steamed away.

The Swiss gentleman with whom we had traveled, and with whom we had conversed in French and English at our sweet will, said that in the Custom House he had had been asked to show all his papers and that he had been felt over and "patted" from his shoulders down; that his pockets had all been "gone through," but everything had been done in the most courteous way, and the searchers had seemed rather to beg his pardon for putting him to so much inconvenience.

The other passengers, however, did not fare even as well as he did, and one (a Russian) did not fare at all. He was retained at Warnemünde, and was to be sent back by the next steamer. I must say that I never saw a more spyish-looking person in my life; I would not have trusted him across the street even in times of peace.

One man had a gold piece in his pocket. It was taken from him, but replaced by paper money of the same value. He had also a note book in his valise, in which he had written his impressions. One was that a "smukke pige" (Danish for pretty girl) did not mean a smoked pig. These he was obliged to explain in detail. H. helped him, as he did not speak German, being from Argentina.

Our route passed through Mecklenburg-Strelitz. This part of Germany is very familiar to us, as we once spent a delightful Summer there.

We had a most excellent dinner in the dining car, even better than formerly, consisting of a good soup, a very good filet de boeuf, hot potatoes, cheese, and fruit. We were, as you see, far from being starved. We had fared well—better than was dreamed of by those who bade us farewell. The only thing out of the usual that I noticed was that there were fewer men in the stations, almost none in the fields, and not many in the towns as we passed through them. But the railroad service was just as always.

We arrived on the stroke of time in Berlin, and found our former servant (Otto) at the door of our compartment. He had been sent by Count M. to invite us to luncheon the next day. All the automobiles had been taken, and Otto was some time finding two droschkes to convey us and our baggage to the hotel. There were plenty of porters about, and we were *not* obliged to burden ourselves with our bags, as predicted.

We went to the Hotel Bristol, Unter den Linden. How dimly the lighted and dull streets looked! How deserted they were! How quiet this usually so brilliantly lit centre seemed! Hardly a pedestrian and no carriages. I would never have known our old Berlin. The hotel, the rendezvous of all that was chic and fashionable, was filled only with serious elderly men, eagerly reading the newspapers. The head waiter rushed up to us, as if welcoming his dearest friends, (evidently thinking we were American millionaires.) He rubbed his hands and asked us if we would "*sup*," (speaking in English,) beaming with happy anticipation of a princely bourboire, and chanced an "I remember you when you were here before." He received a short and to-the-point reply in German to the effect that he was *not* remembered and that, as some one once said, "his face was not as familiar as his manner." A Brodkarte (bread

card) was given to us. There were ten coupons on each, and each coupon was good for 25 grams of bread, sufficient for one day—supposed to be all you need. You cannot get more.

When you go to a restaurant you must take your Brodkarte with you, otherwise you go without if you can't borrow one. The bakers provide their clients with just that amount, and no more. Of course, in the hotels it is put on your bill.

Many signs were hung on the walls of the hotel begging people to be economical, not to waste anything. A particular stress was put upon potatoes. They should be boiled with their skins on, and if they were pared the parings must not be thrown away. Why? I wondered.

I went to see my jeweler the next morning. There was hardly any one in the street, (Friedrichstrasse.) It was generally so full of traffic, but now noticeably empty. Occasionally an officer would limp by, leaning on his cane, and another with a loose-hanging sleeve. What a sad tale this told!

Although there were so few people to be seen, all the theatres are open, and, it is said, very well attended. Certainly the restaurants showed no sign of lack of customers. Both hotels and restaurants are filled to overflowing.

I met the Princess Wied in the corridor of the hotel—not the ex-Queen of Albania, but her sister-in-law, (the daughter of the King of Württemberg.) She presented her son to me. He is very young, at least he looked so. He goes to the front tomorrow. She seemed very sad, and looked with loving eyes at the handsome young fellow.

We lunched with Count and Countess M., and met some of the American Embassy, and after lunch Countess M. took me out for a drive in her motor. She has my former chauffeur. It seemed natural to be driving about the old familiar road to Grünewald and by Kaiserdam. My favorite promenade! When we passed the new building devoted to exhibitions and sport, the chauffeur said it was the largest edifice in the world. (I wonder.) The hall alone is 1,200 meters long and 18 meters high. It covers 19,000 meters of ground, and is lighted by 15,000 electric lamps at night; it is lighted "al giorno" from the ceiling and behind glass.

It must be splendid! *Colossal* is the only word to apply to it. My jeweler said that he would be called to do his military service next year.

"Next year!" I cried. "Surely you don't think that the war will go on till then?"

"Why, of course," he answered; "there is no doubt of it."

I hope that he is wrong. It is a dreadful thought that this state of things should continue!

Now our real journey, fraught with dangers and surprises, was to commence. We started from Anhalt Bahnhof the next day. The station was crammed with soldiers. Every train that came in brought them, and every train that went out took them away. The poor young fellows looked hardly over twenty. They carried their bundles on their backs and paper *cartons* tied with strings. They were going to receive their knapsacks at the end of their journey. . . . And what more! Poor creatures!

They appeared quiet and serious; there was no shouting nor running about, after the manner of soldiers. The Captain marshaled them about with low-spoken words of command. Their uniforms, as those of the officers, were of dark cloth. Their helmets were covered with the same cloth to hide (I suppose) the shininess of them. Our first-class compartment was almost filled with officers, but when we came they politely left us to ourselves and stood in the corridor.

The luncheon and dinner on the restaurant cars were well served, and there was enough of everything for the many passengers. Our bread was given to us in small packages, but we had plenty. The train was crammed with soldiers; they stood in all the corridors. H. gave them some cigarettes and I handed out what chocolate I had taken with me. It was not much, yet they seemed very grateful.

All the factories we passed seemed to be closed; there was no smoke to be seen anywhere. In the fields, which appeared

to be full of Spring promise, one saw none but women. They were sowing grain, and plowing the fields behind the slow and ponderous oxen. We saw them sawing wood and cleaning out stables. Man's work! They replaced their husbands just as the oxen and dogs replaced the horses. Of them only the weak-kneed and blind were left.

In some towns we went through the women were acting as conductors on the tramways.

We passed many camps for prisoners. They were a little way from the railroad, but one saw them very well. One regiment (I think it must have been a regiment) was in French uniforms. They were walking along the high road accompanied by some German soldiers. They seemed to step along briskly as if their lot was not an "unhappy one."

When one thinks that Germany has to provide not only for its own people but for more than 800,000 prisoners, one can truly admire the organization and the resources of the country. I, who was craving an adventure, an emotion, or a thrill of some kind, was disappointed. No plainer sailing or anything more humdrum and emotionless and normal than our journey so far can be imagined!

The only difference I noticed was that women were selling beer and newspapers in the station, which, as a rule, except for the moving of soldiers, was very devoid of excitement. The trains started on the minute and arrived on the minute.

At Stuttgart we walked to the Hotel Marquand, as it is next to the station. This hotel, whose prices are equal to its pretensions, was full; however, we found very good rooms. I think that we were the only strangers, and we seemed to convey the impression that we were the nabobs the waiter in Berlin took us for. The expectant maid, who stayed in the vicinity of my room, certainly was one of those "*made in Germany*"—she never spoke to me without saying "*Gnädige.*" The other guests, evidently as "*heartless*" as we, did not mind showing that they had money to spend. I was glad to find other "cruel" people willing to throw away a little of theirs in a country that needed it. The country seemed very pleased to get the little we threw. The next morning we took the train *en route* for Switzerland, and found on it our Swiss friend Mrs. M. and a German diplomat on his way to Rome. They had traveled all night very comfortably in the sleeping cars from Berlin. The fourth person in their compartment was an elderly lady, who dozed peacefully and who only waked up occasionally to ask whether we had reached the frontier. On hearing that we had not, she moved closer to her corner, to make room for me, and dozed off again. Happily, they were amiable enough to allow us to be there, (we sat sqeezed three on a seat,) otherwise we should have been obliged to stay in the corridor and stand on a Landwehr's toes.

No one, apparently, had had any difficulty anywhere. They seemed very comfortable; they had neither frozen nor starved nor waited on side tracks.

The German diplomat must have received special orders from his Government to avoid conversation with the humbler sex, for none of us three ladies could worm a glance from him, even the elderly lady's questions about the *frontière* were snubbed.

But as soon as one of my gentlemen attacked him, he was all smiles and blinkings behind his spectacles, evidently proud of himself that he had repelled the advances and withstood the wiles of *women!* He had in his eyes a sort of "retro Satanical" look.

We had no delay at the Swiss-German Custom House. The Swiss officer opened his eyes when the avalanche of passports was unbosomed and thrust at him, every one of them in a different language and garnished with portraits. We had been told that our photographs must be taken in the *identical* clothes we would wear on the journey, but, womanlike, we had changed our minds as we had our dresses and hats. Therefore, it was very hard for the man to see where the difference was, and, as we had not the time for puzzling over the mystery, he handed the passports back, with a tired but polite sigh.

This was my last hope of an adventure. Nothing had happened, and certainly now

nothing would happen. I looked out of the window at the Schafhausen Cascade, (the place where the beautiful Rhine commences its career before it begins to make wine and grow hops,) and felt somehow as if I had been defrauded unduly of emotions. I had one, nevertheless.

The elderly lady who had shown such anxiety about the frontière whom we thought was Russian, caught sight of my flowers and remarked that they were beautiful, and added: "If you want to keep them you must cut their stems a little every day"; I said I would remember to do so.

The ice being broken, I said: "These carnations are already three days old. I can't expect to keep them forever."

"From what country did you say they came?" I had not mentioned any country! Nevertheless I told her. "I am from Sweden," she said. The ice by this time had become thin enough to walk on. She talked rapidly and in Swedish. "Do you know Mrs. ——?" and spoke my name. I nodded my head. "Have you read ——?" and mentioned my book. I murmured something, trembling to hear a verdict. "Oh! how I should like to know her!" she said.

"You have not far to go, Madame," I said; "you are talking to her *now*," and pointed to the third button of my blouse.

"Nae," she cried, "Nae, I cannot believe it," and gasped for breath. I think, also, that it must have been hard for her to believe that the lady she wanted so much to know was the tired and travel-stained lady before her.

"I have not your book with me. It is too precious, [perhaps it was too heavy.] I own *two*. I keep one in my salon and the other on my nightstand; I read a chapter every night."

Like the Bible, thought I, or could she mean that it was to invite slumber? In any case I was overwhelmed. . . .

What pleased this enthusiastic lady the most was that she had praised the book before she knew who I was. I took some flowers from my bouquet and gave them to her; I could not do less, could I? She pressed them to her lips, and begged me for my autograph. I never was so flattered in all my life.

We stayed that night in Zurich. It was very cold, and we decided to push on to Locarno. Before we left the hotel the next morning I received a twenty-five-word-long telegram from the Swedish lady repeating in a condensed form her effusions of the day before.

It was a dark and cold day, but when we came out of the long tunnel of St. Gothard the sun burst forth in a blaze of glory.

Reindeer for Berlin

Ten thousand living reindeer are to be imported from Norway in order to be slaughtered for consumption in Berlin. The *Allgemeine Fleischer Zeitung*, the leading organ of the German meat trade, which makes this announcement in a late June number, states that one reindeer has already been imported and slaughtered. It had, however, suffered somewhat during the long railway journey, and it is believed that better provision can be made for the transport of large consignments than was possible in the case of a single animal.

Russia's German Bureaucrats

By Jean Finot

FROM the outset of the war Russian "barbarism" and "savagery" have been much harped upon by the Germans. In this way they wished to influence the neutrals, even the Allies themselves. The "Cossacks" became the incarnation of the cruelties and inhumanity of earlier wars; they represented pillage, robbery, violation, incendiarism, destruction of property, murder of non-combatants.

Intellectuals in various countries allowed themselves to be caught in this clumsy trap set by German diplomacy with the aid of German savants, newspapers, agents, and spies.

Reality soon tore the mask from these lies. Compared with the semi-civilized Germans, the Cossacks have proved to be angels of sweetness and mercy. The illusion of Russian savagery has been swept away. The Germans themselves, for the purposes of their cause, now find more interest in turning about and denouncing the criminal egoism of the English.

But it is not without interest to take up again the psychology of the Russian people as it is understood in the Old and New Worlds. The Europe of tomorrow must become better acquainted with the elements that must work together in creating it.

First, one must draw a distinction between the Russian people and its rulers. The formation of the Russian Nation makes it impossible to identify these with each other. The Romanoff dynasty has tried for many years to become identified with the needs and aspirations of the people; now, at last, everything leads to the belief that it has succeeded.

The nobility of the three Baltic provinces, entirely Germans, in whom are rooted the worst instincts of the Prussian Junkers, had until the war a dominant influence on the evolution of Russian destinies. Military leaders, statesmen, the highest office holders, were recruited principally from the Junkers of Courland, Livonia, and Esthonia. Always intriguing with Prussia, toward whom they were attracted by similarity of tastes and aspirations, they can be considered only superficially Russians. Were it not for the immense extent of the empire and the resistance of the real Russians, this little selected body, working without restraint, would have drowned the Russian soul in the German ocean.

The Franco-Russian alliance was confronted for years with insurmountable obstacles. The iron will of an Alexander II., of a Nicholas II., was needed to make headway against the petty intrigues of the Baltic nobility, backed by the Hohenzollerns. But what contributed most efficaciously to awakening the Russian Court and to exasperating the national sentiment was the unskillful conduct of the Kaiser and of his diplomats, who looked upon Russia as a conquered province.

Pan-Slavism, and the orthodox religion, so radically opposed to Germanic tendencies, also helped to save the empire of the Czars. The present war will be, for Russia, a war of permanent deliverance. The mountain of crimes erected between the two nations will make the resurrection of the past impossible.

Nevertheless, German influence has not had its last word. While Russia is fighting her "holy war," numerous German emissaries paralyze her life and seriously compromise her repute. The far-reaching words of the Czar offer peace and kindly tolerance to his subjects, but at the same time agents from Berlin are doing their best to foment trouble which threatens to discredit the decrees and promises of Nicholas II.

Scattered through the Russian Empire, the Germans have always sought to make trouble among its constituent elements. High German officials are almost always responsible for Russian blunders; they

keep up their policy of fomenting dissension in order to weaken the empire. Disguised as true Russians, nay, as ultra-Russians, they support the newspapers of the "Black Band," in which France and England are slandered and Germany praised. Even while the heroic Russian Army is shedding its blood in the cause of the future of humanity, newspapers in the pay of Germany are plunged in grief because the land of Czars is arrayed against the Kaiser, who is represented as the good genius of the dynasty, of reaction and of orthodoxy.

Foreigners ignorant of this complexity in Russian life tend to confuse the two sides of the medal. It is necessary to turn away from the hideous and criminal "Black Band," which continually imperils the noble Slavic soul, and look only upon the real Russian Nation, its writers, savants, and philosophers, who alone reflect its worth.

It is in the words of Tolstoy, Dostoevsky, Turgenieff, Gorky, Tchekoff, Korolenko, and so many other poets or novelists; in Solovieff, the great psychologist of Russian religious feeling; in Borodine, Pavloff, Mendeleyeff, Metchnikoff, in the brilliant galaxy of sociologists, publicists, and historians, that one finds the ability and worth of the Muscovite nation. Its intellectual forces, compared with those of present-day Germany, would bear away the palm both as to number and intrinsic value. In studying the Russian people as depicted by a Tolstoy one perceives their profound morality. I have had occasion to bear witness to this in a series of studies of modern saints and inspired writers. All that impresses us in the superhuman morality of a Tolstoy, whose nobility of soul is sometimes inconceivable to other European countries, is in reality nothing more than the reflection of the life of the ordinary Russian mujik. Among people divided against each other in hundreds of sects we find the greatest of evangelical truths formulated with touching simplicity. Centuries of misery and sadness have purified and ennobled the popular conscience to a remarkable degree.

Meditating upon the sorrows of this world, a poor Russian peasant often expresses thoughts worthy of a Seneca or a Spinoza. But alcoholism, that formidable enemy, and the far too great misery caused by exploitation at the hands of the State through centuries have at last robbed true Russian genius of its character.

The prohibition of the sale of alcohol just promulgated by the Czar will save and radically transform the lower classes, who exceed 150,000,000 in number. Under the régime of enforced temperance Russia will present an unexpected spectacle to the human race of tomorrow. Within twenty years people will understand of what prodigies a nation will be capable which has not succumbed under the ravages to which from time immemorial its moral and material life was exposed.

II.—GERMAN DIPLOMACY AND THE RUSSO-JAPANESE WAR.

Above all, one must visualize the developments of tomorrow. My sincerity as to moral and political Russia, as to its Government and people, has become strengthened on a number of occasions. For a long time I stood almost alone in protesting against various aberrations of those at the helm in Russia, which were followed by acts harmful to the nation.

We know now that the unfortunate Japanese war turned Russian evolution from its natural course. The historian of the future will discover among the principal reasons for this the hidden influence of Germany. In order to weaken Russia in Europe, Germany drove her to dangerous ventures in the Far East. This seemed to me so clear that I have continually called attention to it in these very pages.

The Russo-Japanese war nearly ruined the Russian Empire and nearly prevented it from fulfilling its obligations toward France. It was evident that if war could be stopped, an alliance of the two belligerents, which had become necessary, would quickly make good the damage done.

In this opinion I stood almost alone; by some, in fact, it was declared paradoxical and harmful. And when high finance, anxious first of all for its profits,

decided to negotiate a loan of 1,000,000,000 francs for Russia, I braved the impossible to halt this financial move, as disastrous to the Franco-Russian Alliance as to the whole human race. The loan was already signed at St. Petersburg; nevertheless, the impossible succeeded.

An article of mine entitled "How to Save Our Milliards" signed "a friend of the alliance"—for I had never given up believing in its necessity and advantages—produced a tempest in legislative circles.

In that article I tried to demonstrate that, if the war continued, Russia would find it impossible to pay the interest on her loans, and that a catastrophe of this nature would bring about the ruin of French investors and the final fall of the third republic.

M. Rouvier, Minister of Finance at that time, asked me to stop my campaign, which he considered unpatriotic. Nevertheless, being a man of high intelligence, he became convinced, after a long conversation to which he summoned me, that the real interests of France required, before all else, the immediate termination of the war.

Besides, Japan rightly thought that this impending loan was an act of hostile intervention harmful to her interests. Baron Motono, the eminent Japanese Ambassador, said to me: "As France is such a tried friend of our country and of Russia, and as she is not able to send her armies to the Far East, she should not send her money there. After the war, Indo-China might sooner or later pay the cost of this intervention, even contrary to the wishes of the friends of France."

Furthermore, the Franco-Japanese rapprochement, foreshadowed in La Revue during the war (in 1905) by my eminent friend, Viscount Suyematsu, son-in-law of Marquis Ito, came true as soon as the war was over, and it is the reason why France, Russia, and Japan stand together today on the same side of the barricade.

Thus our perspicacity was justified. It sufficed to look at reality without prejudices to see that the Russo-Japanese war was one of the most illogical in history. The perfect good faith with which both nations have since accepted peace proves the sincerity of their humanitarian aspirations.

One thing must never be lost sight of—left to itself, the Russian people is essentially peaceful. The idea of conquest is foreign to it; schemes of territorial aggrandizement have always been inculcated into it by those in high position or by foreign influences. The only wars that are popular in Russia are those whose object is the deliverance of Slavic peoples. In 1879, when it was a case of freeing the Balkan peoples, the enthusiasm of the Russians knew no bounds. But in 1905 they were opposed to a campaign which they considered monstrous and inconceivable. And now they are filled again with enthusiasm for the great crusade of civilized peoples whose goal is to free Russia from German influence and to preserve not only the Slavic principle but the political rights and moral acquisitions of Europe.

So this nation, looked upon as barbarous and savage, has waged several wars for an ideal! It will suffice to compare it to the German Nation, which has never helped any people and never fought for a lofty principle, in order to understand on which side moral supremacy lies.

III.—THE PARADOX OF A MONGOL PEOPLE.

Russia is taxed with being a Mongol or Tartar nation. A victim of the barbarians, she has needed centuries to emancipate herself from their influence and become Christian and moral. Germany, in her past, has had no such tragic event to deplore. Therefore she is today committing a crime that is all the more monstrous because she is separating herself from the civilized and falling voluntarily into sheer savagery.

It will suffice to study the main currents of Russian thought during the last half century to realize how much her "idealists" remain superior to the German "intellectuals." Ever since the Russians of 1840, whom Herzen describes with so much talent in his "Byloie i

Doumy," ever since Granovsky, Pisemsky, Stankevitch, since Slavophiles like Kirevsky, Khomiakoff, Aksakoff, a breath of great humanitarian principles has animated Muscovite literature and life. How many reforms have been introduced since 1860—the emancipation of the serfs, judiciary reform, the organization of municipal and provincial autonomy! The germ of a free Parliament like the present one gives promise of a brilliant future for the Russian Empire. Russia will become a great free and civilized nation on the day that she succeeds in ridding herself once and for all of the harmful influence of the Germans, who have ceaselessly paralyzed her life and aspiration.

IV.—REAL RUSSIAN ASPIRATIONS.

Russian psychologists boast rightly of Russia's innate aspirations toward liberty and justice. Alexander Herzen calls the autocratic power of the Czar essentially German. "Perfect concord reigned formerly between non-believers and Catholic Slavs in Russia," declares the great publicist, Gradovsky. "Jews, Moslems, and Christians lived together in perfect harmony there."

The subjugation of the people, who become in the course of centuries veritable slaves, originated in the invasion of the Tartars. Peter the Great, instead of Europeanizing Russia, simply Germanized it. He tried to graft upon it the formal and external sides of German civilization. Thanks to his successors, the only thing Russian about whom was their title, the Germans settled in Russia as if it were a conquered land.

Nevertheless, for the last fifty years one may note intermittent tendencies on the part of the Czars to free themselves from German influence. Often they encountered insurmountable difficulties. In the wake of German Princes and Princesses, a train of favorites and courtiers always flowed into Russia, creating rich and influential families, always opposed to the principles dear to genuine Russians. When one adds to these the German families of the Baltic Provinces it is easy to understand that this internecine struggle had necessarily to last for some decades more.

The German families who have succeeded in throwing off the Prussian influence are very few. So unfortunate an imprint has Prussia left on the life of the empire that all farseeing patriots never tire of deploring it. On this subject great Generals and statesmen educated away from German influence are unanimous. Here Tolstoy clasps hands with General Skobeleff, the revolutionary writer Herzen agrees with Aksakov or Soloviev, both so closely bound to tradition. Let us recall the words uttered by Skobeleff in 1882: "We Russians, when we are at home, are not in Russia."

V.—RUSSIANS DO NOT TRUST THE GERMANS.

Recent happenings simply throw a tragic light on the statements of Russian patriots. The generous intentions of Czar Nicholas II. seem very sincere.

But the bureaucrats find the way to reduce his projects to nothing; they continue to persecute the Poles and their language. They have even gone so far as to send Russian prelates into Galicia! They are organizing Jewish pogroms and deporting to Siberia the most beloved of Finnish representatives. These are crimes of lèse-majesté committed by the very men who should be the most faithful servants of the Czar.

What is the purpose of these vexatious measures if not to compromise Russia in the eyes of her allies and alienate from her the sympathies of neutral countries? Sweden having shown hostility toward Russia on account of Finland, the result of such measures has been to alarm her once again.

In Russia there are at present more than 250,000 Jewish soldiers whose courage and devotion to their country are proved by the official communiqués. But the bureaucrats have been able to drive the Jewish wounded from certain places on the pretext that "they have not the right to live there!" Moreover, by organizing pogroms at the moment when the sacred union of the nation is at its zenith, they seek to destroy the harmony between Russian citizens and foment civil war.

Russia will need many millions for her economic and financial reconstruction;

British Excuses for Not Enlisting

(Report of the London County Council)

The correspondence of The Westminster Gazette of July 27, 1915, gives suggestions as to why eligible young men do not enlist. A report of the L. C. C. brought before the Council on that date presents actual reasons, given officially, as to why young men who are seeking scholarships or extensions are not anxious to join the army. Subjoined are excuses, selected from the circular, the figures in parentheses being the ages of the candidates:

IS supporting a widowed mother and three young children, and is a bound apprentice with one or more years to serve, (20 years, 8 months.)

Has to support a widowed mother and assist in supporting a younger brother. His elder brother and several relatives in the army, (19 years, 8 months.)

Is apprenticed, with two more years to serve. Two brothers in the army, and, being the only one left at home, has been asked by his parents not to enlist, (18 years, 10 months.)

Has endeavored to enlist, but is half an inch too short, (19 years.)

Has two brothers in the army, one training for the navy, and another engaged on munitions. He is only son left at home, and parents do not wish him to enlist. Has now undertaken munitions work, (18 years, 5 months.)

Is apprenticed to an architect and surveyor and hopes to "assist in rebuilding the war area," which, if his studies are interrupted by enlistment, he would not be qualified to do, (19 years, 8 months.)

States that his father is out of work and he has to help to support his mother; further, that two of his brothers have enlisted, (19 years, 8 months.)

States that when he was 18 he enlisted in the Nineteenth Hussars, but bought himself out after six months, and does not intend to join again unless it is absolutely necessary, (26 years, 3 months.)

Is married and serving as a Special Constable. In addition, has been engaged on work for the Government, (31 years, 2 months.)

States that he is apprenticed to a firm which is engaged on Government contracts and which has been asked by the War Office not to allow the employes to enlist, (20 years, 11 months.)

States that he is employed by a firm of Government printers who have been notified by the War Office that no men are expected to enlist from the firm, (23 years, 11 months.)

Is conducting a building business in the City, and states that it is impossible for him to enlist at present, (25 years.)

Is not of military age, and thinks it would be a mistake to join the army in the middle of his studies, which would ruin the prospects of his future career. Is engaged in the alizarine dye industry, and has offered to make war munitions in his spare time, (18 years, 1 month.)

States that he has no intention of enlisting except as a munition worker, and that his present firm is partially engaged in such work, (20 years, 4 months.)

States that he intends to join the army if possible in two or three weeks' time, but that if unsuccessful will do so when he is 19, (17 years, 11 months.)

States that he is engaged as a chemist at Woolwich Arsenal and holds a badge and certificate that he is so employed. Is quite willing to enlist, but the authorities at the arsenal do not wish it, (22 years, 9 months.)

States that he has objections to military service, (19 years, 6 months.)

Wishes to progress with his studies in order to earn his living as soon as possible, and so give financial help at home, which his father's failing health renders necessary, (21 years, 5 months.)

States that his father is dead, and as

he is an only child it is his mother's wish that he should not enlist, but that he is applying for a position in a small arms factory, (22 years, 3 months.)

States that, owing to the collapse of his father's business, the upkeep of the home depends entirely on his brother and himself, otherwise he would have enlisted, (22 years. 9 months.)

States that he is unable to enlist owing to his having had rheumatic fever, but has registered himself as a municipal volunteer, (21 years, 5 months.)

States that he is an only son; that his father is in his seventy-ninth year and mother an invalid, and that they look to him for support, but that he will enroll himself as a munition worker, (20 years, 1 month.)

Describes the hard struggle he has had since he was twelve years of age to better his prospects, his mother being a widow; that he has seriously considered the question of enlistment, but feels that a long interruption of his study would be seriously detrimental to his future prospects, (23 years, 6 months.)

States that he is a member of the religious body known as the "Christadelphians," (20 years, 5 months.)

Letter from parent stating that two of the candidate's brothers have been killed, and that the candidate is not physically strong enough to enlist, (19 years.)

States he could not pass medical examination, and adds that home circumstances prevent him enlisting, (20 years 8 months.)

Is not yet of military age, and states that he in an indentured servant; that his employers expect Government contracts, and do not see their way clear to relinquish the services of any more employes, and that he does not feel physically fit for military service, (18 years, 2 months.)

States that he endeavored to enlist in the Territorials in August last when age limit was 18 to 35, but was rejected on account of his size, (18 years, 3 months.)

Is an only son, and has to keep a small private business going to help his mother, and that he is under the required height and chest measurement, (20 years, 5 months.)

States that his parents object on the ground of his health not being good, (18 years, 11 months.)

Has no wish to join the army, "being in the mechanical line," but is quite willing to do munition work, (18 years, 7 months.)

States that his mother is a widow relying for support on her family, of which he is the eldest son; that if he joined the army he would have to defer the completion of his apprenticeship; that in the event of being disabled or killed his mother would receive no allowance. He is particularly anxious to compete for a post in the stationery stores, (18 years, 4 months.)

Through the Mouths of Our Guns

By ANATOLE FRANCE

We will carry on this war, which we did not want, to the bitter end. We will continue our terrible and beneficent task until the German military power is completely destroyed. We love peace too dearly to allow it to be unstable. It is criminal to cry for peace and criminal to desire it until we have reduced to nothingness the forces of oppression which have weighed so much upon Europe for the last half-century. Until this is done we must only talk through the mouths of our guns. So many heroes must not have died in vain.

If I were to learn that any Frenchman allowed himself to be seduced by masked phantoms of a hideous peace I would ask Parliament to declare a traitor to his country anyone who would propose to treat with the enemy whilst he occupies the smallest part of French or Belgian territory.

A Vision of the Battle Front

By Pierre Loti

This article, by Pierre Loti, (Captain Viaud,) recording his observations on the French war front, appeared originally in L'Illustration, and is translated for THE NEW YORK TIMES CURRENT HISTORY by Charles Johnston.

WALKING on that bullet-riddled ground, where the storm of grapeshot has left hardly a tuft of grass here and there, a little moss, a poor flower, I come first to a line of defenses being prepared as the second line, in the unlikely event that the first, a little further forward, should yield. Our soldiers, transformed into navvies, are working in the trench, shovel and pick in hand, all full of determination and joyous, hurrying to complete it; and it will be terrible, surrounded by the most dangerous snares. It is the Germans, I admit it willingly, who, with their careful, evil minds, have invented this whole system of tunnels and ambuscades; but, as we are keener than they, and quicker in mind, we have in a few days equaled, if not surpassed, them.

A thousand paces further forward I reach the first line. It is full of men, this trench which is to stop the rush of the barbarians; day and night it is ready to bristle with guns. And the men who are living in it, just concealed in the earth, know that from one minute to the next may begin the daily sprinkling of shells, carrying away heads that venture outside, crushing in breasts, mangling entrails. They know also that at no matter what unforeseen hour, beneath the pale sun or in the gloom of midnight, the rushes of the barbarians, of whom the forest over there is still full, may come down upon them; they know how they will come, running, with cries to arouse fear, all holding each other by the arms in a single maddened mass, and how, before fatally entangling themselves in our barbed-wire nets, they will find means, as always, to do much harm. They know this, for they have already seen it all, but all the same they smile with serious dignity. It will soon be eight days that they have been in this trench, waiting to be relieved, and yet they complain of nothing. "We are well fed," they say. "We have as much as we wish to eat. So long as it does not rain, we are warm at night in our foxes' earths, under a good blanket. But we have not yet got woolen underclothing for the Winter, for all of us, and we shall soon need it. When you go back to Paris, mon Colonel, perhaps you could remind the Government of that, and all those ladies who are working for us."

(Mon Colonel is the only title the soldier knows for officers with five stripes. During the last expedition to China I had already been mon Colonel, but I did not expect to become so again, alas! for a war on French soil.)

The men who are chatting with me, at the edge, or from the bottom of that trench, belong to the most widely separated classes of society; some of them have been men of fashion and leisure, others workmen, farmers; there are even some, with their military caps tilted a little too much on one side, and with the accent of the slums, whose past it would doubtless be better not to inquire into, and who have none the less become here not only brave fellows, but fine fellows. This war, at the same time that it has bridged over our distances, will have purified us all and made us greater; without wishing it, the Germans have done us this good, which is surely worth while! And then our soldiers all know what they are fighting for, and this is their geratest power; indignation will inspire them to their last breath.

"When you have seen," two young Breton peasants say to me, "when you have seen with your own eyes what those brutes do in the villages they pass through, it is quite natural, is it not, to

give your life to try to keep them from coming to do the same thing in our homes? " And the roar of cannon accompanies this naïve declaration with a deep, incessant bass. . . . And it is the same thing from end to end of this limitless line; everywhere the same determination, the same courage. At one place or another, to chat with them is equally comforting, and inspires equal admiration.

But it is strange to tell ourselves that, in our twentieth century, to guard ourselves from savagery and horror, we have had to construct trenches like these from the east to the west of our dear country, double and triple, running unbroken for hundreds of miles, like a kind of Chinese wall a hundred times more to be feared than the wall which guarded China against the Mongols, a wall twisting like a serpent, almost beneath the earth, stealthily, and which is filled with the heroic youth of France, ceaselessly on the watch, ceaselessly dabbled with blood. . . .

This evening, the twilight drags on sadly under the heavy sky and seems never to end; two hours ago, it seemed already beginning, yet you can still see. In front of us we can still distinguish or divine, as far as the eye can reach, the unrolling of two masses of forest, the more distant of which has almost no outline now in the darkness. And my heart is constricted by the still more poignant feeling of a plunge back into the depths of primeval barbarism, without escape and without remedy.

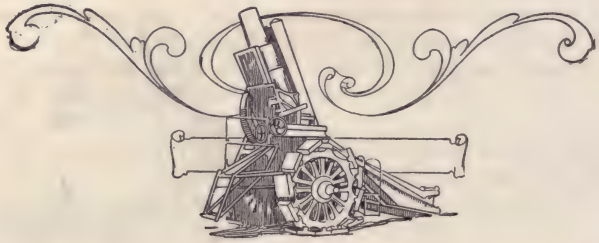
" Mon Colonel, this is the time when, for the last week, we have our little sprinkling of shells every evening; if you can wait a little, you will see how rapidly they fire and almost at random.

Time to wait, no, I hardly have it; and besides I have already had the opportunity elsewhere to see how rapidly they fire, almost at random. At times you would say parade fireworks, and it leads you to believe they have so much ammunition they do not know what to do with it. Yet I shall very willingly remain a moment more, to see it again in their company.

Ah! . . . Here comes through the air a kind of whirring like a flight of partridges — partridges passing very quickly, with metallic wings—a change from the muffled cannonade of just now, and it is in our direction it begins to come. But much too high, and especially far too far to the left, so much too far that it is certainly not at us they are aiming this time; they would have to be very stupid for that. . . . Yet we cease chatting, our ears are strained. . . . A dozen shells, and it is over.

" It is finished! " they tell me then. " Now their time is past. And it was for our comrades along there. You are not in luck, mon Colonel, this is the very first time that it is not we that caught it. . . . And it looks as if the Huns are tired, this evening! "

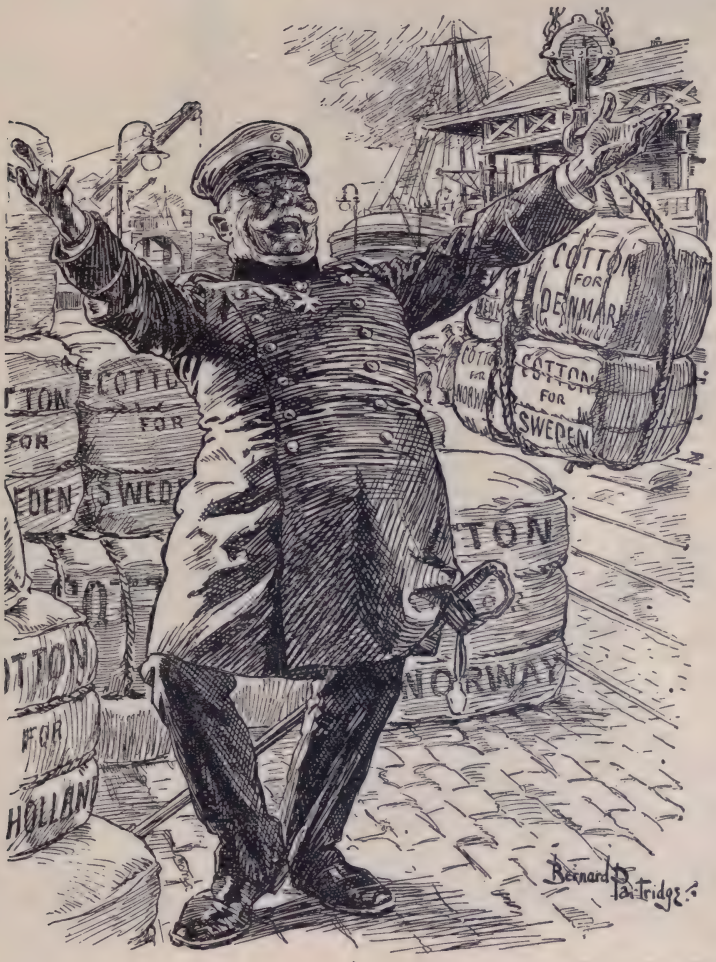
Night has come, and I ought to be far away by this time. Besides, they are all going to sleep now; they cannot kindle any lights, of course; cigarettes, at the most. I grasp many hands, one after the other, and I leave these poor children of France in their dormitory which, in the silence and the darkness, has suddenly become as funereal as a long common ditch in a graveyard.



THE EUROPEAN WAR AS SEEN BY CARTOONISTS

[English Cartoon]

A Friend in Need



—From Punch, London.

GERMANY: "WHO SAID 'GOD PUNISH ENGLAND!'? GOD *BLESS* ENGLAND, WHO LETS US HAVE THE SINEWS OF WAR."

[German Cartoon]

The Latest from the Russian Steam-roller

—From Lustige Blaetter, Berlin.

"It's no use— We'll have to oil it again!"

[American Cartoon]

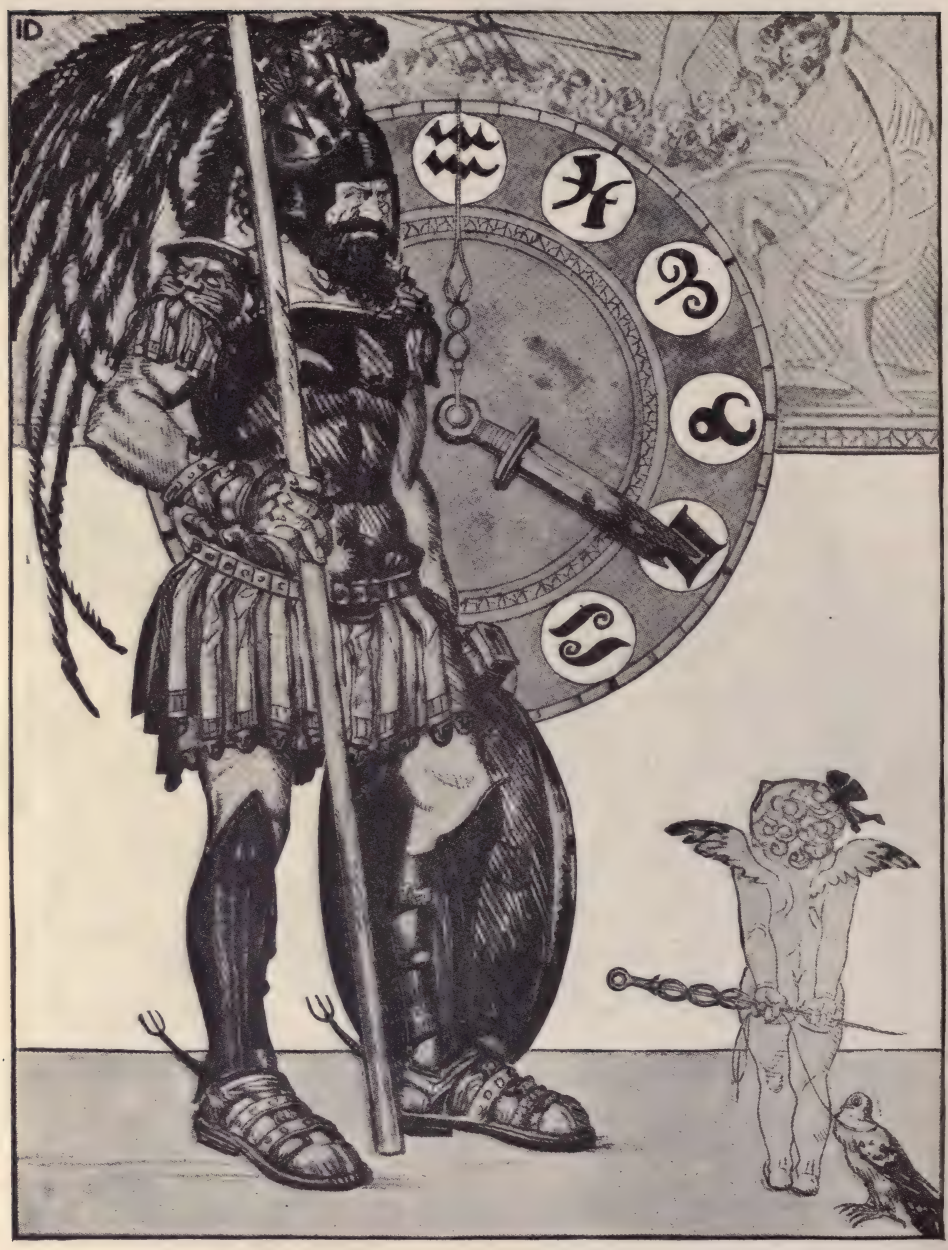
A World Which Cannot Be Held Back

—From The New York Evening Sun.

The Kaiser's Task After One Year of War.

[German Cartoon]

The Timid Question



—From Jugend, Munich.

"When, Mars, will you let me regulate the clock?"

"Patience, my boy; I'll be through by Fall. Then the whole winter will be Maytime."

[English Cartoon]

A New Train of Thought

—From The Sketch, London.

THE EXALTED PERSONAGE: Tirp, old man—you remember we sent some submarines overland to Zeebrugge?

TIRP: Yes, Sire.

THE EXALTED PERSONAGE: Then what's the matter with sending the fleet by train to the Dardanelles?

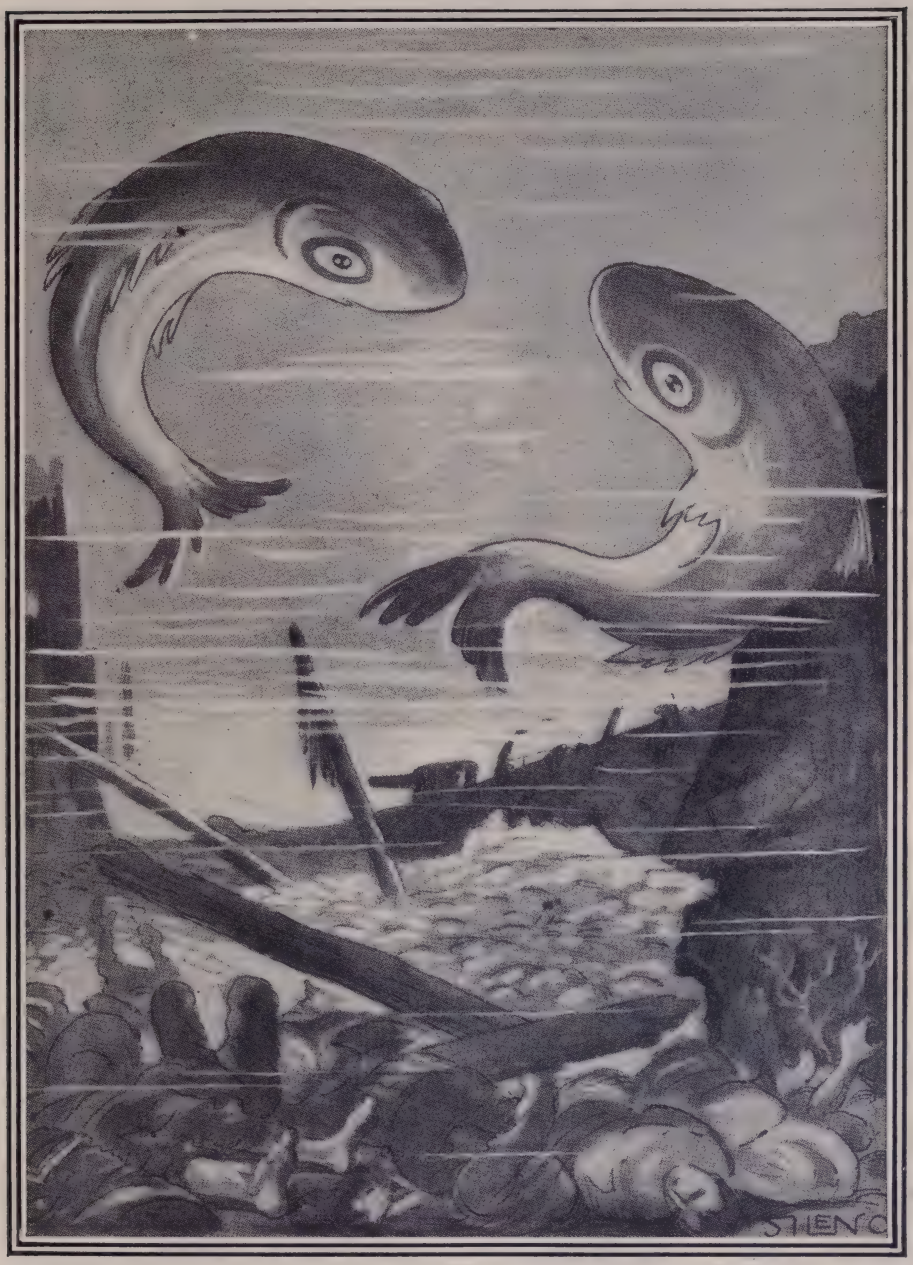
The International Chautauqua

—*From The World, New York.*

His Enthusiastic Audience.

[Spanish Cartoon]

The Blockade of the Seas



—From Blanco y Negro, Madrid.

"Brother Shark, we are assured of subsistence for ourselves and our children while the war lasts—and may it last a hundred years!"

[German Cartoon]

Grave Times at Windsor

—From Simplicissimus, Munich.

With the loud approval of the Salvation Army, King George drives out the Demon Rum.

[English Cartoon]

Wilful Murder

—*From Punch, London.*

THE KAISER: "To the Day——" DEATH: "——of Reckoning!"

[Australian Cartoon]

The Iron Cross

—*From The Bulletin, Sydney, N. S. W.*

[German Cartoon]

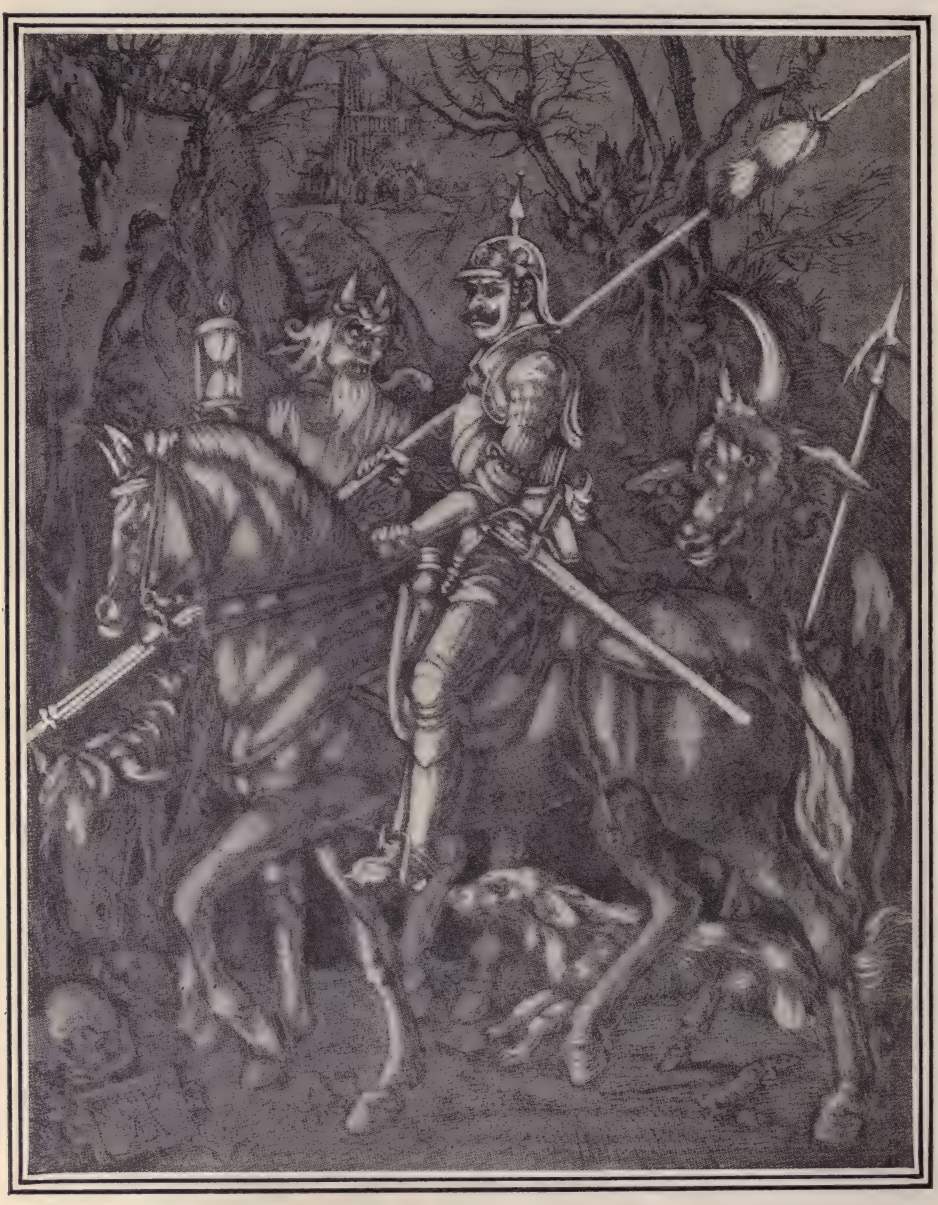
England's Suffragette Troops

—*From Lustige Blaetter, Berlin.*

"We are lost, girls—there's a mouse!"

[Spanish Cartoon]

The Knight, Death and the Devil



—From Espana, Madrid.

With due apologies to Albrecht Duerer.

[English Cartoon]

—*From The Bystander, London.*

A German Choral Society Practicing a Popular Madrigal

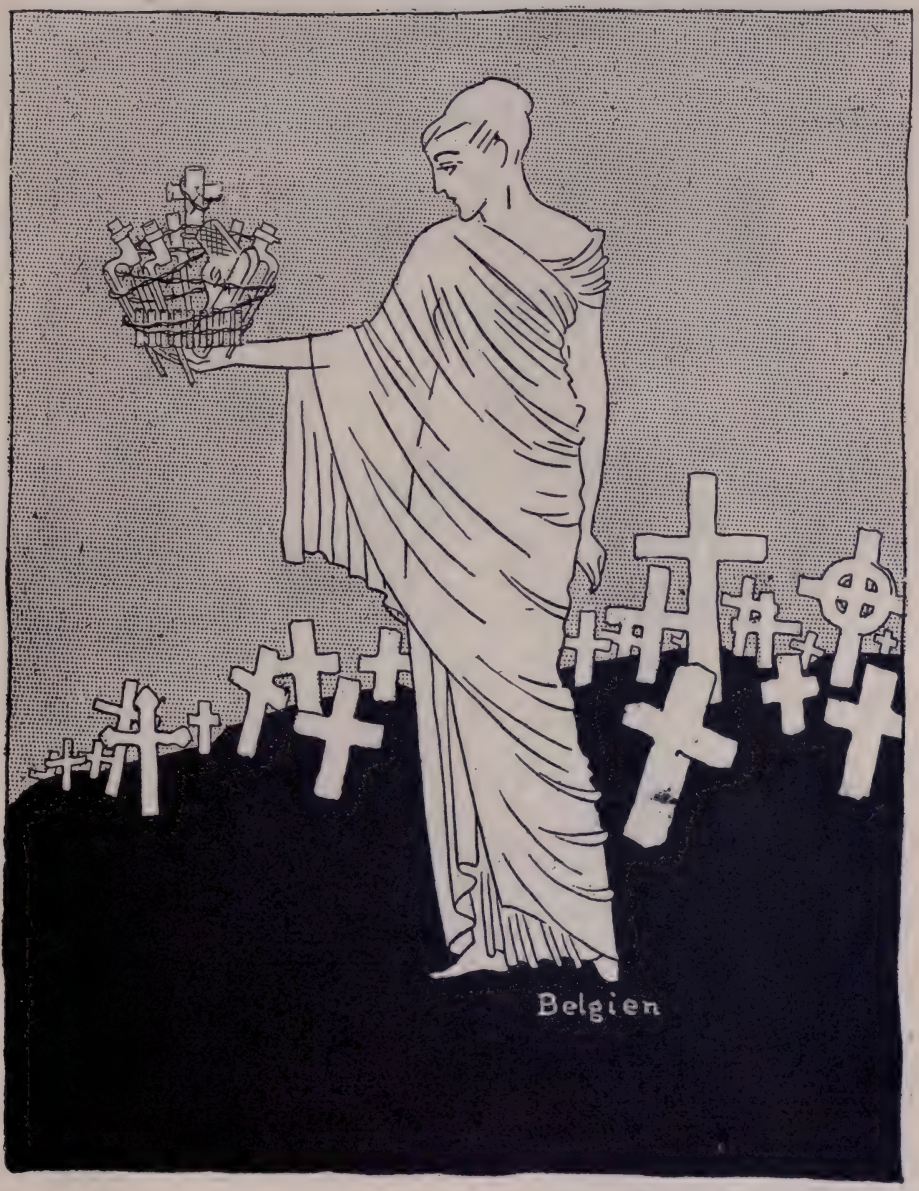
1913

—*From The Bystander, London.*

The Gnashing Room in a Berlin Hate Club

[Swedish Cartoon]

War Crowns



—From Söndags-Nisse, Sweden.

This cartoon, published by the *Söndags-Nisse,* refers to the crown offered by the German Regiment of the Fusiliers of Stettin, No. 34, to their colonel, Queen Victoria of Sweden.

Servia's Assistance

—*From Jugend, Munich.*

"Your most gracious Lordship has sent for me! How can I serve you, Sir Grey?"

"Your army, King Peter, can be of no use to us; but you might recommend me a couple of assassins!"

[The paper on "Sir Grey's" table is marked "Casement, Findlay," an allusion to the story, firmly believed in Germany, that Cardonnel Findlay, British Minister to Norway, conspired to kill Sir Roger Casement. The small portrait is labelled "Princip," the assassin of the Archduke Ferdinand.]

[English Cartoon]

The Haunted Ship

GHOST OF THE OLD PILOT: "I wonder if he would drop me now?"

[Australian Cartoon]

Woodrow Wilson, Taxidermist

—From The Bulletin, Sydney, N. S. W.

"I've got to turn this durned bird into a dove somehow!"

[German Cartoon]

"Only A Baby Was Killed"

—From Simplicissimus, Munich.

"A Zeppelin! Quick! Out with the babies!"

[English Cartoon]

Hommage À La France!

—*From Punch, London.*

[July 7th ~~is~~ to be dedicated by Great Britain to her gallant French Allies. Contributions made in honour of "France's Day" will be devoted to the French Red Cross, and should be addressed to the Right Hon. the LORD MAYOR, Mansion House, E.C., and marked "London Committee of the French Red Cross." It is hoped that a very large sum may be raised as an expression of our profound admiration and affection for our brave comrades.]

Chronology of the War

Showing Progress of Campaigns on All Fronts and Collateral Events From July 15, 1915, Up to and Including August 12, 1915.

CAMPAIGN IN EASTERN EUROPE

July 16—A drive toward Warsaw is in progress by the Austro-German armies, Hindenburg advancing from the north while Mackensen moves from the south; Austrian forces cross the Dniester and cooperate with the armies in Poland by advancing on Bessarabia.

July 17—Russians repulse Austrians on the Vistula.

July 18—Germans and Austrians are developing a vast offensive along the whole Russian front, from the Baltic to Bessarabia, nearly 1,000 miles; at some points the Russian line is pierced; Mackensen is pushing north; Hindenburg's drive at Warsaw is rolling the Russians back toward the Narew River.

July 19—The whole Russian line between the Vistula and the Bug is falling back, fighting hard, the losses on both sides being heavy; Austrians push over the Wolicza River and also advance north of Sokal.

July 20—Austro German armies advance along the whole line from the Gulf of Riga to Southern Poland; Teutons take Ostrolenka, Blonie, Grojec, and Radom; the German outposts are seventeen miles from Warsaw.

July 21—Russians make a stand north, south, and west of Warsaw, battling desperately to save the city; to the north, on the Narew River, Russians are delivering counterattacks from the fortresses of Rozan, Pultusk, and Novo Georgievsk; south of Ivangorod a great battle is being fought for the possession of the Lublin-Chelm railway.

July 22—Russian forces southeast of Warsaw withdraw into Ivangorod, which is being attacked by the Austro-Germans; in the north, the Russians have evacuated Windau, setting it on fire before leaving; the Russians are retreating in the Baltic provinces, laying the country waste as they go; a German army is heading for Riga.

July 23—Russian forts are checking the Austro-German drive on Warsaw, the Teutons being halted both along the Vistula and the Narew.

July 24—Germans tighten their grip on Warsaw from the north, strong forces crossing the Narew River after storming two of the fortresses; Russians hold fast immediately west of Warsaw and along the line of the Lublin-Chelm railroad; Russians are driven across the Vistula at Ivangorod; in Courland an open battle has been fought, the Germans claiming victory.

July 25—Russians are threatening Mackensen's flank along the Bug River from east of Chelm to east of Lemberg; to the north, the German forces which crossed the Narew are advancing toward the Bug.

July 26—German cavalry to the number of 30,000 are operating southeast of Shavli; the cavalry is attempting to seize the Vilna-Dvinsk railway preparatory to cutting the more important Kovno-Vilna line; Mackensen is being held in his attempt to throw his troops astride the Lublin-Chelm railway; Hindenburg's troops are making progress near Novo Georgievsk.

July 27—Russians check the attempted German enveloping movement both north and south of Warsaw; by counterattacks the Russians force the Germans back across the Narew River at several points; Germans advance toward the Vilna-Petrograd railway; Mackensen fails to make further advance toward the Lublin-Chelm railway.

July 28—The Russians are holding the Austro-German forces everywhere.

July 29—Russians resist successfully at Chelm and Lublin; the Russian newspapers are preparing the public for the evacuation of Warsaw and the whole line of Vistula forts.

July 30—Mackensen takes part of the Lublin-Chelm railway; Germans break Russian lines near Warsaw at many points; Warsaw is now practically emptied of its civil population, and Russian troops are demolishing portions of the city.

July 31—Austrians occupy Lublin; Russians hold at some points north of Warsaw, but are being thrown back along the whole line elsewhere; Russian troops are evacuating Warsaw.

Aug. 1—Mackensen takes Chelm and sweeps on; Hindenburg is checked in the north.

Aug. 2—Mackensen continues to advance; in the far north the Germans take Mitau; Germans are moving 42-centimeter guns to batter Warsaw.

Aug. 4.—Austro-German forces are attacking the fortresses of Warsaw, the Russians having fallen back to the outer lines of the city.

Aug. 5—Germans occupy Warsaw, capital of Poland and the third largest city in the Russian Empire, the Bavarians, commanded by Prince Leopold, taking over the city in the name of the German Emperor and his consort; the Russian armies are falling back to a new line; the Germans capture few prisoners and little artillery in Warsaw, the place having been stripped; in the north the Germans are ten miles from Riga, which has been evacuated by civilians.

Aug. 6—Austro-German forces take Ivangorod; with the exception of the great intrenched camp of Novo Georgievsk, now invested, the Russians have evacuated the whole line of the Vistula River.

Aug. 7—Germans attack Kovno and Ossowetz.

Aug. 8—German army threatening Riga is checked; Germans cross the Vistula near Warsaw; Germans take one of the outlying forts of Novo Georgievsk; Russians are retiring slowly, and along the Narew are offering stubborn resistance; Mackensen's attempt to flank the new Russian line from the south is checked.

Aug. 9—Germans are heavily bombarding Kovno and Lomza; Russians force back Germans in the Riga region.

Aug. 10—Austro-German forces capture Lomza.

Aug. 11—Germans reach the Warsaw-Petrograd Railroad at the junction southeast of Ostrov.

Aug. 12—Russians repulse Germans near Riga and near Kovno.

CAMPAIGN IN WESTERN EUROPE.

July 16—French recapture most of the ground in the Argonne recently occupied by the German Crown Prince's army.

July 18—Germans check French at Souchez; French check Germans on the heights of the Meuse.

July 19—French repulse repeated German attacks on the heights of the Meuse, near Senvaux artillery; engagements in progress near Souchez.

July 20—British capture 150 yards of German trenches east of Ypres; Rheims is again bombarded.

July 21—French start a new offensive in the Vosges; they capture heights dominating the valley of the Fecht River from the east; Germans gain on the eastern edge of the Argonne.

July 22—French win heights both west and north of the town of Münster, ten miles southwest of Colmar, in Alsace.

July 23—There is severe fighting around Münster, in Alsace, both French and Germans claiming successes; Germans are massing on the Meuse.

July 24—Lively artillery actions near Souchez and in the Forest of Le Prêtre.

July 25—French capture advanced German trenches in the Ban-de-Sapt region of the Vosges; Germans bombard Dunkirk; British gain ground by mine operations near Zillebeke.

July 30—Germans, by the aid of flame projectors, take British trenches near Hooge, east of Ypres.

Aug. 1—British regain part of their lost trenches at Hooge.

Aug. 4—French repulse lively German attacks in the Argonne.

Aug. 6—Furious artillery fighting in Artois, the western Argonne, and the Forest of Apremont.

Aug. 7—French repulse Germans in the Argonne and the Vosges.

Aug. 8—Violent attacks on the French positions at Linge, in the Woevre, are thrown back with great loss.

Aug. 9—British capture 1,200 yards of German trenches near Hooge, including all the ground lost on July 30.

Aug. 11—German Crown Prince's army attacks strongly in the Argonne, winning some trenches.

ITALIAN CAMPAIGN.

July 16.—The Italians are strongly fortifying all positions captured from the Austrians; trenches are being excavated and platforms constructed on which to mount heavy guns; heavy artillery fighting is in progress in Carinthia.

July 18—Italians begin offensive in Cadore from encampments on Mounts Averau, Busella, and Pore.

July 20—Italians attack on a seventy-five-mile front, making a general assault from Tarvis to the Adriatic shore; Italians advance five miles in Cadore.

July 21—Italians, making a general attack along the Isonzo, gain ground, at some points piercing the Austrian lines; Italians capture the approaches to Goritz.

July 22—Gorizia and Tolmino are practically surrounded by Italians; furious Austrian attacks fail to break the investing lines.

July 23—Italian offensive continues along the whole of the Isonzo front; Italians are making slow progress near Plava and Gorizia.

July 24—Italians are pushing operations against Gorizia, General Cardona being in personal command, under the eyes of the King.

July 25—Austrian General Staff evacuates Gorizia, which is undergoing the heaviest bombardment it has yet received; Italians destroy the strongest fort at Plava; at Ternova the Italians force back the Austrians two miles; Italians are practically the masters of the north shore of Lake Garda.

July 27—The fighting which has been going on for days along the Isonzo is declared by military observers to be one of the fiercest and most sanguinary struggles of the war, there being enormous losses on both sides.

July 28—Italians repulse 170,000 Austrians at Gorizia.
Aug. 1—Italians take a general offensive on the Tyrol, Trentino, and Carnia fronts.
Aug. 4—Italian pressure is increasing on Rovereto.
Aug. 6—Italians capture the summit of Monte San Michele, which dominates Gorizia.
Aug. 12—Austrians repulse strong Italian attacks near Zagora.

TURKISH CAMPAIGN.

July 19—British gain ground on the Gallipoli Peninsula; official report issued in London states that the British have occupied Sukesh-Sheyukh, on the Euphrates River, in Arabia, and are now attacking the Turks below Nasiriyeh.
July 24—British official statement says there has been further fighting in Southern Arabia, in which the British won; British now hold Sheikh Othman firmly; a Turkish attack on the Allies' positions on the Gallipoli Peninsula is repulsed.
Aug. 2—Australians and New Zealanders take the crest of an important ridge on the Gallipoli Peninsula, improving the British position.
Aug. 6—General Sarrail takes command of the French troops at the Dardanelles.
Aug. 7—Heavy fighting at Ari Burnu and Sedd-el-Bahr.
Aug. 9—Allies gain ground near Krithia.

CAMPAIGN IN AFRICA.

July 16—It is officially announced in London that on June 29 the Entente allied forces occupied Ngaundere, an important town in Central Kamerun.
Aug. 9—It is officially announced in Paris that the French have taken several German posts in Kamerun; the French have captured that part of the Congo ceded to Germany in 1911.

NAVAL RECORD—GENERAL.

July 20—A fleet of fifty-nine Turkish sailing vessels, laden with war supplies for the Turkish Army in the Caucasus region, was destroyed during the last few days in the Black Sea, near Trebizond, by Russian torpedo boat destroyers.
July 23—Austrian cruisers bombard the Italian east coast, damaging the Adriatic railway stations at Chienti, Campo Marino, Fossacesia, Termoli, San Benedetto, Grottamare, and Ortona.
July 25—British trawler Grimsby is sunk by a mine, the crew of ten being killed.
July 26—For the past three days a bombardment of the Turkish positions inside the Dardanelles has been in progress, the Allies seeking to destroy the Turkish positions on the Asiatic shore.
Aug. 3—It is reported from Petrograd that nearly 900 Turkish vessels have been burned or sunk in the Black Sea by Russian destroyers since the beginning of the war.
Aug. 4—A French prize court confirms the seizure of the American cotton steamer Dacia, formerly a German ship, the decision meaning that France does not recognize the transfer of belligerent vessels.
Aug. 8—A German fleet of nine battleships, twelve cruisers, and many torpedo boat destroyers attacks the entrance to the Gulf of Riga, but is repulsed, three ships being damaged by Russian mines; British patrol steamer Ramsey is sunk by German auxiliary steamer Meteor in the North Sea; subsequently the crew of the Meteor blow her up, the ship being surrounded by British cruisers.
Aug. 9—British torpedo boat destroyer Lynx is sunk in the North Sea by a mine, many of crew being lost; British auxiliary cruiser India is torpedoed and sunk off the Norwegian coast.

NAVAL RECORD—SUBMARINES.

July 16—The German submarine U-51 has been sunk in the Black Sea by Russian warships, according to information received from Varna, a Bulgarian port on the Black Sea.
July 17—Cunarder Orduna arrives in New York after having escaped by ten feet a torpedo fired without warning by a German submarine off Queenstown on July 9; the submarine then shelled the Orduna, but missed her.
July 18—An Austrian submarine torpedoes and sinks the Italian cruiser Giuseppe Garibaldi in the Adriatic, off Ragusa; most of the crew are saved.
July 21—According to British statements, the battleship recently sunk in the Baltic by a British submarine was the Pommern; semi-official German statement denies that any German battleship has been sunk in the Baltic by a submarine.
July 23—British submarines are operating in the Sea of Marmora and have sunk Turkish ships.
July 24—German submarines sink Russian steamer Rubonia and British trawler Star of Peace, the crews being saved.
July 25—American steamer Leelanaw, with a cargo of flax, which has been declared by Germany to be contraband, is sunk by a German submarine off the Orkney Islands; the ship is given full warning, and the crew safely makes port; German submarines sink French steamship Danae, British steamer Firth, and trawlers Henry Charles, Kathleen, Activity, Prosper, and Briton, all British; the Firth loses four men and the Briton six.
July 26—British submarine sinks German torpedo boat destroyer near the German coast.
July 27—German submarines sink British trawlers Rosslyn, Celtic, Cydorna, Gad-

well, Strathmore, Honoria, Cassio, Hermione, Sutton, and Emblem, the crews escaping; German submarines sink Norwegian sailing ships Harboe and G. P. Harbitz, and Danish steamer Nogill.

July 28—German submarines sink British steamer Mangara, British trawlers Iceni and Salacia, British smack Westward Ho, Swedish steamer Emma, Swedish bark Sagnadalen, and Danish schooners Maria, Neptunis, and Lena.

July 29—German submarines sink Belgian steamship Princesse Marie Jose and Swedish bark Fortune, the crews being saved.

July 30—German submarine sinks Norwegian steamship Trondhjemsfjord.

July 31—German submarine sinks the British steamer Iberian of the Leyland Line; German submarines sink eight British trawlers, crews being saved.

Aug. 7—German submarines sink British steamer Glenravel, British trawler Ocean Queen, and Swedish steamer Malmland.

Aug. 8.—British submarine in the Dardanelles sink a battleship, a gunboat, and a transport, all Turkish.

Aug. 9—A submarine of the Entente powers sinks Turkish battleship Kheyr-ed-Din Barbarossa, formerly the Kurfürst Friedrich Wilhelm of the German Navy.

Aug. 10—German submarine burns Danish schooner Jason.

Aug. 11—Italian submarine torpedoes and sinks the Austrian submarine U-12 in the Adriatic Sea; German submarines sink British steamer Oakwood, Norwegian bark Morna, French bark François, Russian bark Baltzer, and seven British trawlers; British submarines torpedo the Turkish cruiser Breslau (formerly German) in the Black Sea.

AERIAL RECORD.

July 16—French squadron of ten aeroplanes bombards the military station at Chauny.

July 19—French dirigible drops twenty-three bombs on the military railroad station and ammunition depot at Vigneulles-les-Hattonchâtel.

July 20—Thirty-eight French aviators bombard the station at Conflans-en-Janisy; six French aeroplanes bombard Colmar station, dropping sixteen shells on buildings and trains; four French aeroplanes drop forty-eight shells at the junction station at Challerange, south of Vouziers.

July 22—French aviators bombard the station of Autry, northwest of Binarville.

July 23—German aeroplanes drop bombs on the railway triangle at St. Hilaire, in Champagne.

July 27—Austrian aeroplane drops twelve bombs on Verona.

Aug. 6—Italian dirigibles bombard Austrian encampments and railroad stations.

Aug. 9—Twenty-eight French aeroplanes bombard the station and factories of Saarbrücken, northeast of Metz.

Aug. 10—A squadron of Zeppelins bombards the English east coast.

GERMANY.

July 17—The Foreign Office has issued a report on conditions in Belgium during the early days of the war, which is a reply to the findings of Lord Bryce's Belgian Atrocity Commission.

Aug. 1—The Teutonic allies, after a year of war, occupy 78,378 square miles of hostile territory.

GREAT BRITAIN.

July 20—Largely through the work and influence of Lloyd George, the Welsh coal miners' strike is ended.

July 27—The casualties in the British Army and Navy have reached a total of 330,995; the total military casualties up to July 18 were 321,889, and the total naval casualties up to July 20 were 9,106.

July 31—British estimates show that the first year of the war has given a total loss in men killed of 2,500,000 and a total loss in men wounded of 5,000,000.

RUSSIA.

Aug. 9—Petrograd newspapers announce that the Czar has rejected an offer of peace made to him by the Kaiser through the King of Denmark.

UNITED STATES.

July 16—Formal notice is given to Great Britain through Ambassador Page that the United States holds that the rights of Americans, who have cases before British prize courts, rest upon international law, and not upon various Orders in Council or municipal law.

July 24—The text is made public of the third note from the United States to Germany on the Lusitania and on submarine warfare generally; President Wilson has called for reports on the subject of national defense.

July 25—Telegrams from people in all parts of the United States, approving the last note to Germany, are received by President Wilson; the Berlin press assails the note, declaring it is unneutral and threatening.

July 26—British Government replies to the American note of March 30, protesting against the British Orders in Council aiming to cut off overseas trade with Germany.

Aug. 2—Two supplemental notes are received from Great Britain defending her blockade; a note is received from Germany upholding her contentions in the Frye case.

RELIEF.

July 25—Official Red Cross statement made public at Washington says that American Red Cross doctors and nurses will be withdrawn from the European battle front on Oct. 1, because of lack of funds to maintain them longer at their stations.

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